SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN WOMEN IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA: WORK, MONEY AND CHANGING GENDER ROLES

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a gendered perspective on the social and economic consequences of Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia. This mixed methods study draws on a Survey as well as in-depth interviews and participant observation of the Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, as well as analyses of secondary data from the Department of Immigration Movements and Settlement Database and the Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006. It examines three interconnected thematic areas in the migrant women's lives. First, African women's labour force patterns based on visa of entry to Australia, show that African migrant skilled women in Australia are able to compete favourably in the labour market and are able to get jobs commensurate to their skills. However the study shows women who enter Australia on humanitarian visas, many of whom have very low human capital endowments, find themselves completely shut out of the Australian workforce.

The second theme provides a gendered perspective on remittance sending practices of Sub-Saharan African women and how these affect settlement outcomes. The study shows that remittance sending does have an impact on settlement of humanitarian migrants with implications for an individual migrants' poverty and raises interesting arguments for host countries, especially in the area of retirement planning of migrants.

The third thematic area examines gender role changes of Sub-Saharan African migrant women as a result of their migration to Australia. It takes into consideration the increasing "Feminisation of Migration" as many Sub-Saharan African women are the principal applicants leading their family's migration, and in many cases were the primary breadwinners when their partners were unable to find work. The study also

examines division of labour within the household, especially in regards to domestic work as well as parenting.

The study concludes with implications for migration theory and policy. The study urges that there is need to integrate what is known about migration settlement from different migration theories and perspectives. It draws from a conceptual framework that examines the settlement of Sub-Saharan migrants from a systems structure that looks at the Macro, Meso and Micro factors, as well as transnational factors that affect the settlement of Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia. It urges the importance of recognising skilled women migrants in the discourse on women and work since skilled migration flows of women have largely been ignored in theorising about women in migration. There are important policy implications for developed countries such as Australia. Those unskilled find themselves excluded from the modern industrialised labour market. The questions raised in the section on remittances have important implications for developed countries in regards to their understanding of migrant poverty and policy issues such as migrant retirement planning. While the section on gender roles and gender relations in migration, contributes to gender and migration theory by calling for a change in focus in how gender roles are examined. The study explains that most of what is understood about gender roles has been influenced by western feminist ideology, and urges an understanding of migrant gender roles from a structural perspective taking into account modern migration flows such as the 'feminisation of migration'. As women become more likely to lead migration flows from developing to developed countries, women are no longer 'tied migrants' but rather principal breadwinners for their families and this has enormous implications for theories on gender roles and the wider study of gender and migration.

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DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ASIB	Australian Social Inclusion Board
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indegenous Affairs
ESL	English as a Second Language
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
IHSS	Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Services
LSIA	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
LSIA1	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (first cohort)
LSIA2	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (second cohort)
MRCSA	Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia
NESB	None English Speaking Background
NGO	Non- Government Organisation
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
SDB	Settlement Data Base
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Migration is now viewed globally not only as a gendered process but also as a gendering process. Gender is seen as critical in understanding the question of who migrates and the conditions under which women and men migrate. Many studies have shown that men and women experience migration differently (Boyd and Greico, 2003; Carling, 2005; Donato et al, 2006; Piper 2005, Szcepanikova, 2006, Piper, 2008a). In the 1990's Castles and Miller (1993,8) explained that one of the major trends that would influence contemporary international migration in the 21st century was the 'feminisation of migration' in which women would play an increasing role in all types of migration and in all regions of the world.

> "Feminisation of migration" represents the increase in the statistical visibility of women in migration globally, an increase of women in most migration streams and in all types of migration. Feminisation is also related to the inability of men in origin countries to find employment leading to women to migrate for employment purposes especially to the developed world where there is an increased demand of feminized jobs" (Piper 2008, 4).

This study provides a gendered perspective on the social and economic consequences of Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia, as well as the gendered nature of migration flows. Another major feature of contemporary international migration flows to developed countries, which is especially relevant to this study, is the stratified nature of migration (Piper, 2008, Boyd and Pikkov 2008). Piper (2005, 2008a) explains migration policies in developed countries often allow for differentiated and stratified modes of entry to migrants. These different forms of entry that mainly

correspond to segmented labour markets have different rights and entitlements that shape settlement experiences of migrants. This study examines the migration of Sub-Saharan African women based on two of these classifications, examining settlement outcomes of migrants who enter Australia based on their human capital endowments and those who enter Australia based on humanitarian grounds. The study examines three thematic areas in the lives of African migrant women in Australia. The first focuses on the working lives of these women. The second examines remittance sending patterns of these women and how this impacts on their settlement experiences. The third area of focus is the changes in gender roles and status of Sub-Saharan African women after they migrate to Australia.

The migration outcomes of Sub-Saharan Africans to Australia have not yet been fully explored in research. Indeed, globally there is a paucity of scholarship on outcomes of Sub-Saharan African women migrants (IOM 2007, Piper 2008). Most of what is commonly known in the field of women in migration has stemmed from studies focussing on Asian and Latin American migrants, examples of which are Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994, 1999), Pessar (1995), Piper and Rocas (2003), Oishi (2005). Australia's highly managed migration system, its careful selection of immigrants and regulated settlement policies; present an interesting environment in which to research how Sub-Saharan African migrants fare in resettlement.

This study adds to the existing body of knowledge and informs scholarship in the fields of gender and migration, Sub-Saharan African migration, work, remittances and changing gender roles in migration, all with a focus of drawing out policy and theoretical implications.

1.2 Background to the study

1.2.1 Gender and migration

Global statistics show women migrants make up between 49 to 51 percent of all international migrant flows (Piper, 2008; UNSTATS, 2010; Donato et al, 2011). Women have always played an important role in migration. Indeed as far back as 1889, Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' indicated '*females are more migratory than males,*' (Ravenstein, 1889, p 287), although in those days women were seen to migrate more within their nation, while men were venturing far beyond. Studies on migration prior to the 1980's were largely gender blind. Morokvasic (1983) explains this paucity of studies of women led to stereotyping of migrant women in the literature. She thus said, migrant women were normally portrayed as "dependants, migrant wives and mothers, unproductive, illiterate, isolated, secluded from the outside world and bearers of many children" Morokvasic (1983, 13). Studies at this time have been critiqued for having an 'add women, mix and stir approach' Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, (1999, 106), and Boyd and Greico (2003). This refers to the fact that studies often examined the characteristics of migrant women in relation to certain variables, so that studies only explained features such as the employment rates of women or the fertility rates of immigrant women (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, 1999, 106, Boyd and Greico, 2003).

In the 1980's, the growth of feminism as well as the introduction of women studies in universities started revealing significant changes in what was understood about women in migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, 1999, Donato et al, 2006, Nawyn 2010). By the mid 1980's there was another shift in how women were viewed in studies of migration. Rather than focusing on women in migration which looked at the

contrast of migrant experiences between men and women, the focus changed to gender and migration, which instead examined how relations between men and women influenced migration (Hondagneu- Sotelo and Cranford, 2006; Nawyn, 2010). Feminist researcher Nawyn (2010) shows how the shift from women in migration to gender and migration is evident in the first special issue about women in migration in the "*International Migration Review'* published in 1984 (Nawyn, 2010). She notes that half of the articles in that issue had a focus on women and migration whereas the other half had a gender focus as they connected the migration decision with inequality within households, labour markets and cultures. Other notable early literature on gender and migration includes Pedreza (1991), Kibira (1990) Tienda and Booth (1991), Chant and Radcliff (1992) and Hugo (1993).

Gender, which is commonly defined as referring to the socially acquired identity, way of living and role in society of individuals (Acker, 1992), allowed for new ways of theorising about migration. Gender analysis examined how inequality, domination and differing power structures between genders impacted on migration and how masculinity and femininity are constructed within migration (Boyd and Greico, 2003; Lutz, 2010).

By the early 2000's, studies on women in migration no longer only focused on household characteristics and the relational aspects that drive migration. Now they also focus on structural factors such as globalisation, gendered labour markets and the role of migration policies in sending and receiving of migrants, which were all seen as important in understanding the migration of women (Oishi, 2005, Piper, 2008, Lutz, 2010, Nawyn, 2010, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2011). Donato et al, (2006, 6) eloquently expresses the state of gender and migration scholarship in the 21st century when they say "scholars now analyse gender in the lives of both female and male migrants, in the

politics and governance of migration, in the workplaces of immigrants, in neo-liberal or welfare state policies of migration or foreign born populations in diasporas and even in the capitalist world system".

1.2.2 Problem Statement

As mentioned, one of the primary focal points of this study is examining the working lives of Sub-Saharan African women and exploring the labour force engagement of this African community in South Australia. Australian studies (Khoo et al, 2008) show there are definite differences in labour force outcomes of migrants based on migration policies and modes of entry for women in Australia. In general, women who enter Australia on skilled visas are allowed into the country on the basis of their ability to find employment while humanitarian migrants are not selected on the basis of their skills. In recent years, however, an emerging issue in Australian research has been that employment outcomes for migrants may not be as clear cut as the stratified nature of their entry presenting for further study. For example, Khoo et al (2008) demonstrate differences in labour force outcomes among women based on the region they come from. Khoo's example shows higher labour force participation and employment rates for women from Pacific Islands in general, as compared to women from North East Asia (Khoo et al, 2008, 116). High levels of unemployment among recently arrived skilled women from Asia is also reported by Ho (2006) who shows high levels of unemployment among women from China despite high qualifications. Even among humanitarian migrants who have post school qualifications, Colic Peisker and Tilbury (2007) argue that those who are visibly different are disadvantaged in the job market. They point to low levels of employment among qualified African and Middle Eastern refugee migrants as compared to humanitarian migrants from Yugoslavia who mainly arrived from Bosnia. These studies justify a need for further study of migrants in the

context of region of origin, indeed, Rudd (2004, 224) decries a paucity of research in Australia of immigrant women in the context of different, ethnic, cultural, religious, family and socio-economic backgrounds. By examining migrant women from Sub-Saharan Africa, who are racially and visibly different, this study gives us an important picture of the labour force participation and employment outcomes of women based on visa of entry.

Another research area closely related to the skills that migrants bring to Australia are studies that show when migrant women enter the labour force they tend to be trapped in certain occupational niches. Researchers (Piper, 2005, Pedreza, 1991) show that immigrant women become concentrated along a small spectrum of work choices and cluster in a few occupations. For example, caring and domestic service (Parrenas, 2000; Lutz, 2002; Moya, 2007), manufacturing (Oishi, 2005), or in highly skilled service occupations such as nursing (Hawthorne 2001). Sometimes, these occupational clusters are also ethnically inclined with women from certain races being more often found in certain positions. Boyd and Pikkov (2008, 38) have argued that in the US and Canada, women from African, Latin American or Hispanic ethnic groups are most likely to be found in low skilled jobs. This study examines the occupational concentration among Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia based on their skills. Australia presents an interesting case for studies on labour market segregation among immigrant women, especially in low skilled jobs, because it does not have overt labour market flows for unskilled labour. This study is also not aware of any other Australian studies that focus on labour market segregation of migrant women and the paths that women take to get into the job market in Australia. By analysing a myriad of factors - such as the recognition of qualifications among African migrants, the methods through which African women find work, the attainment of education and

skills in Australia, factors such as language, childcare, racism and discrimination - this study explores occupational concentration among immigrant women in Australia thus expanding knowledge on immigrant labour force integration.

The second thematic area covered by this study examines the remittance sending patterns of Sub-Saharan African women. Scholarship on gender and remittances is still in its infancy (Ramirez et al, 2005; Orozco et al, 2006) and there is still much to be learnt about remittances sent by women. Studies so far reveal great variations across migrant groups and from migrant regions on the remittance sending patterns of migrants. While some studies show women are more generous and reliable remitters than men (Chant and Radcliff, 1992), other studies reveal that women remit less than men (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov, 2005). Within an African context, some studies such as Orozco et al (2006) reveal women are more altruistic than African men. Such contradictions reflect the different economic, social and cultural differences behind remittance sending as well as the paucity of knowledge about remittances from a gender perspective.

This study examines two major areas within the gender and remittances nexus. The first explores remittance sending patterns of Sub-Saharan African women and focuses on what proportion of women's income is sent in remittances, to whom the women remit, and the purpose of the remittances. This study takes a gendered focus in expressing remittances sending patterns among Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia. The second major focus of the gender and remittances chapter is to examine how sending of remittances affects the settlement outcomes of the sending individuals. A few studies now show sending of remittances can have adverse social and economic effects on the settlement of migrants (Akuei, 2005; Lindley, 2009; Johnson and Stroll, 2008; Horst, 2008). That remittance sending can have adverse

effects on the settlement of migrants, has wide implications for what is understood as migrant poverty and the continued poverty of humanitarian migrants. It also raises important considerations for retirement planning of migrants

Lastly, this study examines the impact of migration on the status of women and whether gender roles of migrants change as a result of migration. Traditional studies on gender roles have concentrated on the changes that happen when women move away from traditional patriarchal forms of authority as well as how power relations within families alter or change after migration (Boyd and Greico, 2003). The results of these studies show the process of migration had either a positive or negative effect on the empowerment of women (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Hugo, 2005). Most of these studies understand migration from a very traditional model which assumes a 'male breadwinner and tied wife migrant'. However, in light of increased independent migration of women and the Feminisation of migration there is need for a change of focus in how we understand gender roles in migration. The study of gender roles and relations has also traditionally looked at elements such as how migrants divide domestic work in migration as well as how migrants handle parenting relationships. This study gives perspectives from the African community in South Australia on both these issues.

1.3 Research Objectives

From the above summary of the issues under study, these are the specific objectives and research questions that guide the study. This study has five major objectives:

Objective 1: To provide an insight into Sub–Saharan African women migrant women's working lives.

The key questions covered by this objective include:

1. What is the labour force integration and employment outcomes of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia based on visa of entry, qualifications and skills?
2. Are women found in particular occupational concentration, how do they find their jobs and how do other factors such as the recognition of African qualifications, African women's migrant agency in attainment of Australian qualifications influence their ability to get jobs in Australia?
3. How do factors such as language, childcare, racism and discrimination affect Sub-Saharan African women's labour force integration in Australia?

Objective 2: To determine remittance sending practices of the Sub-Saharan African women and how it impacts on their settlement in Australia.

The key questions within this section are:

1. Who do African women send remittances to, what proportion of their income do they send and what are the remittances intended for?
2. What is the impact of sending remittances on the settlement of African women in Australia?

Objective 3: To determine the changes to Sub-Saharan African migrant women's gender roles and responsibilities when they migrate to Australia.

The key questions in this section include:

1. Are there any changes in the status, gender roles and responsibilities of Sub-Saharan African women when they migrate to Australia?
2. How do African women navigate two major roles: domestic work and parenting?

Objective 4: To provide practical policy recommendations around migrant settlement as each of the objectives above raise important issues for policy within Australia.

Objective 5: To develop a theoretical framework that addresses the post-migration experiences of women migrants.

1.4 Australia's migration system

Table 1.1 is a diagrammatic representation of the Australian Migration Program as at the 2010 – 2011 financial year (DIAC, 2011). This section defines and explains the different visa classifications while in Chapter two more emphasis is placed on explaining Sub-Saharan African migration in relation to the different visa classifications.

Table 1.1 Diagrammatic representation of Australia's migration program, 2010-2011

Migration Program	Skilled Migration	Family Migration	Special Eligiblity
	General Skilled Migration Distinguished Talent Employer Sponsored Business Skills	Partners Dependant Children Parents Other Family	Allows former permanent residents to remain in or to return to Australia as permanent migrants under certain criteria
Humanitarian Migration	Offshore Migration	Onshore Migration	
	Refugee Migration Incountry Special Humanitarian Global Special Humanitarian Emergency Rescue Woman at Risk	Protection Resolution Status Global Special Humanitarian	
Temporary Entry			
	Temporary Business Long Stay (457) International Students Recent Graduates Working Holiday Visa Tourists and Short term business		
New Zealanders			
	Special arrangement with Australia Special category (no visas)		

Source: Department of Immigration (SOPEMI report, 2011).

1.4.1 Selection of skilled migrants to Australia

Although, Australia has traditionally been a country of permanent settlement; in the mid 1990's, the Australian government instituted changes to its migration program with two very important outcomes. The first was an increased focus on skilled migration, at the expense of a wider family migration program. The second was the provision of temporary visas to meet demands by businesses and employers to offer flexible arrangements to bring in skilled workers from overseas (Cully, 2012; Khoo, Hugo and McDonald, 2008). Piper (2008, 7) explains that the move to temporary migration is an emerging trend in industrialised countries who still admit permanent migrants but have been increasingly moving towards a diversity of settlement policies in favour of temporary migration to meet business needs. One of the outcomes of these changes has been that there are now two parallel systems in which skilled migrants are found in Australia.

Cully (2012) terms this as a 'hybrid system' of migrant selection. Skilled migration refers to migrants accepted into the permanent migration system most of those who are self-selected or sponsored by employers (DIAC, 2011). The selection of skilled migrants to Australia is a rigorous process, highly managed by government and labour market driven to ensure the relative success of migrants in the Australian labour market (Hawthorne, 2005). The permanent migration system is guided by the government planning figures and capped at a certain number each year in the 2010 – 2011 financial skilled migration numbers were capped at 113,580 migrants (DIAC, 2011). Skilled migration targets migrants who have skills or proven entrepreneurial capability or outstanding abilities that can be a benefit to Australian economy (DIAC, 2011). The skilled migration program has different classifications based on whether individuals nominate themselves as skilled migrants, or whether they are sponsored by

employers or if they migrate to set up businesses. Different states can positively influence the sponsorship of migrants who meet migration criteria and are interested in settling in areas that are interested in expanding settlement (Cully, 2012). One of the most salient features of the skilled migration program is the methods used to select migrants. Skilled migrants are selected on the basis of a points tests; the test considers migrants who are involved in occupations that have high demand of migrant workers in Australia. It has an element of mandatory language testing, targets young migrants, shows a preference for Australian qualifications and for those migrants with genuine job offers (Miller, 1999; Shah and Burke, 2005; Hawthorne, 2005).

Temporary skilled migration is entirely demand driven by employers who when unable to fill in local labour markets can sponsor migrants to fill the positions (Cully, 2012). Khoo et al (2007, 176) explain that Australia like many industrialised countries is relying more heavily on temporary migration programs to meet the needs of skilled workers. Australia's temporary business long stay visas commonly referred to as (457's) are a quick, flexible and increasingly dominant means through which Australia's businesses attract workers from overseas, allowing employers to attract workers they need in highly specialised areas or in areas where Australian institutions are not able to meet the labour market demand (Khoo et al, 2004, 2005, 2007). Some of the major sectors that have required skills are in the field of health with a need for doctors and nurses and other allied health workers as well as a need for teachers and engineers (Khoo et al, 2007). Research carried out by Khoo et al (2004, 2005 and 2006) on migrants on temporary working visas show that temporary migration is often an important pathway to permanent residence, with many of those who migrate under temporary visas applying to settle or having an intention to settle in Australia.

Employers play an important role in sponsoring temporary migrants for permanent residency (DIAC, 2011).

Another important source of skilled migrants to Australia is student migration. In 2001, Australia's migration policy changed to allow former overseas students who had completed their education to remain in Australia as a source of skilled migrants (Hawthorne, 2008; Birrell and Perry, 2009). After completion of educational programs, students in areas of skill demand in Australia are able to apply directly for the skilled migration programs while those whose who are unable to make the points require a two-step process. First, they can apply for graduate visa programs to gain the necessary work experience which then allows them at a later date to get the points required to apply for migration (Birrell and Perry, 2009).

1.4.2 Humanitarian Program

Since the Second World War Australia has offered resettlement to over 740,000 refugees (RCOA, 2010). Australia has a comprehensive partnership with the UNHCR to accept and settle refugee and humanitarian settlers as part of its obligation as an international citizen as well as a signatory to the *1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* and the *1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (Hugo, 2005, 2011). Table 1.2 shows the percentage of resettled refugees to Australia as compared to global refugee figures; these figures only account for those who get assistance from UNHCR under the resettlement program. Australia's resettlement program is the second largest out of the 23 countries that offer resettlement.

Table 1.2 Refugee resettlement numbers: Australia and Global Figures

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Australia numbers	5117	4647	6056	5171	6720
Global figures	38507	29566	49868	65859	84657
As % Global	**13**	**16**	**12**	**8**	**8**

Source: UNHCR Global Resettlement Needs report 2011

Australia's refugee program is divided into two, the first an offshore program which caters to refugees under UNHCR resettlement programs which are those who cannot find durable solutions, who cannot be reintegrated in countries of first asylum as well as those who cannot be repatriated or returned to their original country (UNHCR, 2010). Within Australia, the criteria of offshore humanitarian migrants is expanded to meet not only the resettlement needs of migrants but also caters for other refugees, such as the Global Special Humanitarian program which accepts refugees that are of special concern to Australia but do not meet other humanitarian criteria (Hugo, 2005). The offshore program also accommodates a small intake of in-country special humanitarian migrants that caters for people who are undergoing persecution within their own countries. The second part of Australia's refugee program is an onshore program that settles refugees and asylum seekers that arrive on Australia's shores (Hugo, 2005). Australia receives approximately 0.5 percent of global asylum seekers, and many who arrive on the shores of Australia by boat often attract substantial public attention (Hugo, 2011, 8). While African asylum seekers who arrive in Australia often arrive by air the numbers are not very large and therefore they do not attract considerable scrutiny statistically. In 2011, the largest source of asylum seekers

from Africa was with 213 Zimbabwean asylum seekers offered resettlement (DIAC, 2011).

Table 1.3 shows trends of total refugee intake to Australia from the year 2000 through to 2011. Australia's humanitarian migration program is capped and highly regulated based on strict government planning criteria and over the years the humanitarian program has taken an average of between 11,000 to 13,000 refugees and other humanitarian migrants each year.

Table 1.3 Australia's Humanitarian Migrant Intake: 2000-2011

Year	2000 - 01	2001 - 02	2002 - 03	2003 - 04	2004 - 05	2005 - 06	2006 - 07	2007 - 08	2008 - 09	2009 - 10	2010 - 11
Refugee category	3997	4160	4376	4134	5511	6022	5011	6004	6499	6003	6002
Special Humanitarian	3116	4258	7280	7688	6755	6736	5275	4795	4511	3236	2966
Onshore	879		869	788	895	1387	2243	2215	2497	4530	4828
Total Humanitarian	7292	8458	11656	12610	13178	14144	13017	13014	13507	13770	13799
Women at Risk			504	394	841	995	980	819	788	804	759
% Women at risk			***11.5***	***4.7***	***15.3***	***16.5***	***19.5***	***13.7***	***12.1***	***13.4***	***12.7***

Source: Department of Immigration, Annual Departmental Reports, 2000-2011.

Particularly relevant to this study is the recognition of a gendered flow within the refugee resettlement program, the 'Women and girls at risk' program. The 'Women at Risk' program started by UNHCR in 1987 assists women or girls at risk who have protection problems, particular relating to their gender and who lack effective protection normally provided by male family members (UNHCR, 2011). On average, 12 percent of the resettled refugees to Australia are 'women at risk'. Table 1.3 shows

that in the 2010-2011 financial year, 759 women were resettled within this program (DIAC, 2011). The resettlement of these particular women who are normally women alone with their children or young girls who wouldn't meet other resettlement criteria present a very vulnerable feminised flow of resettled refugees. Boyd and Pikkov, (2005, 13) have assessed the women at risk program and explained that although the program is a noble idea, the numbers of resettled women under the program globally have continued to be quite low due to the very high cost of caring for these women from public funds.

1.4.3 Family migration

The family migration stream enables the migration of close family members such as fiancées, spouses and dependent children, to join family members in Australia. There is also provision for aged parents and certain members of extended family to join their family (DIAC, 2011). Family migration like Skilled Migration and Humanitarian migration is also capped and in the 2010-2011 financial year, there were 54,550 places for family migration almost half those that are allocated for skilled migration (DIAC, 2011, 60).

1.4.4 Other migration programs

The Special eligibility program is a special program that allows former permanent residents to return to Australia. While New Zealanders have a special relationship with Australia and citizens of New Zealand are allowed to travel to migrate and work in Australia. They do not apply for visas but rather on entry are recognised as holders of a special category of visas that allows them to remain, work or study in Australia (DIAC, 2011). Australia has a reciprocal relationship with 26 other countries to allow young working holiday makers to spend a year working and travelling within Australia

(DIAC, 2011, Clarke, 2005). These temporary migrants mostly from European nations form a critical part of the Australian workforce especially in the hospitality and horticultural industries (Kinnard, 1999)

1.5 South Australia as a study area of Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia

It is important to mention why South Australia was selected as a study area for this study. Between 1991 and 2011 over 6850 settler arrivals from Sub-Saharan Africa migrated to South Australia and at the 2006 Census of Population close to 5800 persons born in Sub-Saharan Africa were enumerated in South Australia (ABS, 2006). During this census the Sub-Saharan African community in South Australia made up 0.38 percent of the total South Australian population (ABS, 2006).

Chapter two shows that much of migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia occurred in the mid 2000's. At the peak of that migration South Australia had a very aggressive policy to attract and settle newly arrived migrant groups into the State (Hugo, 2008). As a result many of the newly arrived migrant groups from Sub-Saharan Africa were settled in South Australia. At the time of the 2006 census South Australia held approximately 8 percent of Australia's total population, however from Table 1.4 we see that many of the Sub-Saharan African groups are overrepresented within South Australia. For example over 20 percent of the Burundi Community, the Liberian community and The Cote D'Ivoire African communities were living in South Australia and this ethnic concentration of migrants in the State made it an ideal site for a study of African settlement to Australia.

Table 1.4 Sub-Saharan African Community in South Australia comparative to Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia.

Country	Male	Female	Total	% Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia
Angola	5	11	16	4
Botswana	47	22	69	8
Burundi *	89	72	161	**21**
Cameroon *	6	7	13	**10**
Chad *	3	0	3	**9**
Congo *	44	37	81	**16**
Congo DRC *	42	54	96	**16**
Cote d'Ivoire *	27	23	50	**20**
Djibouti	0	3	3	3
Eritrea	64	59	123	6
Ethiopia	207	184	391	7
Gambia	4	3	7	5
Ghana	71	59	130	5
Guinea *	27	25	52	**16**
Kenya	360	388	748	8
Liberia *	153	169	322	**21**
Madagascar	5	6	11	6
Malawi	27	21	48	7
Mali	3	0	3	5
Mozambique	11	14	25	4
Namibia	17	31	48	7
Nigeria	87	42	129	5
Senegal	3	0	3	2
Sierra Leone	62	68	130	7
Somalia	105	78	133	4
Sudan	822	656	1479	8
Swaziland	6	5	11	5
Tanzania *	127	86	213	**9**
Togo *	0	3	3	**9**
Uganda	47	57	104	6
Zambia	98	98	196	5
Zimbabwe	451	471	929	5
Total	3029	2774	5800	6.8

Source: ABS Cat no 2068.0 - 2006 Census Tables

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. The introductory chapter gives a background to the study as well as defining the Australian migration system. The chapter explains key concepts that are important for a better understanding of this study. The second chapter provides a background to Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia examining the various characteristics of African migrants in Australia. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework used in this study while Chapter four explains the methodology applied within this study.

Chapter five presents the results, giving insights into the working lives of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia. It examines the labour force participation of Sub-Saharan African women from a visa of entry perspective. It also examines occupational concentration, examining factors such as how women find work, the recognition of qualifications, and migrant agency in gaining skills within Australia. Lastly, it examines how language, childcare and discrimination impact on the settlement of migrants.

Chapter six examines the remittance sending patterns of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia and how they impact on their settlement and Chapter seven looks at changes in gender roles amongst the African community after they migrate to Australia. The concluding chapter summarises the principal findings of the study and their implications both for policy and for theory of the post migration experiences of women who migrate to developed countries such as Australia.

CHAPTER 2: AFRICANS IN AUSTRALIA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Australia. The chapter begins by defining Sub-Saharan Africans as adopted by this study. The chapter then details the major trends that have taken place in the migration between the two continents; it examines the various characteristics of the migrants, looking at the temporary and settler flows of migrants between Africa and Australia. Further attention is then given to demographic characteristics of Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia focussing especially on gender aspects of migration between the two regions.

2.2 Defining humanitarian and skilled migrants

One of the most critical definitions to note is the classification of who is a skilled migrant and who is a humanitarian migrant. Skilled migrants are classified as those who migrated to Australia to work, this category for ease of analysis includes; skilled migrants who sponsored themselves as well as those who were employer sponsored or regional sponsored. Migrants who came to work in Australia either on permanent or temporary visas are classified as skilled. Raghuram (2000) explains that in New Zealand and Australia, which employ the points system for admission of migrants, the pooling of points within a migrant household is permitted. As a result most women who migrated with their partners, also classified themselves as having migrated on a skilled visa. Those who arrived on student visas and later converted to skilled visas are also included under the category of skilled migrants. While humanitarian visa migrants are those who migrated under any of the offshore refugee requirements.

2.3 The Sub-Saharan Africans

It is important to define Sub-Saharan African migrants as understood in this study. Sub-Saharan African migrants refer to migrants of African descent who have migrated to Australia and who hail from countries found in the region south of the Sahara desert in Africa. Iin the greater context, Sub-Saharan Africa includes the Republic of South Africa, this study however excludes these migrants who have migrated to Australia. South African migration to Australia has been particularly distinctive from other source countries within Sub-Saharan Africa. Its major distinctive features are twofold. The first is that the migration from South Africa to Australia has been predominantly made up of persons of European background, especially those of British descent (Rule, 1994; Hugo, 2009). Another factor is that there has been a long history of migration between South Africa to Australia. Jakubowicz (2010) shows there was migration from South African from as early as the turn of the 20th century. This is in contrast to more recent migration of people of African descent from other Sub-Saharan African countries which occurred in the 1980s.

2.4 Waves of migration from Sub –Saharan Africa to Australia

Jakubowicz (2010) explains migration from Africa to Australia has occurred in three different waves. Although a historical background of migration between Africa and Australia dates as early as the 19th Century (Udo – Ekpo, 1999; Jupp, 2001, Jakubowicz, 2010), the institution of the White Australian policy at Federation in 1900 allowed only the migration of persons of European heritage from Africa. This migration, which can be classified as the first wave of migration between the continents, was that of migrants from British colonies who left Africa at the end of colonization in the 1960s and 1970s. These migrants were mainly migrants from

former British Colonies, such as Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Jupp, 2001, Hugo, 2009, Jakubowicz, 2010). The second wave of African migration to Australia is characterised by migration of humanitarian migrants from the Horn of Africa from the late 1980s and beginning of the 1990s as war ravaged areas in Africa (Gow, 2001, Jakubowicz, 2010). The migration of these refugees can be seen as the beginning of migration of persons of African descent to Australia. The third wave of migration is characterised by the increased importance of skilled migration and student migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia. There have been increasing numbers of skilled migrants from Africa, especially that of doctors and nurses. (Hugo, 2009, Jakubowicz, 2010, Negin and Denning, 2008).

2.5 Data considerations

This chapter details some demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Sub-Saharan African migrants to Australia and provides a background to understanding the community in Australia. Data used include stock data drawn from the Australian Census held every five years. Flow data are taken from Australia's Department of Immigration Movements Data Base, and are collected from each person who is entering or leaving Australia on arrival cards or departure cards including information, such as citizenship, birthplace, age, gender, occupation, marital status, type of movement, and reason for move. The information is then classified in terms of:

> Permanent migrants: Immigrants arriving with the intention of settling permanently in Australia – termed as Settler Arrivals in this study. The database also includes Emigrants or Australian residents who are leaving Australia permanently
>
> Long-term migrants: Overseas arrivals of persons with an intended or actual length of stay longer than 12 months. The database also includes departures of Australian residents who stay out of Australia for more than a year.
>
> Short term: Travellers with an intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad of less than 12 months Hugo (2009, 8).

2.6 Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia at the 2006 Census

The Sub-Saharan African population of just over 87,500 at the 2006 census made up about 0.4 percent of the total Australian population (ABS, 2006). The countries with the largest estimated population in 2010 were the Zimbabwe - born (31,750 migrants), the Sudanese (26,190) and the Kenyans (14,960). The Zimbabwean born numbered over 8000 at the 1991 Census. The Table also shows the growth rate for Sub-Saharan African groups, showing the increasing significance of African migration to Australia, especially in the decade between 2000 and 2010. The average annual growth rate for the Sub-Saharan African born population during that period was 10.7 percent, and the fastest growing groups were the Burundi born, the Guinea born, the Liberian and the Rwandan community, most of them have migrated within the last decade.

The Sudanese were the largest humanitarian group with an annual growth rate of 18.2 percent between 2001 and 2010. The Sudanese being the largest African community in Australia had attracted considerable academic scrutiny. For example, a Google search on them reveals a high number of academic journals and research publications on different aspects of Sudanese Settlement in Australia. However by giving a wider focus of migration in general from Sub-Saharan Africa, there is wider scope here to provide an understanding of migration from the region to Australia, rather than focus on a particular group of migrants within Australia.

Table 2.1 Census Statistics: Sub-Saharan Africans to Australia from 1991-2006, Estimated Population 2010

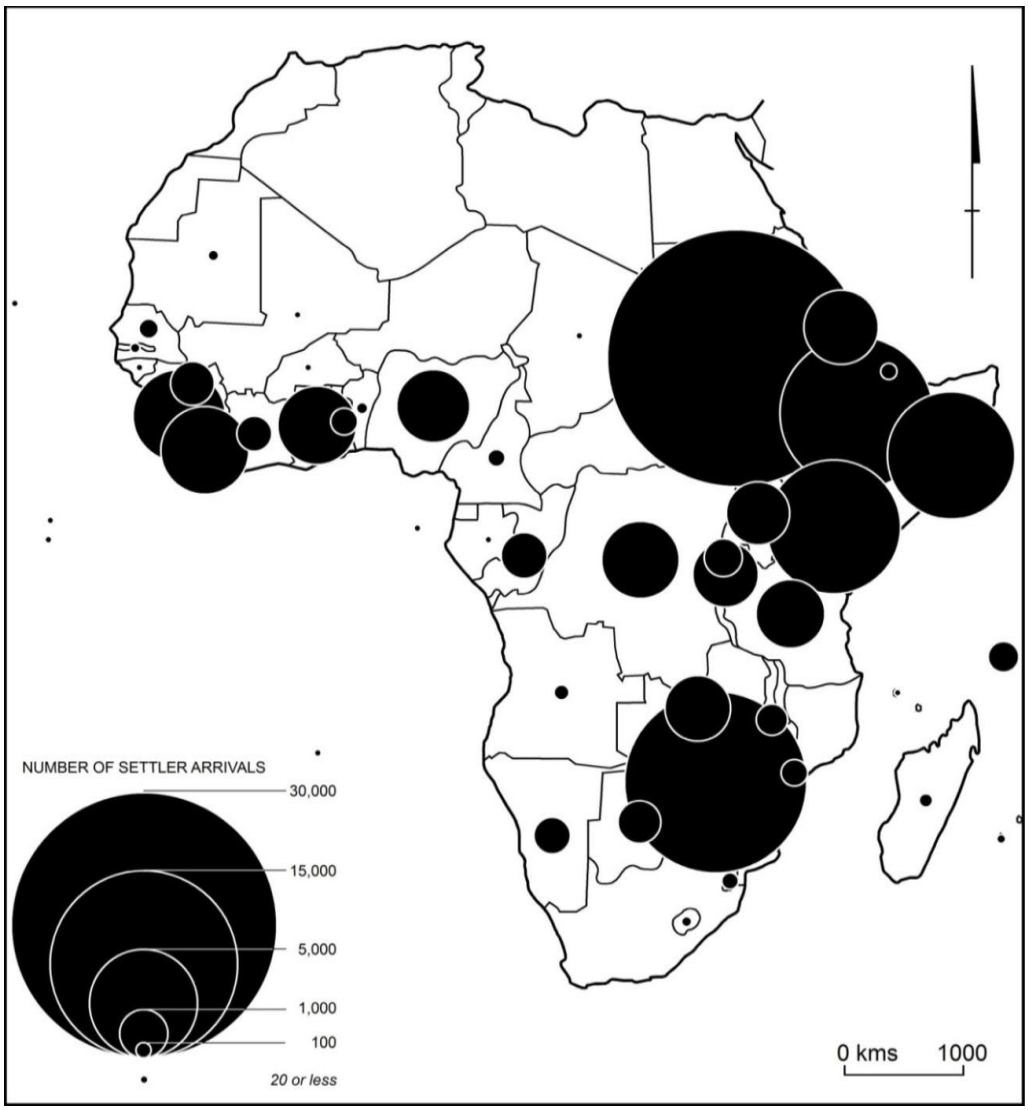
	Number of Persons				Rank of population	Estimated Resident population	Percentage annual growth rate
Country	**1991**	**1996**	**2001**	**2006**	**in 2006 census**	**2010**	
Zimbabwe	8352	8957	11733	20155	43	31780	10.5
Sudan	1259	2417	4900	19049	45	26190	18.2
Kenya	4724	5333	6869	9935	62	14960	8.1
Ethiopia	1341	2353	3544	5634	78	9010	9.8
Somalia	357	2508	3713	4314	83	6420	5.6
Zambia	2333	2565	3072	4078	84	5900	6.7
Nigeria	966	1260	1738	2501	96	4550	10.1
Ghana	998	1465	2040	2769	92	4300	7.7
Tanzania	1432	1561	1714	2300	98	3740	8.1
Sierra Leone	118	164	363	1809	104	3480	25.4
Liberia	64	84	125	1523	108	3080	37.8
Eritrea		1161	1599	2015	99	3050	6.7
Seychelles	2610	2561	2448	2508	95	2980	2.0
Uganda	930	1178	1217	1712	106	2850	8.9
Congo (DRC)		321	267	618	134	2650	25.8
Burundi	16	23	25	753	229	1850	53.8
Namibia	264	303	437	703	125	1130	10.0
Botswana	159	225	706	865	120	1070	4.2
Malawi	364	423	485	685	129	1000	7.5
Congo	9	22	135	520	136	920	21.2
Mozambique	391	428	551	631	137	880	4.8
Guinea	18	19	28	334	153	810	40.0
Cote D'Ivoire	36	52	69	255	157	620	24.6
Rwanda	12	22	11	9	164	560	48.1
Angola	328	344	353	396	144	510	3.7
Senegal	149	170	185	199	167	360	6.9
Swaziland	120	145	202	233	159	340	5.3
Togo	6	9	16	34	198	310	34.5
Cameroon	14	35	66	125	200	260	14.7
Madagascar	148	137	156	188	169	260	5.2
Reunion	62	64	71	126	175	210	11.5
Gambia	23	26	53	130	174	170	12.4
Lesotho	43	58	54	78	183	120	8.3
Djibouti	31	75	68	97	180	100	3.9
Benin	7	12	24	19	210	60	9.6
Mali	13	15	29	47	192	50	5.6
Mauritania		3	16	16	215	40	9.6
Cape Verde		24	22	22	218	20	-0.9
Chad	15	21	36	27	200	20	-5.7
Gabon	11	19	19	25	208	20	0.5
Niger	12	10	14	11	213	20	3.6
St Helene	34	25	25	31	196	10	-8.8
Burkina Faso	0	10	23	26	201	0	-100.0
Central Africa Republic	6	14	3	10	222	0	-100.0
Comoros	3	6	18	12		0	-100.0
Equatorial Guinea		3	6	9	222	0	-100.0
Guinea Bissau	6	10	15	8	225	0	-100.0
Sao Tome and Principe	6	12	11	9	225	0	-100.0
Totals Sub-Saharan Africa	27790	36652	49274	87533		136660	10.7

Source: ABS statistics 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2010. Hugo, 2009

2.7 Migration flows: settler arrivals

Figure 2.1 shows the trends of settler arrivals from Sub-Saharan Africa in the period between 1991 and 2011, and within the 20 year period there have been slightly less than 100,000 settler arrivals from the region. The largest populations arriving from Sudan, Zimbabwe, and Kenya respectively; however most migration of persons from Sub-Saharan African nations is still small with many having population of less than 100 persons in Australia.

Figure 2.1 Settler Arrivals: Sub-Saharan Africans by Country, 1991-2011

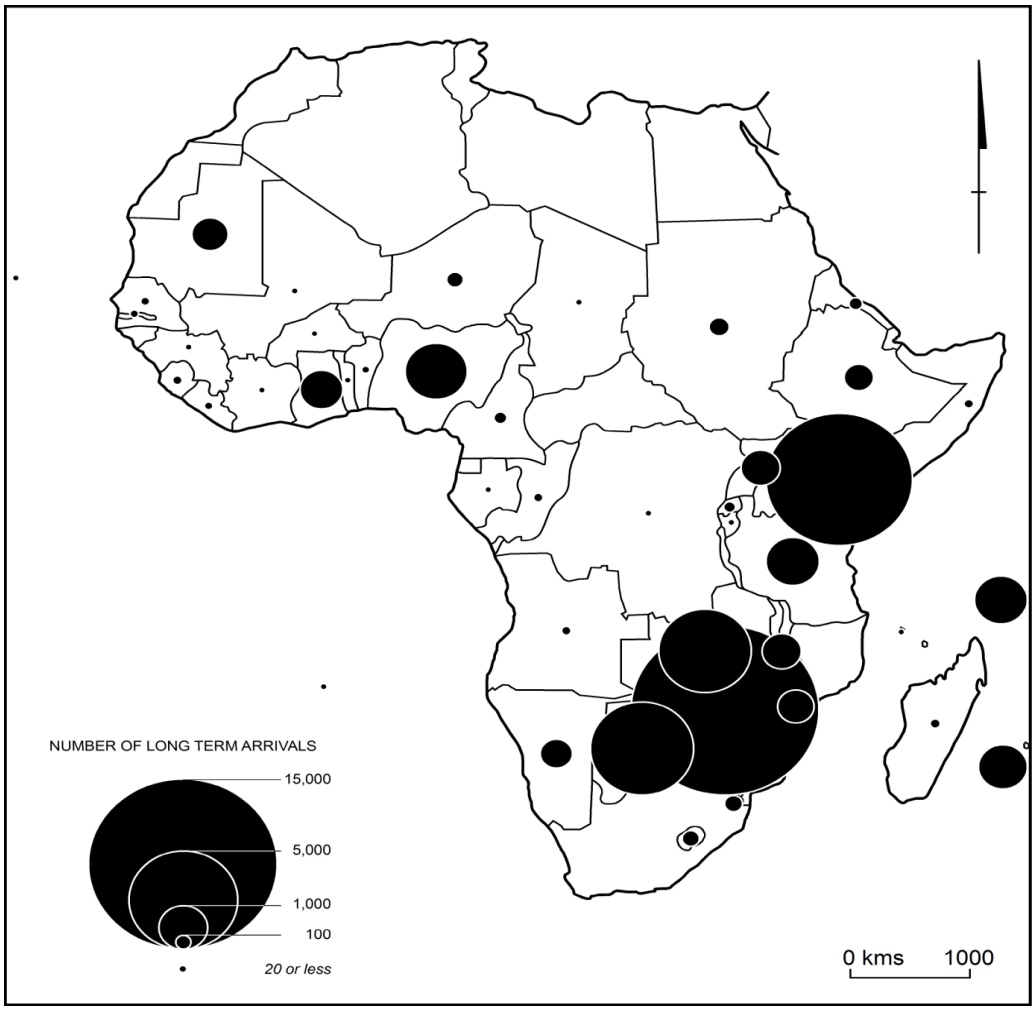


Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

2.8 Migration flows: long-term arrivals

Figure 2.2 shows the distribution by country of birth of the 40,000 long-term arrivals from Sub-Saharan Africa who arrived in Australia between 1993 and 2011. Although long-term arrivals are still less than half of the settler arrivals, with regards to country of origin the largest populations come from Zimbabwe and Kenya, where the total number of migrants arriving on temporary visas outnumber those who have arrive on settler visas. Other countries that are sources of temporary long-term migrants include Botswana and Zambia as well as Ghana and Nigeria.

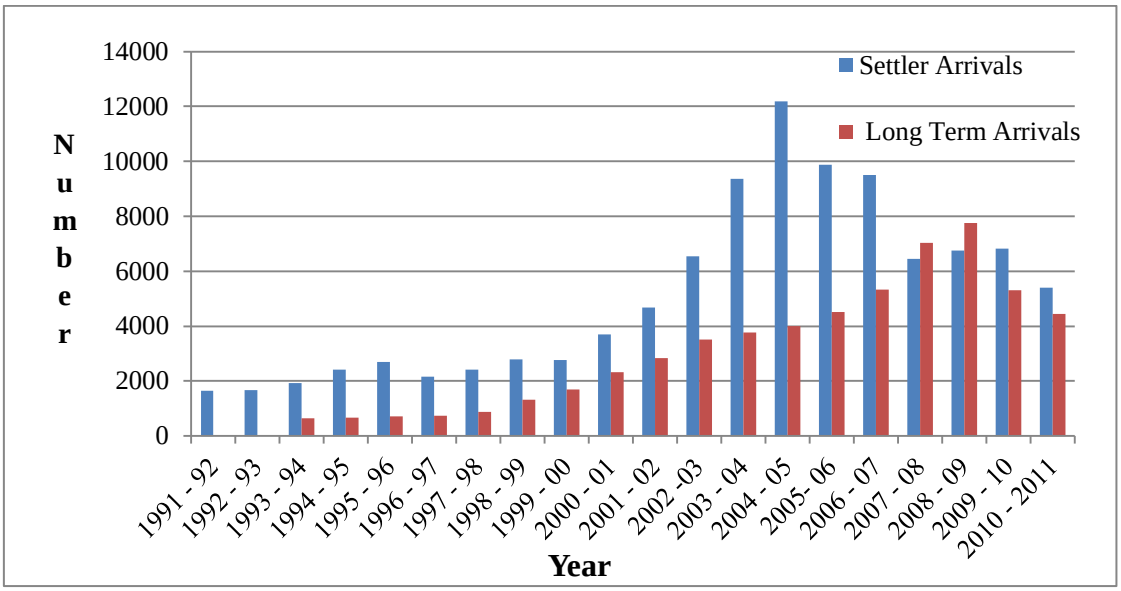
Figure 2.2 Long-Term Arrivals, Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia, 1993-2011



Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

Figure 2.3 shows the trend in settler and long-term arrivals from the Sub-Saharan region in the 20 years. Although approximately 2000 settler arrivals arrived each year from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia between 1991 and 2001 on settler visas, after 2001, migration from Sub-Saharan Africa steadily increased to peak levels in 2004-2005 with close to 12,000 Sub-Saharan African migrants arriving in that year before dropping to 6000 settler arrivals by the end of the decade.

Figure 2.3 Sub-Saharan African long-term and settler arrivals, 1991-2011

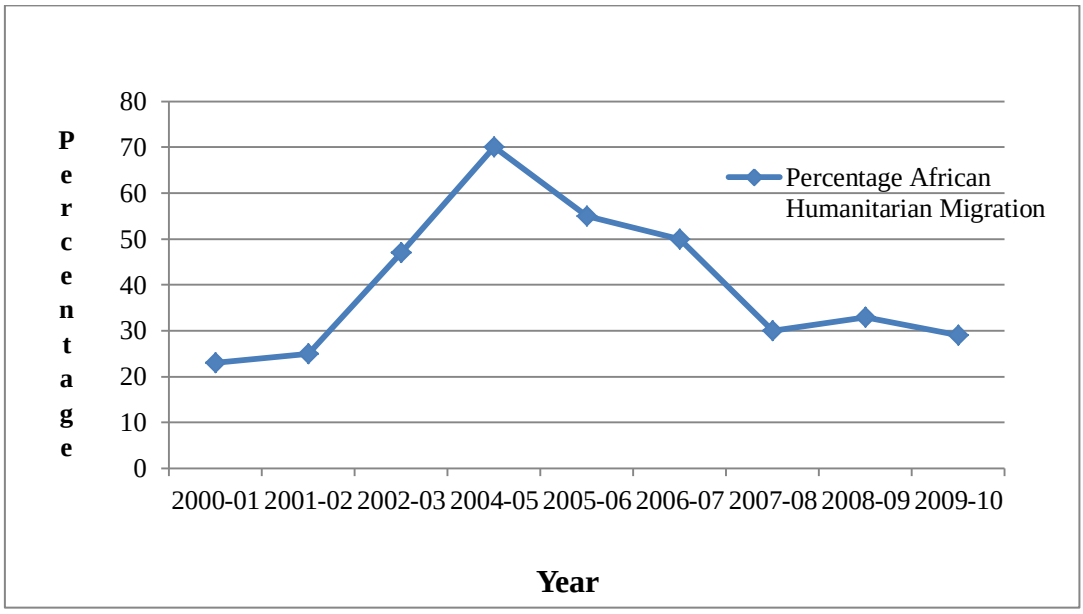


Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

The steady rise of settler immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia between 2000 and 2005 can be attributed to a number of factors. First, there was an increase in humanitarian migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in the early to mid-2000's which can be directly attributed to the very deliberate refugee resettlement program targeting African groups. Figure 2.4 shows Africa became an important source of humanitarian arrivals to Australia. From 2001 the percentage of humanitarian migrants increased from 23 percent of all offshore refugee humanitarian settler arrivals to a high of 70 percent in the year 2004-2005. After 2005 migration from Africa decreased to 50

percent of total humanitarian migrants and then to 30 percent levels by the end of the decade (DIAC, 2011). In 2007, comments made by a prominent Australian politician about the slow integration of Africans to Australia have been accredited to the decline in humanitarian arrivals from Africa (Anyanwu, 2009; Jakubowicz, 2010).

Figure 2.4 Australia: Percentage of Sub-Saharan Africans humanitarian resettlement intake, 2000-2010.



Source: DIAC, Published Statistics Population Flows: Various issues.

The other factor that has seen the rise of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia can be attributed to the global search for skilled migrants. Africa has become a source of skilled migrants to Australia, especially in the medical field with doctors and nurses from Africa (Negin and Denning, 2008; Hugo, 2009).

Figure 2.3 also depicts the growing importance of long-term arrivals from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia. Indeed, in the 2008/2009 long-term arrivals surpassed settler arrivals from Sub-Saharan Africa. As stated earlier, researchers (Khoo et al, 2004, 2006, 2007 and Hawthorne, 2005, Birrell and Perry, 2009) have shown the growing

importance of these streams seeking permanent residency in Australia. Long-term arrivals are fuelled by two major movements, skilled temporary migrants on Business 457 visas and student arrivals. Unfortunately this study could not access data on migrants on temporary business 457 visas by country of birth for Sub-Saharan countries. However, Zimbabwe features in published statistics as one of the top 15 source countries for 457 visa grants (DIAC, Subclass 457 reports, 2008, 2009).

Table 2.2 shows the top ten source countries involved in Student migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia between 2002 and 2011. Unfortunately student statistics are not disintegrated by gender; however the figures show that the numbers of student arrivals are still quite low compared to global figures, making up less than 2 percent of total student numbers since 2002. Nevertheless it is important to note that countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya continue to be the countries within Sub-Saharan Africa that provide international students for Australia.

Table 2.2 Sub-Saharan African countries offshore student visa grants, 2002-2011

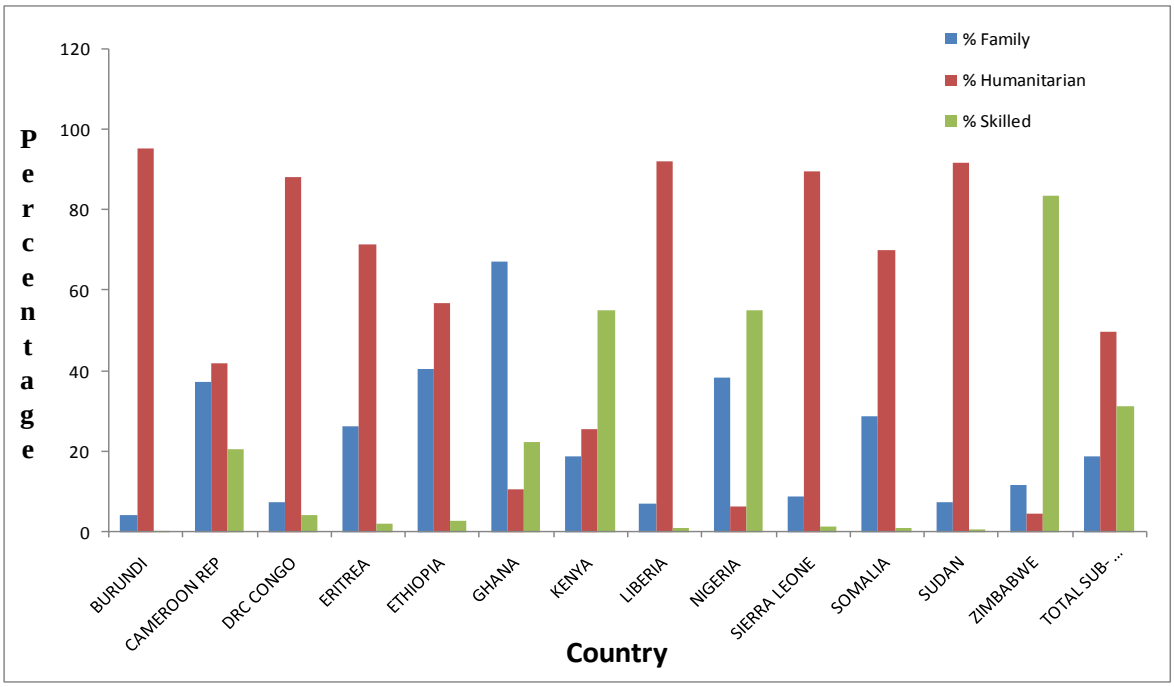
Country	2002 - 03	2003 - 04	2004 - 05	2005 - 06	2006 - 07	2007 - 08	2008 - 09	2009 - 10	2010 - 11
Botswana	253	272	163	96	101	127	110	78	74
Ghana	25	32	43	35	42	42	29	37	60
Kenya	445	369	373	436	583	625	611	555	321
Malawi	68	31	34	44	37	37	56	39	41
Mozambique	45	64	12	47	30	43	32	31	34
Nigeria	22	36	46	65	83	50	162	184	209
Tanzania	49	57	48	63	67	59	78	68	65
Uganda	37	37	32	33	41	44	47	32	46
Zambia	316	273	215	201	232	249	257	206	104
Zimbabwe	363	387	428	517	586	666	560	379	116
Total SSA	**1623**	**1558**	**1394**	**1537**	**1820**	**1942**	**1942**	**1609**	**1070**
Total Offshore Student Visas	109610	115245	116715	129175	167129	198417	227924	159240	126186
Percentage SSA Students	***1.48%***	***1.35%***	***1.19%***	***1.19%***	***1.09%***	***0.98%***	***0.85%***	***1.01%***	***0.85%***

Source: DIAC Published Statistics Student Visa, Offshore Statistics 2002-2011.

2.9 Migrants Characteristics: Sub-Saharan Africans by visa entry

Figure 2.5 shows visa types of settler arrivals by country of birth for top source countries from Sub-Saharan Africa. Between 1991 and 2001, 50 percent of all settler arrivals from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia arrived on humanitarian visas, whereas 31 percent arrived on skilled visas and the remaining 19 percent arrived on family reunion visas (DIAC Movement Database statistics, 2011). Skilled migrants are mostly found from countries that were former British colonies such as Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. For Ghana the predominant mode of migration has been family reunion. Jupp (2001; 745) explains that West African migration began in the 1970's when commonwealth sponsored student migrants were unable to return to West Africa due to unrest. For this reason, West African migration may be more established than other groups leading to an ability to sponsor the next generation of migrants.

Figure 2.5 Visa Type at Time of Arrival, selected Sub-Saharan African countries



Source: DIAC, Settlement Database –www.immi.gov.au. Published statistics.

2.10 Sub-Saharan African Migration by Sex

Table 2.2 reveals the sex ratios' of migrant groups by country of birth for Sub-Saharan Africans. African migration to Australia has been identified overall as one that is male dominated (Hugo, 2009), and this is consistent with other global studies that show that in general the international migration out of Africa is male dominated (Donato et al, 2011). However, the statistics show female dominated migration from some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Scholars, (Donato et al, 2011; Piper 2008; Oishi, 2005) indicate that gendered migration flows are quite diverse, especially in terms of nationalities. Oishi (2005; 171 – 175), for example, shows that within Asia, despite similarities of economic conditions between countries some nations are more likely to encourage female migration while others do not. She explains that the differences in migration patterns are based on national policies within the origin countries, as well as the rate of women's autonomy, their decision-making power and how society perceives women in migration as major factors influencing the migration of women. Although there are some clear differences in sex ratios by nationalities, it is difficult to make any inference as to whether there are any major in country differences because of the small numbers of migrants per country.

Some nationalities that have significant female migration include: Congo, Liberia, Burundi, Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia. This is seen in the visa category of migration with high levels of humanitarian migrants. The female led migration is as a result of acceptance of refugees from Africa under the 'Women at Risk' program. Among groups with high levels of skilled migrant groups, migration still tends to be more male dominated, although there are some nationalities with high female migration patterns among skilled migrant groups such as Seychelles and Botswana.

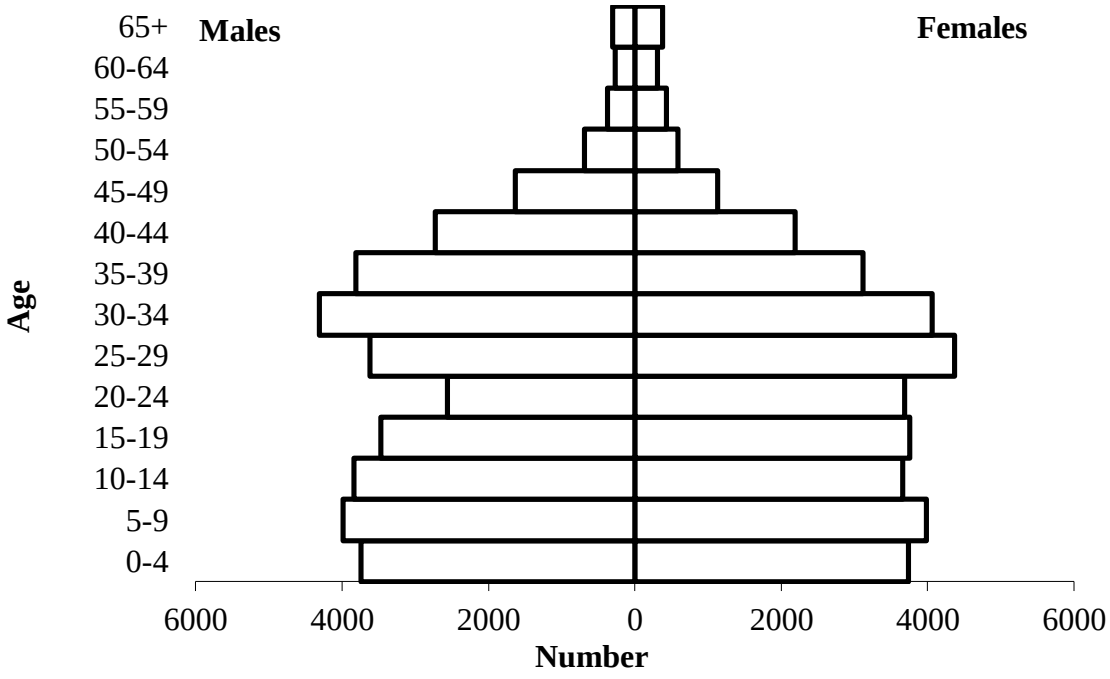
Table 2.3 Sex Ratios for Sub-Saharan African Settler Arrivals, 1991-2011

	SETTLER ARRIVALS			
COUNTRY OF BIRTH	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	***SEX RATIO***
BENIN	31	*24*	55	*129*
BURKINA FASO	6	*6*	12	*100*
CAMEROON	78	*68*	146	*115*
CAPE VERDE	3	*2*	5	*150*
CENTRAL & WEST AFRICA NI	10	*10*	20	*100*
CHAD	11	*9*	20	*122*
CONGO	498	*421*	919	*118*
CONGO, DEM REPUBLIC	1230	*1262*	2492	*97*
COTE D IVOIRE	252	*284*	536	*89*
GABON	5	*4*	9	*125*
GAMBIA	27	*12*	39	*225*
GHANA	1268	*1368*	2636	*93*
GUINEA	395	*429*	824	*92*
GUINEA - BISSAU	4	*3*	7	*133*
LIBERIA	1535	*1757*	3292	*87*
MALI	7	*7*	14	*100*
MAURITANIA	29	*21*	50	*138*
NIGER	69	*60*	129	*115*
NIGERIA	1289	*1012*	2301	*127*
SAO-TOME AND PRINCIPE	0	*2*	2	*100*
SENEGAL	100	*61*	161	*164*
SIERRA LEONE	1832	*1790*	3622	*102*
TOGO	161	*156*	317	*103*
ZAIRE	56	*39*	95	*144*
STH & EAST AFRICA NFD	34	*44*	78	*77*
ANGOLA	56	*44*	100	*127*
BOTSWANA	389	*396*	785	*98*
BURUNDI	907	*932*	1839	*97*
COMOROS	7	*5*	12	*140*
DJIBOUTI	55	*57*	112	*96*
ERITREA	1167	*1187*	2354	*98*
ETHIOPIA	3926	*4104*	8030	*96*
FORMER ETHIOPIA	1015	*922*	1937	*110*
KENYA	3825	*3826*	7651	*100*
LESOTHO	23	*23*	46	*100*
MADAGASCAR	32	*45*	77	*71*
MALAWI	215	*201*	416	*107*
MOZAMBIQUE	161	*139*	300	*116*
NAMIBIA	302	*274*	576	*110*
REUNION ISLAND	16	*20*	36	*80*
RWANDA	293	*327*	620	*90*
ST HELENA	3	*4*	7	*75*
SEYCHELLES	176	*236*	412	*75*
SOMALIA	3337	*3581*	6918	*93*
SUDAN	15159	*13036*	28195	*116*
SWAZILAND	54	*67*	121	*81*
TANZANIA	1048	*966*	2014	*108*
UGANDA	861	*861*	1722	*100*
ZAMBIA	960	*891*	1851	*108*
ZIMBABWE	7217	*6907*	14124	*104*
SUB -SAHARAN AFRICA	**50134**	**47902**	**98036**	*105*

Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

Figure 2.6 shows the age -sex structure of settler arrivals, and indicates that migration from Sub-Saharan Africa is relatively young, which is a reflection of Australia's immigration policy (Hugo, 2009). Although the sex ratio indicates that most of the migration from Sub-Saharan Africa is male dominated, a closer examination of the age – sex structure of Sub-Saharan African settler arrivals to Australia from 1991 – 2011 reveals some interesting trends. Most notably, there is significant feminised migration stream among younger age groups, especially for women from ages 20 to 30 years old. The age specific gendered differences in migration flows reflect an increasing feminisation of migration streams to Australia in recent years from Sub-Saharan Africa as documented by (Hugo, 2009). The migration of young people is due largely to students and skilled migrants migrating to take positions in work such as nursing.

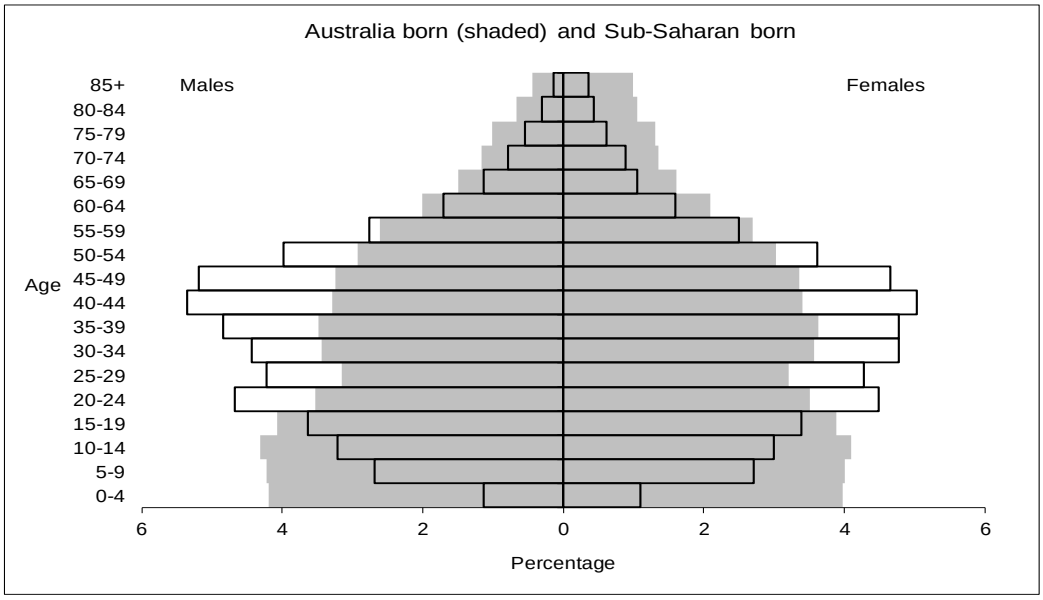
Figure 2.6 Age-Sex Pyramid Settler Arrivals, Sub-Saharan Africans, 1991-2011



Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

The age–sex structure of Sub-Saharan Africans and the general Australian population at the time of the 2006 Census is shown in Figure 2.7. The Sub –Saharan African population (shown in lighter shades) reveals that the Sub-Saharan African population is concentrated within the 20 to 59 age group. The age structure also accounts for older stocks of migrants including those of European ancestry who migrated to Australia from Africa after many African countries gained independence.

Figure 2.7 Age Sex Structure: Percentage Sub-Saharan Africans and the Australian Born at 2006 Census



Source: ABS, 2006 Census

2.11 Educational Characteristics of Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia

Table 2.4 shows educational characteristics of Sub-Saharan African migrants based on the highest school completed at the time of the 2006 census. The statistics reveal that 35 percent of female migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa did not go to school at all. This reflects the years of war, poverty and political instability and the terrible effect it has on refugees their ability to gain human capital skills. Adepoju (1989, 223) discusses the tragedy of the African refugee problem and how it is a major challenge to

provide access to more than just the basics of food, shelter and clothing for refugees. As a result, significant numbers of African refugees have never had a chance to gain an education. This poses a large challenge for resettlement especially in an industrialized country like Australia where literacy skills are important for day-to- day living.

Table 2.4 Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia: Education highest year of school completed by sex

Education - Highest Year of School Completed	Percentage Males (n= 45339)	Percentage Females (n = 43229)
Year 12 or equivalent	39.7	20.6
Year 11 or equivalent	10.7	17.7
Year 10 or equivalent	3.4	3.1
Year 9 or equivalent	3.8	2.1
Year 8 or below	2.3	2.6
Did not go to school	21.9	35.3
Not stated	2.0	2.3
Not applicable	16.2	16.4
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

Table 2.5 shows the post school qualifications of the Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia at the 2006 census, and close to 30 percent of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia had a diploma level of education or above.

Table 2.5 Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia, post school qualifications
Source: ABS Census 2006.

QALLP Non-School Qualification: Level of Education	Percent Male (n = 45336)	Percent Female (n = 43233)
Postgraduate Degree Level	5.9	2.9
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level	1.1	1.6
Bachelor Degree Level	15.1	13.5
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	9.5	11.1
Certificate Level	12.1	8.3
Level of education inadequately described	1.8	1.9
Level of education not stated	6.4	7.6
Not applicable	48.1	53.1
Total	**100.0**	**100**

2.12 Occupational characteristics of Sub-Saharan Africans to Australia

A major focal point of this study is the employment status and occupational concentration of Sub-Saharan African Migration to Australia. An analysis of employment and labour force participation of the Sub-Saharan African women is discussed in Chapter five. This section shows the major characteristics of Sub-Saharan Africans in relation to work status and occupational characteristics based on the 2006 census statistics.

Table 2.6 shows that within the Sub-Saharan African community the participation rates for men were higher than for women with just over 50 percent of Sub-Saharan African men in employment and only 40 percent of women , with a considerable number of women working part-time.

Table 2.6 Sub-Saharan Africans and Australian Total Population: Employment Status by sex, 2006 Census

	Sub-Saharan Africans		**Australia Total Population**	
Employment Status	Percent Female n = 43226	Percent Male n=45339	Percent Female n=8140166	Percent Male n=7777910
Employed, worked full-time	20.6	39.7	25.4	48.4
Employed, worked part-time	17.7	10.7	22.7	10.8
Employed, away from work	3.1	3.4	3.5	4.0
Unemployed, looking for full-time work	2.1	3.8	1.4	2.5
Unemployed, looking for part-time work	2.6	2.3	1.5	0.9
Not in the labour force	35.3	21.9	39.4	26.5
Missing	18.6	18.1	6.2	6.9
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: ABS, Census 2006

The comparison of work status between Sub-Saharan Africans and the Total Australian population is also shown in Table 2.6, and the percentage of those working among the Sub-Saharan African community was lower than the Australian population as a whole, although the differences are seen more strongly for Sub-Saharan African men than women.

The occupational concentration of Sub-Saharan African women at the 2006 Census is shown in Table 2.7 indicating that over 15 percent of Sub-Saharan African women were working in managerial and professional jobs and were more likely to be concentrated in clerical and administrative jobs as well as community and personal service jobs. Men were more likely to be found working as labourers and machine operators.

Table 2.7 Occupational Concentration of Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia, 2006

Sub -Saharan African Occupation (ANZSCO)	Percentage Female	Percentage Male
Managers	3.2	8.0
Professionals	12.8	13.9
Technicians and Trades Workers	1.5	7.9
Community and Personal Service Workers	6.9	3.4
Clerical and Administrative Workers	8.9	3.2
Sales Workers	3.1	2.7
Machinery Operators And Drivers	0.4	5.8
Labourers	3.8	7.4
Inadequately described	0.3	0.7
Not stated	0.5	0.8
Not applicable	58.6	46.1
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: ABS Census 2006

This chapter has detailed the characteristics of Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia. It shows the relative newness of African migration to Australia as well as the small size of the Sub-Saharan population in Australia. The chapter also shows the predominance of humanitarian migration. Although in general migration from Sub-Saharan Africa is male dominated, there are significant numbers of female migrants especially among the young. There were also significant proportions of African migrants with very low levels of education and the majority was not in the workforce.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

There is a consensus that there is no single general migration theory that can fully explain international migration (Arango, 2000, Castles, 2010; Brettell and Hollifield, 2008; Lutz, 2010, Portes, 2010). Castles (2010; 1565) argues that a general theory of migration is neither possible nor even desirable given the complex nature of international migration today. Most traditional migration theories were developed during the industrial era and to some extent reflect the social economic structures of the time (Massey et al, 1998; Castles 2010). With the increasing complexity of international migration, the interconnectedness and variability of migration streams in today's world, and the profound social changes that migration brings to society, it is not prudent to have a singular migration theory. Castles calls for 'mid-range theories' that help integrate and give insights into the regularities and variations of a range of migratory processes within a given context (Castles, 2010, 1582).

The field of migration studies is also moving away from traditional theories that focus only upon why people move, to an interest in theorising other important areas such as the consequences of international migration. As Arango (2000) explains

> The time seems to have come to switch the bulk of theoretical attention away from the causes and into other dimensions of migration which are of paramount interest…. These include the processes and consequences, including modes of migrant incorporation and societal transformations associated with international migration; the unsettled relationship between migration and development…; social structures including family and kinship ties; emerging processes of transnationalism and their implications; the state and political context in which migration takes place… In addition refugees traditionally overlooked on account of the exclusionary emphasis on voluntary migration have to be included as essential actors in the theoretical explanation of migration. (Arango 2000; 293 - 294)

This chapter focuses on explaining the conceptual framework that has informed this study. The chapter draws from existing literature as well as drawing on various theoretical frameworks on gender and migration to create a framework to examine post-settlement experiences of migrants in society.

3.2 Reviewing Gender and Migration Theories

Over the years there have been few attempts to incorporate gender into migration theory. Chant (1992) maintained that traditional theories on migration do not have much to say on gender and goes on to incorporate a gendered analysis on the major traditional conceptual frameworks of migration (neo-classical, behavioural, structuralist, and household strategies) exhorting the importance of relating migration theory to gender roles and gender relations within different cultural and economic contexts.

Chant (1992, 201) critiques neoclassical theories by explaining that although both men and women migrate for economic reasons from areas of low to high employment potential, the migration of women and indeed even that of men, affects only certain groups of women, mainly young women. As a result, neoclassical theories cannot be generalised for all populations. Chant and Radcliff (1992, 18) also critique neoclassical approaches for making oversimplified statements and relying only on economic data to justify the wage –rate differentials that cause migration without examining other household or cultural factors that may be responsible for migration.

The other theory critiqued is behavioural theory which focuses on the cultural and ideological reasons behind migration. Chant and Radcliff (1992, 18) argue that although behavioural theories take into consideration the cultural differences that cause different migration flows, they are often not able to be generalised outside the

particular area or society under which they are studied. In regards to structuralist theories which pay attention to global perspectives and how global structures shape international migration, Chant (1992) further critiques them for ignoring individual reasons for migration.

However, Chant (1992) favours a household strategies approach which, she explains, considers gender roles and relations in migration. This approach pays attention to the organisation of productive and reproductive labour within households, which she sees as critical to explaining who moves and who stays. The Household strategies approach also explains the divisions of power and who makes decisions between adult males and females within a cultural context, as well as how power relations have an effect on migration (Chant, 1992, 201). Although the household strategies approach is an effective model in explaining concepts in gender selective mobility, it is difficult to undertake any meaningful research project using the framework as there are too many variables that need to be considered (Chant, 1992, 202).

The other important framework in the study of gender and migration has been Saskia Sassen's "*Countergeographies of Globalisation and the Feminisation of Survival*". Sassen (2000, 2001) links the increasing international migration of women to globalisation and how it has affected economies in developing countries, especially with the incorporation of structural adjustment programs. She also explains that structural adjustment programs introduced to developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s saw the elimination of state subsidies, the opening up of developing nations to globalisation and foreign firms, as well as the replacement of traditional agriculture for the large scale export of cash crops. This led to the demise of small scale industries which were taken over by multinational corporations, leading to widespread unemployment and in turn leading to governments losing a vital tax and capital base.

The result of the structural adjustment programs was that as many men lost their jobs, governments began to feel the pressure of the declining economies and increasing debt. Since governments needed foreign currency, they encouraged women into the international labour force to generate alternative sources of income (Sassen, 2000).

Although Sassen's theory is important in explaining how structural adjustment programs had an effect in some Asian countries leading to significant international migration of women out of Asia. They did not have the same effects in Sub-Saharan Africa, and they have been credited for the increased international migration of men from Sub-Saharan Africa (Adepoju, 2008). Africa for example, did not benefit from the large scale manufacturing economy that was a major driver of international migration of women in Asia (Chant and Radcliff, 1992; Oishi, 2005). As a result, migration flows of women out of Africa have been lower than those of women in other parts of the world (Piper, 2005).

Another influential theoretical concept on gender and migration has been put forward by Boyd and Greico (2003). Their framework stresses the importance of understanding how gender relations, roles and hierarchies as well as structural factors influence migration in different stages of the migration process, including the pre-migration stage, the transition across state boundaries and the post-migration stage of settlement. The idea of examining migration from a migration stage perspective differentiates this framework.

In the pre-migration stage, Boyd and Greico (2003,2) advocate the importance of understanding not only the gender relations, hierarchies, and the power structures within society and how they influence migration, but they also advocate the importance of understanding women's roles, status and lifecycle and how that

influences migration flows. In order to understand the major push factors that drive migration they explain there needs to be an understanding of structural factors that can influence gender specific migration flows. These include how the origin societies economy is structured, the labour market conditions in the origin country, the conditions of work, the ability of the country to provide jobs and related infrastructure such as education and job training, language, the incorporation of the sending economy in the global economy, and the presence and absence of established migration systems with other areas.

The second stage of Boyd and Greico's framework (2003, 3) is the transition between state boundaries. In this stage, the role of migration policy and immigration regulations in allowing for the exit and entry of migrants is examined. Immigration regulations in destination countries influence migration in various ways. For example, when they assign women as 'dependent' they peg women in a family role, while men are 'independent' migrants acknowledges the importance of men in a market role. Stereotypical images in the destination society will influence women's jobs and roles and the type of work in which women are involved.

The third stage of the Boyd and Greico (2003, 3) framework examines the post-migration experiences of women. Here they explain that migration outcomes are influenced by three factors, the impact of entry status on the ability to integrate and settle, the patterns of incorporation into the job market and the impact of migration on the status of women and men.

Although Boyd and Greico's framework is comprehensive in examining all elements of gender and migration, this study contends that it misses a crucial link, which is the influence of transnational practices and how they influence the settlement of migrants.

As more is understood about migrant transnational practices, there is recognition that these practices have an effect on migrant assimilation and adaptation in destination societies (Portes et al, 1999).

Another major theoretical framework on gender and migration that this study borrows from is that of Mahler and Pessar (2001, 2006); Pessar and Mahler (2003), who have incorporated gender into a transnational framework which they term '*Gendered Geographies of Power Framework'*. Donato et al (2006, 6) explains that this is a useful framework because it expands the analysis of migration from earlier models where gender analysis was limited to the individual migrant's lives, their families or households to analysing the entire migration process, which is viewed as gendered. As a result the framework incorporates not only the individual frameworks but also local factors at point of origin, societal factors in the host countries, global structures and the policies that govern migration, as well as the workplaces of women in order to give a fuller understanding of migration.

The 'Gendered Geographies of Power' has four pillars. The first explains that gender operates in different spatial, social or cultural scales which are termed as 'Geographical scales' explaining that gender operates at an individual level, the family level and at the nation or state level (Pessar and Mahler 2003, 815). The second pillar, 'social location,' acknowledges that each individual's migrants' position is shaped by social stratifying criteria be they historical, political or economic. This layer explains that migrants', gender, class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality are important factors that affect an individual's social location in society (Pessar and Mahler, 2003, 816). These factors position people and influence the way they think and act; they conclude that migrants irrespective of their own efforts are situated in 'power hierarchies that they have not constructed' (Mahler and Pessar, 2001, 446).

The third building block of the ‘ Geographies of Power’ framework examines the , ‘Power Geometries’ or the individual agency that people or migrants exert given their social locations. This pillar is drawn from work by Massey (1994, 149) who examines how migrants initiative, their access to resources and mobility influences their ability to migrate (Pessar and Mahler 2003, 817). Social agency also refers to the ability of migrants to shape and refine their social locations. By giving an example of remittances, they explain the importance of understanding how social relations are negotiated between remitters and recipients and what effect sending or receiving of remittances has on gender relations or gendered divisions of labour (Pessar and Mahler, 2003, 817). The fourth pillar examines individual characteristics of migrants and how their individual agency influences their decision to migrate or their migration outcomes (Pessar and Mahler 2003, 817).

Although the ‘*Geographies of Power framework’* is quite comprehensive, it is a complex framework and it would be difficult to incorporate all the layers of analysis, pillars and frameworks it presents into a single research project. There is also a need to deconstruct some the pillars presented within the framework. A major focus of this study is the examination of migration based on mode of entry, signifying the importance of skilled migration flows within contemporary international migration. This study argues that when an analysis is undertaken on the migration of skilled migration it challenges the ideas that class, race, sexuality and ethnicity are important factors that affect the settlement of migrants.

The ideas of gender, class, race, and ethnicity are especially prevalent and seen as central in studies of gender and migration. Lutz (2010) reports that this is due to the fact that feminist literature in the 1980s, fuelled by an intensely politicised debate by ‘black feminist studies’, argued that gender could not be separated from race, class and

ethnicity, and that migrant women of colour were triply disadvantaged by virtue of migrant status and gender as well as race, class and ethnicity. Since then the interrelationships between gender, race, class and ethnicity termed 'intersectionality' (Yuval-Davis, 2006), are an important layer in studies of gender and migration. This study does not in any way diminish that race, class and ethnicity have historically had an important effect on the migration and settlement of persons of different ancestry. For example, one would just have to look at the history of slavery and people of African ancestry and other coloured minorities. Instead, this study argues that in contemporary international migration, the global competition for skilled labour transcends, race, class, ethnicity or nationality. There is thus a need to rethink 'intersectionality' as an important classification in understanding migrant settlement.

3.3 The Conceptual Framework

Figure 3.1 shows the conceptual framework used in this study to understand the migration and settlement of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia. Massey et al (1998; 281) argue that for a theoretical account of migration to be satisfactory there must be an understanding of four basic elements. The first is the treatment of the structural forces promoting emigration in origin countries, structural factors enabling immigrants at the destination; the third is the consideration of the motivations, goals and aspirations of those who migrate. The last element is an analysis of the social and economic structures that form and connect areas of outward and inward migration.

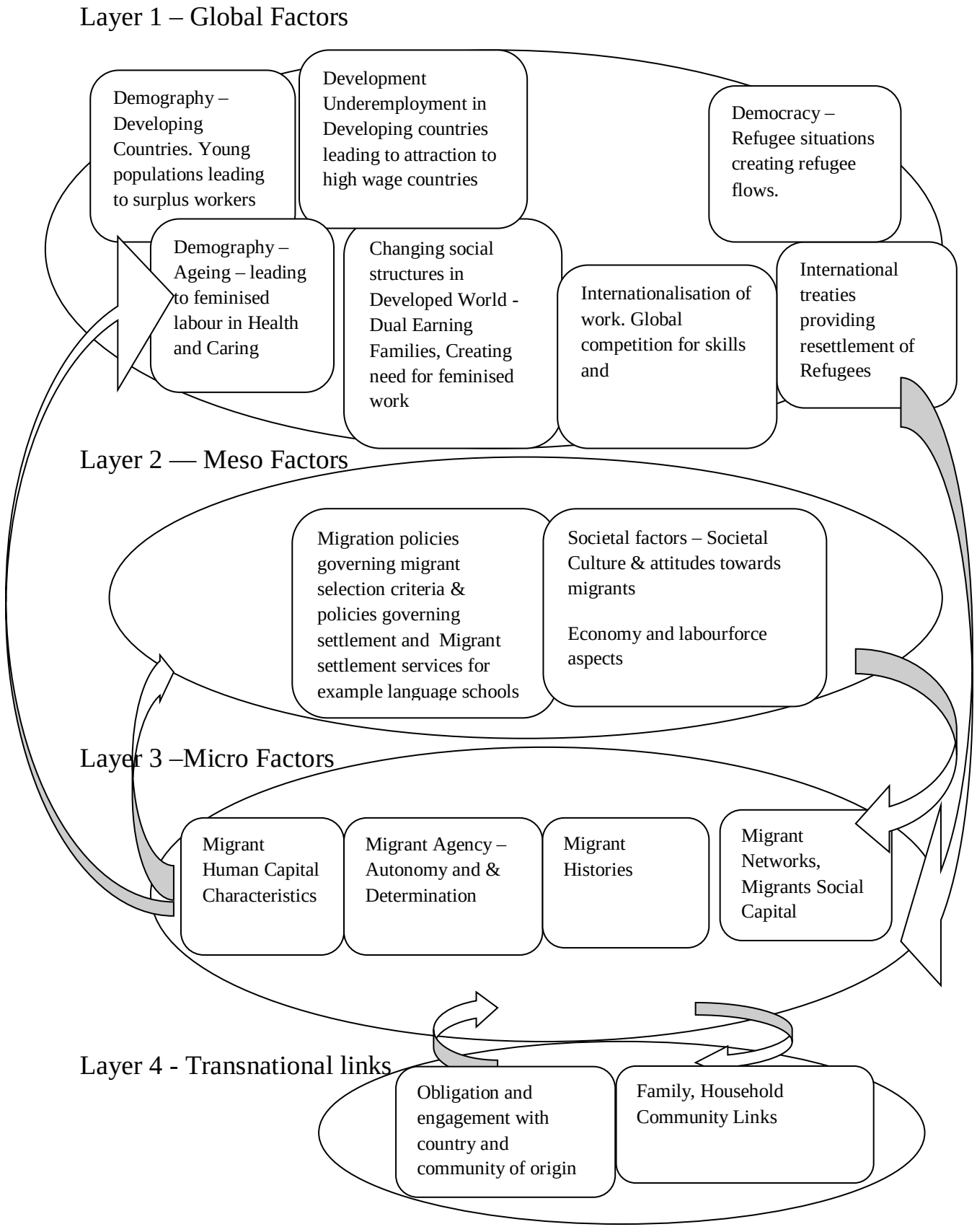
With no consensus on a general migration theory, researchers have to draw on a multiplicity of theories and frameworks in order to guide their research. As a result most migration research in the last decade uses integrated frameworks (Goss and Lindquist 1995, Jennissen, 2007), to gain a comprehensive understanding of migration.

One of the most influential ways in which this has been done is an adaptation of a migration systems approach. Fawcett and Arnold (1987, 678) explain that the migration systems approach is the combination of different ideas in which none of the concepts are intrinsically new. This framework provides a broad context under which research can take place, examining the different linkages and networks within a particular migration system. Most migration studies in the last decade have incorporated a Macro-Meso-Micro framework in analysing migration (Oishi, 2005; Parker, 2010; Lutz, 2010).

This study adopts the migration system approach as shown in Figure 3.1 which incorporates four levels of analysis examining migration from a macro (global perspective), meso (societal perspective) and micro level (individual) and adding a transnational perspective as the fourth level in explaining migrant settlement. In the 1990's, researchers started paying attention to the increasing involvement of migrants living between their host and origin countries.

Portes (1999, 217) explains that transnationalism has been especially important because it has challenged what was understood in immigration literature about migrant adaptation. Transnationalism acknowledges that as migrants assimilate in the host country, they are able to have identities in two localities and this has significant implications for migrant settlement, for both host and origin countries (Portes, 1999).

Figure 3.1 Conceptual Framework used in the study of settlement of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia



3.3.1 Global Factors

The first layer of the conceptual framework for this study examines the global factors that influence the migration and settlement of African women in Australia as shown in Figure 3.1. Traditional theories on international migration focus on the structural reasons for the global movement of people and often have important insights into what fuels international migration at a macro level. As seen earlier, neo-classical migration theories focus on the differences in wage rates between countries which are seen as drivers of migration with migrants moving from low wage areas to higher wage areas (Massey et al, 1998; Arango, 2000; Jennissen, 2007). Dual labour market theory focuses on the fact that developed economies demand foreign labour to fill skill shortages, especially in areas that native workers are unwilling to fill (Jennissen, 2007; Massey et al, 1998; Arango 2000). The new economics of labour migration theory, expresses migration within a household context, with the sending of migrants to work in foreign lands seen as a way in which households can diversify their income through migrant remittances. The diversification of labour sources with migrant labour helps to cushion the families when there are shortages (Massey et al, 1998; Arango, 2000; Jennisen, 2007). World systems theory, argues the penetration of capitalist economic relationships to non-capitalist societies created a mobile population as capitalist firms entered poor nations in search of raw materials, labour and consumer markets, international migration emerged as a natural outgrowth of the disruptions of capitalist development (Massey et al, 1998). These theories are however silent on the migration of women.

There is now a wide literature on the global and structural reasons fuelling the migration of women from developing countries to developed countries (Sassen, 2000; Boyd, 2006; King et al, 2004; Piper, 2005; Oishi, 2005). Demographic pressures, a

lack of development and poverty as well as a search for democracy referring to conflicts and refugee situations have traditionally been seen as the major factors that fuel migration out of developing countries (Piper, 2007). Boyd (2006, 29) however, explains that this traditional model of explaining the reasons behind migration needs to be qualified. Although it is true demographic pressures are often linked to high birth rates that create a surplus of workers, poverty and natural calamities, political instability and gender inequalities lead to women making decisions to migrate, they are often just a catalyst for the migration. Boyd (2006:30) explains that the migration of women is unlikely to occur in absolute poverty and it is only when basic conditions of migration are favorable that migrants search for a better livelihood. Much of the migration occurs among women who are at some level of economic development, have some education, and have an increasing knowledge about the international opportunities for women.

On the migrant receiving end, the demographic pressures fuelling migration are an increasing ageing population and a need for replacement labour. The ageing population and its attendant health needs have also created the need for an aged care industry (Hugo, 2007). The entrance of women in developed countries into the labour force creating dual earning families have created positions for migrant women to take up work in the area of domestic work and in childcare creating a global chain of care (Lutz, 2010, Hochshield 2000, Andall, 2000, Piper, 2005). Other niches for migrant women in developed countries include enterprise cleaning services, working in hotels, restaurants and catering, as well as in community services, advocacy and as mediation intercultural specialists (Chammartin; 2006).

Most of the literature on immigrant women concentrates on the migration of women into semi-skilled and unskilled work, however there is now a growing literature on the

international migration of skilled women (Kofman, 2000, Iredale, 2005, Kofman and Raghuram, 2006). Kofman and Raghuram (2006) explain that neo-liberal policies in the 1980's saw some western governments reduce expenditure in the training of doctors, nurses, teachers and by the 1990's there were serious labour shortages creating a need for skilled migrants in these areas. Many of these jobs are now filled by women in developing countries who are then recruited to meet the shortfalls of funding in developed nations.

There is little empirical research that has been carried out on the international migration of women out of Sub-Saharan Africa (Adepoju, 2009, Naude, 2010). Most researchers cite economic reasons, refugee and conflict situations as well as demographic pressures as the major reasons fuelling migration out of the region (Hatton and Williamson, 2003, Adepoju, 2009, Naude, 2010). The literature on migration out of the continent, however, concentrates on the migration of highly skilled professionals' especially academic field; scientists, engineers and health workers doctors and nurses (Adepoju, 2009). One of the major flows of skilled workers out of Africa has been that of nurses and this has been a largely female led migration. An example given by Adepoju (2009, 213) shows the extent of the flow claiming that in which in June 1990, there were over 5000 nurses in Nigeria who undertook interviews to leave Nigeria for the United States. However, there is little mention in the literature on African women who are involved in unskilled labour migration out of the region, studies on migrants in domestic work, such as Andall (2000) and Parrenas (2001) do show that there is a presence of Sub-Saharan African women in literature on domestic work in Europe but it is difficult to quantify. There are also migration streams of women from Sub-Saharan Africa undertaking domestic labour in the Middle East, however the extent of this migration has not be quantified in

literature and what is known about this migration stream is often through the eyes of popular media (Global voices online, 2012).

Chapter One has already detailed that one of the major flows of women out of Sub-Saharan Africa is the growing resettlement of refugee women to Western countries. This migration stream did not begin until the 1990's when refugees who had previously been excluded from resettlement to western countries were added into refugee flows for resettlement to Western countries (Sandvik, 2010).

3.3.1 Meso–Societal factors.

3.3.1.1 Migration and Settlement policy

> The mode of entry and migration country often defines the women's place within the labour market. Government immigration policies in regards to visas and mode of entry for women often dictate how they enter the labour force. Entry status determine residency and employment rights as well as access to other entitlements important to labour force entry such as language training, job training, income security programs and the capacity to gain legal citizenships quickly (Boyd; 2003,5)

The second layer of the conceptual framework is the importance of the Meso or societal factors that influence the attraction of migrants and the settlement of migrants in developed countries. Examining migrants in society cannot be separated from the countries societal policies that govern intake of migrants as well as settlement services to assist migrants (Boyd and Greico, 2003; Hugo, 2004; Iredale et al, 2004; Piper, 2005, Hawthorn 2005). Wooden et al (1994, 280) explain that intake policies govern, numbers of migrants, timing, composition of the migrants and rules that affect settlement intake. In Australia, the number of migrants accepted is often controlled by the social and economic forces that are present at the time with Australia's government rules flexible responding to changes as required (Cully and Pejoski, 2012).

3.3.1.2 Philosophy behind settlement policy within Australia.

Settlement policy in Australia is often guided by a broader philosophy that dictates the underlying principles of the policy. Holton and Sloan (1994, 312) and Jupp (2000) show that over the years, the philosophy and objectives of immigrant settlement have changed with different flows of migrants to Australia and their changing needs. The philosophy behind migrant settlement changed from assimilation policies in the early post war decades, in which settlement services were geared to ensure that migrants conformed to maintain the very 'British Nature' of Australia and migrants were not supposed to stand out in any way from the majority of the population (Jupp, 2000). Under assimilation, the extent of settlement programs included provision of hostel accommodation on arrival, counselling of migrants and a limited provision for English language tuition (Holton and Sloan, 1994). However, as Australia accepted more migrants from Non-English Speaking backgrounds, settlement policy philosophy moved from assimilation, to integration in the 1960's. Integration recognised that migrants could settle without losing their cultural identity. There was therefore an acceptance of some aspects of migrant culture, such as the acceptance of expressions of culture like food and folklore, aspects that did not affect the dominant culture. In regards to settlement services, these were expanded and ethnic organisations were given a bigger role in assisting migrants with settlement (Burnett, 1998, Jupp, 2002, Koleth, 2010).

In the 1970s, Multiculturalism was adopted as a policy framework that recognised the cultural diversity of Australia (Koleth, 2010). The Galbally report of 1978 is seen as the watershed document on Australia's multicultural policy (Koleth, 2010). This report emphasised the improvement of settlement services for migrants, such as increased funding for English language training, increased funding for multicultural

activities and multicultural resource centres to cater for the welfare of migrants, assistance with overseas qualifications, expansion of on arrival accommodation and orientation, as well as interpreting and translating services (Jupp, 2002). Indeed, Australia's multicultural policies have been credited for being quite successful as they had a strong interest in migrant settlement (Jupp, 2002, Smolicz and Secombe, 2005). The main pillars of Multiculturalism; include the importance of recognising the diversity of culture among the Australian population; equal opportunity for migrants in all spheres as well as the provision of adequate services for migrants (Koleth, 2010; Boese and Philips, 2011).

Despite the very good intentions of Multiculturalism to create an equitable society, recent studies of newly settled refugee migrants show that refugee migrants are still disproportionally found among the poor and disadvantaged in Australia (Hugo et al, 2012). This has given rise to further calls to redefine settlement policy as it affects humanitarian migrants under the banner of 'social inclusion' (ASIB, 2008). The core aims of the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda are to reduce disadvantage by ensuring that there is funding and service delivery that promotes equitable access to universal benefits and services for all Australians. This is done by making sure that additional investments are made more intensively for those at risk of experiencing disadvantage (ASIB, 2008, 2009). Once refugees are included within a social inclusion framework, it is expected that better funding will be focused and allocated to assist humanitarian migrants get jobs, target young people at risk of disadvantage as well as allocate resources to promote better community relations between the wider Australian community (Hugo et al, 2012).

3.3.1.3 Welfare policy and effects on migrant settlement.

Another major area of government policy intervention that impacts on migrant settlement in Western countries is government's role in the provision of welfare (Reitz, 2002, Junankar and Mahuteau, 2005, Chiswick and Miller, 2006). Within Australia, policy changes targeting welfare entitlements of migrants on arrival in the 1990's saw all permanent migrants, apart from humanitarian migrants, subject to a two year wait for any government entitlements. The impact of these changes was that it reduced benefit induced unemployment, and increased job searches of migrants immediately after arrival (Chiswick and Miller, 2006, 21). However, this has been seen to have a negative effect on settlement and labour force outcomes of skilled migrants who have to accept any job, rather than wait until they can accept work that matches their skills (Junankar and Mahuteau, 2005).

3.3.1.4 Other Host society factors

> The stance of host governments, the employers or labour markets, the surrounding native population and the characteristics of the pre-existing community are important aspects in the situation confronting new immigrants. Portes & Borocz (1989, 618)

It has been demonstrated above that government policy in the selection of migrants and the provision of services has an impact on the settlement of migrants. Another factor that impacts on migrant settlement is the attitude of the host society about migrants. Reinz (2002) and Portes & Borocz (1989) explain that the reception and attitudes towards migrants by the society has an impact on their employment outcomes. They argue that if migrants are stereotyped as being unsuitable for jobs, or suitable for only menial jobs, it can cause them to be designated into these jobs. Within Australia, societal racism and migrant discrimination have been associated with

migrant underemployment among African and Asian refugee migrant groups (Tilbury and Colic-Peiskar, 2006, 2007).

The economic situation within the host country and its ability to absorb migrants is another important factor that influences migrant settlement. Wooden et al (1994) and Burnett (1998) show that as Western countries have gone through structural changes since the 1990s, there has been a reduction in labour intensive and manufacturing jobs. Migrants who are often low skilled with little education who dominate these industries often suffered high rates of unemployment. Chiswick and Miller (2006, 12) show that during periods of recession, unemployment rates for immigrants are often higher than the native born. In recent years, the global financial crisis of 2007 – 2008 adversely affected humanitarian migrants in Australia and there were higher rates of unemployment among these migrants during that time (FECCA, 2009, Hugo, 2009).

3.3.2 Migrant women and work in Australia

There is now also a considerable literature on labour force outcomes of migrant women in Australia (Wooden and VandenHeuvel 1997, 2000; Cobb-Clark 2003, 2006; Cobb-Clark and Connolly 2001; Anh Le Tram, 2006). The literature has been excellently reviewed by Foroutan (2008) and Haque and Haque (2008). The following section details some of the key research findings on Australia's migrant labour force outcomes since 1990. There is an emphasis on the major factors that have been seen to impact on women's labour force participation and reviews studies largely from the 1990's because they reflect the context under which the majority of Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia began (Hugo, 2001).

It is also important from the outset to note some significant changes in Australia's migration policy in the 1990's. These changes in the selection of immigrants have

helped shape and characterise the selection and labour market outcomes for migrants (Cobb-Clark 2002). The changes included increased importance given to skilled migration as opposed to family migration in the mid 1990's (Cobb-Clark and Connolly, 1997, Richardson et al, 2001). Another major policy change in Australia was the introduction of temporary skilled migration visas that allowed migrants to migrate temporarily for work (Khoo, Voigt-Graf, Hugo and McDonald, 2002). While Another fundamental change was that migrants were allowed to apply onshore for permanent residence, allowing those on temporary visas who had met residency and work requirements, as well as former overseas students to apply for Australian permanent residency on completion of their studies (Birrell et al, 2006).

Apart from the direct changes in the selection of migrants there were other significant changes in the 1990s in Australia's social security system that influenced migrant settlement. Most newly arrived immigrants apart from refugees were not able to access social security payments immediately on arrival putting pressure on migrants to find jobs as soon as they arrived in Australia (Chiswick and Miller, 2006, Junankar and Mahuteau, 2005). All these changes not only affected the selection criteria of migrants to Australia but were geared to improving human capital endowments of new settlers to Australia. Their consequences have had a significant and positive impact on the labour market outcomes of immigrants in Australia since the 1990's (Hawthorne 2005).

Since the 1990s, research on migrant settlement and outcomes for international migrants coming to Australia were captured in the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA). The LSIA studies (VandenHeuvel and Wooden, 1999; Richardson et al, 2001, Richardson et al, 2002, Richardson et al, 2004) are heralded as important, especially in the respect to labour market outcomes for migrants because

they give an understanding on the immigrant settlement process over time and show differences in selection criteria (visa categories) (Cobb-Clark, 2001) By researching different cohorts of immigrants it was found that different selection policies affect the labour market outcomes of the migrants.

The LSIA research followed 3 different cohorts of migrants. The first group of 5192 immigrants had arrived in Australia between September 1993 and August 1995. The second group of 3124 migrants arrived between September 1999 and August 2000 and the third group of 9865 immigrants were granted visas between December 2004 and March 2005. Each group of immigrants was interviewed more than once, the first group interviewed 6 months after arrival, at 18 months after arrival and again after 42 months. The second group and third groups were interviewed in two waves, 6 months after arrival and again after 18 months (DIAC, LSIA).

Key literature based on LSIA gives a good indication of the general trends on migrant labour market experiences in Australia since the mid 1990's and is quoted extensively in this chapter. Researchers (Chapman and Cobb-Clark, 1999; VandenHeuvel and Wooden, 2000; Richardson et al, 2004; DIAC) show that in general, labour force participation for migrants improve in time for each cohort of migrants into Australia with the important exception of refugees. For example, participation rates for women who migrated between 1999 and 2000 are higher than those who had migrated in the early 1990's (Cobb-Clark, 2002; 671). Indeed, participation rates for migrants by the 2000's is quite high, analysis of the third group of LSIA migrants shows that 80 percent of skilled migrants whose visas were processed offshore, were participating in skilled jobs within 18 months of arrival as was also the case with 90 percent of skilled migrants accepted as business skilled migrants, employer nominated skilled migrants or those accepted under a regional skilled migration program. Among former student

migrants, 60 percent of them were in skilled jobs within 18 months of their permanent migration being effected (DIAC).

Another key finding from LSIA is that skilled and business migrants have an advantage getting jobs over humanitarian and family migrants when they first arrive in Australia. However, after an initial settlement period, participation rates for male migrants improve irrespective of the visa under which they migrated (Cobb Clark, 1999; 18), although this is not the case for female migrants and participation rates for women remain lower than that of men. For example, at the end of first LSIA study participation rates for men after 42 months is at 84 percent while for women the participation rate is 50 percent (VandenHeuvel and Wooden, 2000, 63). LSIA findings also conclude that low labour force participation rates are especially felt among refugees, especially women refugees, who continue to have very low levels of employment even in light of the improvement of labour market conditions and tightening of social security payments (Cobb-Clark, 2002). During the course of this study, the effects of the global financial crisis had a negative effect on refugee employment in Australia with refugees experiencing job losses (Hugo, 2010).

There are many arguments as to why women have lower labour force participation rates than men. Studies such as Ho's (2006) analysis of Chinese women in LSIA seem to confirm that migration negatively impacts women's labour force participation where women who had high participation prior to migration had lower levels in Australia. The two major reasons for the lower participation for women migrants is the fact that women are more likely to migrate under family visas mainly trailing men who have been accepted into Australia on the basis of their work and English language skills, and who go on to find employment easily, whereas women may not have the comparable language skills to find employment (Ho 2006, 502). Indeed, the lack of

English language skills has been proven to be a major factor and barrier to migrant women's employment in all literature on immigrant women in Australia (Hawthorne, 1996; Cobb-Clark, 2002; Ho, 2006; Haque and Haque, 2008; Foroutan, 2008).

The other major argument put forward to explain low levels of participation for women are family responsibilities, especially the caring of children in Australia (Ho, 2006; Foroutan, 2008). Hawthorne (1996; 44) explains that from the 1990s and beyond migrant women who came to Australia, would be migrating from a society where middle class women have been freed from domestic and childrearing responsibilities, and have had full-time jobs prior to migrating with no gaps in employment due to childrearing, and they migrate to Australia hoping to continue in their careers. It is these women that Ho (2006) describes who find the lack of extended family or paid support for the care of children hinders them from working when they arrive in Australia.

Studies (Wooden and VandenHeuvel, 1997a, 1997b; Haque and Haque, 2008) however, demonstrate that migrant women, especially those from Non English Speaking backgrounds, are more likely to be in the workforce even when they have young children at home. These women were not only involved in full-time employment but they negotiate informal child care strategies in order to work. The debate on women and work brings to the fore a very complex and emotional debate in Australia on the individual, ethnic or cultural reasons behind women's decisions to work when they have young children (McDonald, 2001; Evans and Kelley, 2001). It is a debate that is revisited later in this chapter in the section on women and childcare and work decisions among the African community.

Other factors that play a part in determining female migrant participation in the workforce is the lack of recognition of overseas qualifications, a special problem that especially affects refugees, with many women unable to find jobs that match their work experience (Chapman and Iredale, 1993, Wooden 1994; Foroutan, 2008). This is the case when women are on family visas and their partners are the main applicant for migration and their skills are not assessed on arrival. Moreover immigrants lack of Australian experience and local knowledge on the job seeking culture in Australia makes them unable to market themselves effectively to get jobs (Hawthorne 1996, 48). Discrimination and racism are also seen as important factors behind migrant unemployment in Australia especially among refugees who are visibly different from the dominant population (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006, 2007).

Like international research on immigrant women and work, most of the discourse on migrant women and work has been that of disadvantage. However, there is little analysis of skilled women migrants in Australia as is the case globally. Cobb-Clark (2002, 2) shows that over 16 percent of principal applicants for skilled migration programs are women. Raghuram (2008) revealed between one quarter and one third of the computing professionals entering Australia were women. Moreover, women dominate in skilled positions in the health sector, especially in nursing (Hawthorne 2001). Because of a lack of analysis of these women, discourse on female migration to Australia has continued to mainly portray only disadvantage.

3.3.2.1 Refugee labour force outcomes in Australia

With 70 percent of the immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa arriving in Australia, migrating under humanitarian visas, it is important to have an understanding of the specific issues around refugee women and work in Australia. There are few studies

that show that refugees have considerable disadvantage in the labour force in Australia (Iredale, 1994; Hinsliff, 2006; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006, 2007). Studies in Australia have shown that in many instances, refugees often lack the qualifications and skills to make them competitive in the labour market (Hugo, 2011). However, there are also studies that show that even among refugee groups there is a stratification based on skill and educational qualification. For example, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) describe the majority of the modern refugees to Australia as 'middle class' refugees. They add that all refugees to Australia undergo 'integration potential' admission criterion that looks at their human capital characteristics and the probability that these refugees will be successful in Australia. They also say that many of the refugees migrating to Australia are educated, urban middle class people and many refugees have higher education qualifications (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006, 210).

Another reason given for the lack of competitiveness of refugees in the Australian workforce is racism. Wooden (1991) and Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) have a very convincing argument that suggests that racism and discrimination are the major possible reasons for poor labour force performance among refugees, especially because refugees come from visibly different societies. On the other hand, Iredale (1994) and Hinsliff (2006) blame lack of much needed government support for refugees in assisting them to get jobs. Although these studies have important insights into the labour force, none look at the specific occupations and skills and the transferability of those skills to the Australian labour market that the refugees bring to Australia.

3.3.3 Micro Factors

Human capital characteristics play a major role in the selection of migrants. This has especially been the case with the global competition for skilled migrants in the

developed world (Hawthorne 2005; Birrell et al, 2006). The pre–migration human capital endowments of migrants have a positive effect on migrant settlement (Fokkema and Haas, 2011). In Australia those human capital endowments of migrants are tested in a points test (Hawthorne 2005; Chiswick and Miller, 2006). The points test system has been in operation in Australia since the 1970's and its principle aim has been to select immigrants who are most likely to rapidly adjust to the Australian labour market and bring benefit to Australia (Chiswick and Miller, 2006). The criterion for selecting migrants in Australia is based on human capital endowments, such as age, language skills, educational background and work experience. Priority is given to skilled migrants in areas that are of high labour market demand (Chiswick and Miller, 2006, Birrell et al, 2006*).*

Apart from immigrant selection criteria, individual migrants' own initiative and agency is a major determinant of the migrant's success in settlement. Migrant agency has been defined by Bakewell (2010) as the capacity by social actors to reflect on their position, devise strategies, and take action to achieve their desires. Literature on women and migration interpret migrant agency as women's autonomy and decision making power and how that affects their migration and settlement (Oishi, 2005). The literature on migrant agency has also only traditionally examined migrant's agenda for migration (Adler 2000). In Oishi's (2005) study of Asian women, she argues that women are more likely to migrate based on their own individual agenda, some women migrate because they are "adventurous women" and they decide to go overseas and seek some adventure in life. Migrant agency can also be triggered by other factors, such as a woman's sense of duty to family (dutiful daughters or good wives and mothers) that migrate for economic reasons to give their families a better life. Migration can also be triggered by women wishing to distance themselves from

patriarchal situations or family breakdown, such as domestic violence or divorce (Hugo, 1999; Athaias and Lazaridis, 2000; Oishi 2005). Much of the literature concentrates on how migrant agency triggers migration, however there is little on how migrants navigate within societal structures in the host society in order to be successful migrants. This study examines migrant agency as African women attain qualifications and skills for the Australian job market.

Other important micro factors that influence migration and settlement are migrant social networks and how migrants draw on social capital for successful migration. The concept of social capital has been widely defined and used in migration studies to explain the resources that an individual or group gains by virtue of membership to the group or network, which they then can then convert into other forms of capital in most cases financial capital, to improve or maintain their position within society (Massey et al, 1998, 42). Migrant network theory focuses on how migration is perpetuated by friends and kin who provide information that tends to lower the costs and risks of the migration process, facilitate migration and aid in settlement (Boyd, 1989, 647). Migrant networks are also important in settlement when they can facilitate initial employment for migrants. For example, when migrant networks are well developed they can often offer positions to new migrants within ethnic businesses as well as provide community support (Massey et al, 1998). De Haas, (2011) however, adds a caveat to network theory by claiming that migrant networks can only perpetuate migration when migrants in the origin country have the means to mobilise the necessary resources to assist other migrants for subsequent migration. It is also important that migrants be willing to help and support other migrants for networks to perpetuate migration. He further concludes that only low skilled and poor migrants are likely to benefit from social capital as those who have high skills and their own

resources are able to migrate on their own (De Haas, 2011). Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia is still relatively recent and most African communities in Australia are still too small to have any major effect as important networks. Migration history is particularly important in refugee and humanitarian migration as the trauma of war and often protracted refugee situations has an effect on settlement (Kulman, 1991).

3.3.4 Transnational practices

Migrants have always maintained links with their home countries often through correspondence and sending remittances (Vertovec, 2009). However, the transnational practices of migrants were not an important part of migration literature until the 1990s when anthropologists Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) and Glick Schiller et al (1992) started examining how migrants maintained and sustained social, economic and political ties across borders in the form of contact with families and communities in the origin country. Since then, transnationalism has become central to studies of contemporary migration.

Table 3.1 drawn from Vertovec (2009) details the major elements of contemporary transnationalism as opposed to what was known about transnationalist practices that have occurred since the 19th Century. The key features of contemporary transnationalism are that the extent, scale and speed with which transnational activities takes place globally has dramatically changed, with a major potential of changing societies (Castles, 2002, 1158). An excellent example as shown in Table 3.1 is given by Vertovec (2009, 15) who explains how the practice of sending remittances has changed in such quantity and quality to a point that what was once considered private family funds is so significant it now affects national budgets of recipient countries.

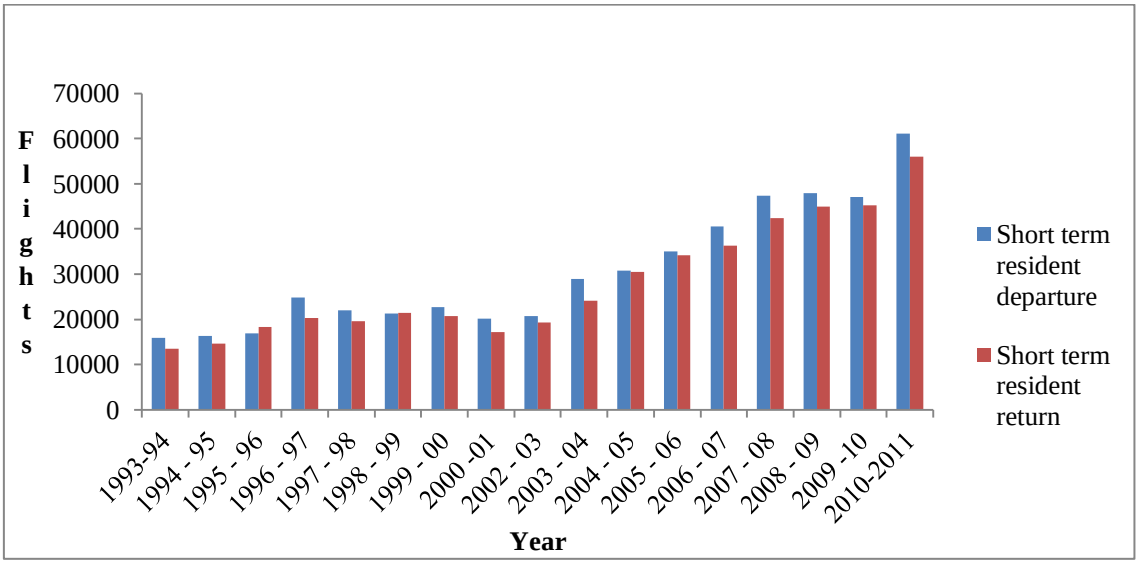
Table 3.1 Differences between transnationalist practices in the 20th Century and Contemporary Transnationalism

Source: Vertovec, 2009, pp 14 – 16.

Transnationalism – 20th century	**Contemporary Transnationalism**
• Families were split between countries of origin and destinations yet strong emotional bonds were maintained • Considerable number of migrants returned to their homeland and undertook some kind of back and forth over extended periods of time • Strong long distance networks were created and maintained facilitating chain migration • Ongoing communication between family and homelands was maintained particularly through letters • Migrants sent remittances to families in their homelands which were spent on consumption and investment • Migrant associations were established sometimes collecting money to send for projects back home such as repairing churches • Some migrants established businesses in both home and host countries, sometimes linking their activities through imports and exports • Many migrants sustained political interests in their homelands including the organisation of political rallies, lobbying and funding political parties • Some migrant – sending countries exhibited concern over the welfare of nationals abroad.	• While migrants retain strong bonds of families traditions and institutions. Advances in technology of contact have affected the extent, intensity and speed at which they can do so. Cheap telephone calls, faxes, internet sites, satellite TV, print media and inexpensive travel have allowed for continuous real time communication with global migrant networks. • Forms of migrant transnationalism both draw upon and contribute to other processes of cultural economic , political and technological globalization • The speed and intensity of communication between home and away has created a 'normative transnationalism' in which migrants abroad are ever more closely aware of what is happening in the sending context and vice versa • The sheer scale of remittances represents both a quantitative and a qualitative shift, now many countries are wholly reliant on remittances for a significant share of their natural economies • Advances in telecommunications facilitated wider, intensive political, engagement with homelands. - party politics and electioneering, lobbying post conflict reconstruction, support for insurgency and terrorism • Migrant hometown associations have recently grown in number and extent of activity now organising large sums of collective remittances for development. • Government outreach programs for emigrants established - special banking and investment schemes to attract foreign capital, special government offices for the welfare of nationals abroad and legislation to allow dual citizenship to migrants to naturalize their host country • In Western countries, identity politics such as anti-racism and multiculturalism has created a context in which migrants feel more at ease displaying their transnational connections.

Within the Australian and Sub-Saharan African context, Figure 3.2 shows the extent of connectivity between the continents shown in terms of travel between Australia and Africa, indicated by the number of short term visits between Australia and Sub-Saharan African between 1993 and 2011. In 1993 there were only around 10,000 visits between Australia and Sub-Saharan Africa and by 2011 it had increased almost six fold with over 60,000 departures from Australia to Sub-Saharan Africa showing the high level of connectivity between the two continents.

Figure 3.2 Short term residents departure and returns from Australia to Sub-Saharan Africa, 1993-2011



Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

This study is especially interested in the transnational practices of migrants and how they impact on migrant settlement in destination countries. Much of the very extensive literature on transnationalism focused upon what Vertovec (2004, 974) refers to the bifocality of migrant lives. That is migrants in a lived reality engaged in life in the host countries as well as engaged in transnational practices with their home countries. Literature on transnationalism and immigrant incorporation and assimilation (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002, 2005; Morawska, 2004; Pedreza, 2006; Sana, 2005;

Waters, 2011) give us important insights into how transnational activities impact on migrant settlement. In their study of migrants from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Colombia, Itzigshon and Giogulli-Saucedo (2002, 789) show that the process of migrant incorporation into society does not weaken transnational participation, neither does citizenship nor time spent in the host country. Their study shows that among some migrant groups, the longer some migrants spend in host countries the more likely they are to engage in transnational practices. In a study of Chinese migrants in Canada, Waters (2011) shows a high propensity for transnational practices even after long periods of time in Western countries. Itzighson and Giorugulli (2002) as well as Morawska (2004), show that the experience of racism and discrimination lead to increased transnational participation. When migrants feel disenfranchised they are more likely to take part in what they term as 'reactive transnationalism' as a means of escape (Itzighshon and Giorugulli, 2002; 899).

Pedreza (2006) debates whether transnationalism negatively impacts on the ability of migrants to assimilate in host societies and asks pertinent questions as to whether increased transnational activities have an impact on migrants engaging in host country politics, or their interest in building host country institutions or even lobbying to improve the lives of migrants (Pedreza, 2006, 51). Morawska (2004) gives a typology of different forms of assimilation and transnational activities and how they impact on migrant settlement. By categorising migrants into various groups it is shown that some groups have a higher focus on assimilation and are more likely to aspire to the values of the host countries, for example Russian Jews, while others focus on transnational activities and are more home focused. These groups are interested in maintaining ethnic cultures within the host societies and very involved in life in the home country, an example being migrants from the Dominican Republic living in the United States.

3.3.4.1 Remittances as transnationalism

This study is particularly interested in how remittances of migrants impact on the settlement of Sub-Saharan African migrants in Australia. Sana (2005, 256) show that remittance sending among some migrants in the United States strongly correlates with migrants renting a home, the lack of citizenship and lack of language fluency which is evidence of limited integration into society. Emerging literature on remittances such as Lindley (2009) shows that Somali migrants in London who are remitting were often not in employment.

Remittances: Levels of remittance sending to Sub-Saharan Africa

In the last ten years remittances have attracted a lot of research attention especially since they have been linked to development and poverty reduction (De Haas, 2005; Anyanwu and Erhijakpor 2010; Ratha, 2003, Ajayi et al, 2009). Many developing countries have adopted remittances as the new development mantra (de Haas, 2005, 1277; Terry, 2005). This is mainly due to the substantial monetary flows, especially from the North to the South and due to the fact that remittances have been proved to be less volatile, less pro-cyclical and thus a more reliable source of income than other capital flows such as foreign direct investment and development aid (Ratha, 2003). Table 3.2 shows remittance flows to Sub-Saharan Africa in the context of other direct major sources of funding. From the table we can see the growing importance of remittances in flows of capital to Sub-Saharan Africa. Official migrant remittances to Sub-Saharan Africa make up 2.2 percent of GDP (Ratha et al, 2011). There are vast variations between countries, for example, Ratha et al (2011, 50) reported that 'Nigeria received over 10 billion dollars in 2010 which is almost half of all the reported remittances within the Sub-Saharan African region.' The impact of remittances on

individual national economies can be seen with a case study of Lesotho in which remittances account for 28 percent of GDP (Ratha et al, 2011, 50).

Table 3.2 Remittances and other resource flows to Africa ($ Billions)

Sub -Saharan Africa	1990	1995	2000	2005	2007	2008	2009	% GDP 2009
Migrant Remittances	1.9	3.2	4.6	9.4	18.6	21.4	20.6	2.2
Official Aid	16.9	17.8	12.1	30.8	32.6	36.0		3.7
Foreign Direct Investment	1.2	4.4	6.7	18.1	28.7	37.0	30.0	3.2

Source: Ratha et al, 2011 p 50.

Not much is known about the actual remittance flows to Sub-Saharan Africa. Globally remittance levels to the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa are estimated to be at only 4 percent of the total remittances sent worldwide (Gupta et al, 2007, Ratha et al, 2011). However, World Bank and IMF projections for remittances, estimate that remittance inflows to Sub-Saharan Africa have increased dramatically from 1990 where levels were estimated at 1.9 billion dollars to 21.5 billion in 2010 (Ratha et al, 2011; 50). The Bretton Woods Institution however, admit that remittance figures to the region only account for formal documented flows and even then only about half of Sub-Saharan African countries report remittance data with any regularity (Ratha et al, 2011; Gupta et al, 2007). Countries such as Somalia and Zimbabwe which are believed to receive significant remittance flows report no remittance data at all (Ratha et al, 2011). The World Bank and IMF, admit that a substantial proportion of remittance flows to Sub-Saharan Africa are remitted informally. It is estimated that informal remittance flows to the Sub-Saharan region constitute between 45 and 65 percent of formal flows (Gupta et al, 2007).

Although little is known about the actual remittance flows into Sub-Saharan Africa, World Bank figures estimate that on average annual remittance sent by an African emigrant household is approximately US $1263 dollars per year with men being better remitters than women; with men remitting an estimated $1446 dollars to women's average $879 annually (Ratha et al, 2011, 62).

Within the Australian context, in 2010, Bollard et al (2010, 612) analysed remittance data from LSIA data and compared it to remittances from a dozen OECD countries. They estimated Sub-Saharan African remittances from Australia per household were around $ 227 dollars per annum, which seemed to be quite low. However, they cautioned that the Australian figures most likely reflected the relative newness of Sub-Saharan Africans and the very small sample who were interviewed in the LSIA sample.

Within the literature on African remittance flows, there seems to be a consensus that Sub-Saharan African migrants are more likely to remit than migrants from other developing regions in the world and they also tend to remit more often (Miotti et al, 2009; Ratha et al, 2011; Bollard et al, 2010). For example, Bollard et al (2010, 605) claim African migrants are found to remit more than twice as much on average as migrants from other developing regions. On the other hand, Miotti et al (2009, 22) when comparing Sub-Saharan African remittance senders to migrant senders from Southern Mediterranean and North African countries, conclude that the Sub-Saharan African remitters feel compelled to remit. Fund transfers are an important motive for migrant departure from the region, and migrants from Africa remit regardless of income level or whether they have an attachment to home country or not (Miotti et al, 2009).

3.3.4.2 Gender and transnationalism

The other theme in the area of transnationalism examined in this study is the nexus between gender and transnationalism. The study by Itzigshon and Giougulli-Saucedo (2005) shows that women's participation in transnational activities depends of resources available and women are more likely to engage in transnational activities after they have met their subsistence needs in host countries. These findings are echoed by Morawska (2004, 1403) who shows that women are more likely to be focussed on life in the host country given the improvement of individual autonomy and gender equality that they gain in Western host countries, especially if women were originally from very patriarchal societies.

The emergence of transnationalism as a paradigm in explaining international migration has led to a whole new literature on gender relations in migration. This literature is important because it looks at migrants not only as individuals or families within a particular society, but began to recognise that migrants leave their families and maintain important ties to their home countries. Mahler and Pessar (2006, 42) explain that early years of the transnational perspective, gender featured less prominently than other social stratifying forces, such as race, ethnicity and nation. In 2001, Mahler and Pessar (2001) developed the '*Gendered Geographies of Power'* framework to incorporate gender into studies of transnationalism. The literature expanded studies of gender relations from the focus of gender within families, households and networks to a broader focus. A feature of transnational literature has been the focus of the literature on transnational families and how families are negotiated across boundaries. The literature on transnational families is diverse and has grown to cover all manner of scenarios and relationships. For example, there is a whole literature on transnational motherhood (Hondagneu and Avila, 1997; Parrenas, 2005; Nicolson, 2006) there are

studies of men who leave their families in Western countries and return to home countries to work, a term known as ‘astronaut families (Waters, 2002; Ho and Bedford, 2008; Chaing, 2008). Other studies focus on women who leave promising careers in their home countries and take on private lives as home-makers in migration, examples are Willis and Yeoh (2002) who examines British and Singaporean women who migrate to China and Ho (2006) who looks at Chinese women who migrate to Australia.

The above studies show there has been tremendous growth in the gender literature and by default, gender roles and relations. Carling (2005, 3) critiques the literature in three areas. The first is that there is still the essentialism of patriarchy that assumes that women in general are everywhere oppressed by men and that in some cases women are not the losers. There are many studies that show that men do suffer when they are unable to fill their prescribed gender roles as breadwinners (Johnson and Stroll, 2008). Charsley (2005) reports that her study on Pakistani men who migrate to the United Kingdom to marry second generation Pakistan British spouses, that they are often unhappy, and feel emasculated when they have to join their in-laws homes.

The second critique of gender roles is the narrow understanding of gender relations that excludes many kinds of relations between men and women, such as mothers and sons, brothers and sisters (Carling, 2005). The third critique is that gender relations are mediated by other social categories, such as age, race and ethnicity. For example, studies on gender relations in an African context show there are some critical differences in the understanding of gender relations and roles compared to a Western context. Although, Western gender roles espoused traditional ‘male breadwinner” and ‘homemaker’ wife, African scholars Mbugua (1997), Oppong (1997) and Adepoju (1997) note that although women in Africa are usually subordinate to their husbands

(both socially and economically), they are not wholly dependent on them financially. In many African societies, conjugal relationships are characterised by separate resource generation and allocation of resources, and husbands and wives in Africa do not pool their resources together to run families (Adepoju, 1997 p 50). Such cultural differences would have a profound effect on what is understood as gender relations in African migration. The notion of family in an African context is another major point of difference that needs to be considered. There are many forms of families within the African context, for example polygamy is still widely practiced within many African cultures and the extended family is very important. This study examines gender roles of African migrants in Australia showing the impact not only of migration on migrant lives but examining the very nature of how transnationalism is shaping African women's lives in migration.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the major theories on gender and migration and presented the conceptual framework that has been used to inform this study. The chapter incorporates insights from theories and literature on gender and migration before making a case for a simple integrated conceptual framework, useful for examining migration and the post settlement experiences of migrants in society.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methods used in the study of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, and begins with a justification for using a mixed methods approach to the research. It also details the epistemological basis on which the study is founded namely pragmatism. A discussion of the specific quantitative and qualitative methods used in the study follows and for each method, the data collection process is detailed. This study is in many ways eclectic with many lessons gained. There are reflections on the experience of conducting research with a partner organisation in the data collection phase as well as the lessons learned doing research among members of one's owns community. The research ethics and limitations of the study are also discussed. The insights gained in this chapter are important to understand the research process undertaken. This can also be beneficial to other students who seek to undertake any studies with migrants.

4.2 Mixed Methods Research

Migration research as early as the 1920s showed that women were outnumbering men in international migration. However, as Donato et al (2006) notes, rarely did these early statistical findings lead to any further research to explain the trends. This migration research failed to produce a gender focus because of two major factors. The first is male bias in academia (Donato et al, 2006, 9), while the second has been identified as overreliance of quantitative methods that focus on interviewing household heads who were mainly men (Curran et al, 2006; 201).

Researchers (Donato et al, 2006, 5) explain that in the 1970s studies on women and migration employed both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and the major conventional methods used were surveys, ethnography, archival research and participant observation. However, what we now understand as scholarship in the field of gender and migration did not take root until the 1990s, and then knowledge was mainly gained from qualitative methods, which have been credited for allowing for the more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of gender and migration (Curran et al, 2006). In contemporary times, the study of migration has become increasingly more complex and many researchers, for example Mahler and Pessar (2006), advocate a mixed methods approach combining both qualitative and quantitative techniques to gain a better understanding of migration.

In chapter two, the study provided an analysis of census data, Australian movement database and settler database data to set the scene on Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia, and to explain key characteristics of African migrants in Australia. This study uses a number of methods to examine the complex nature of migration studied. A survey questionnaire, in-depth interviews and, most importantly, participant observation with an 'insider' perspective as a member of the African community in South Australia, have assisted in gaining insights of the lives of the migrant women.

> Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007, 123)

The concept of mixed method research, where quantitative and qualitative research is combined in a single study, is by no means a new concept in social science research. In the field of migration, for example, Hinsliff (2006, 91) gives examples of mixed

methods doctoral research projects, such as Hugo (1975) in which both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used. What is new in social research has been the birth of mixed method research as a unique and third paradigm in research on par with quantitative and qualitative research. The release of the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, edited by Abbas Tashokkori and John Creswell in January 2007, is heralded as the beginning of a new era for the methodology. Although earlier handbooks like Brannen (1992) and Tashokkori and Teddlie (1998 and 2003) had provided the groundwork for the mechanics of conducting mixed methods research projects. It is hoped that this study which has so heavily borrowed from the techniques advocated in the growing literature on mixed methods research continues to add to the growing literature on conducting mixed methods studies.

4.3 A pragmatic study

As a paradigm, mixed methods research is still in its infancy, and many of its structures and guidelines are still being debated. In regards to epistemology, researchers (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Bryman, 2006; Morgan, 2007; Felizer, 2010) defend pragmatism as advocated by classical purists Charles Sanders Pierce, William James and John Dewey as the most fitting epistemological stance for the paradigm. This study of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia is indeed a pragmatic study. Apart from using both quantitative and qualitative research methods one of the central tenets of pragmatism is the importance of using 'whatever works' approach in terms of research methods employed in the study (Tashakkori and Teddlie,1998; Johnson and Onweugbuzie, 2004). The practical approach that pragmatism advances made it easier to design a research project and use methods that

would most likely answer the research question rather than worry about what philosophy underlies the methods (Bryman, 2006).

Central to pragmatism is the place of values in research; as Pragmatists believe that values play a role in the conduct of research and in drawing conclusions.

> Pragmatists decide what they want to research, guided by their personal value systems: that is they study what they think is important to study. They then study the topic in a way that is congruent with their value system, including variables and units of analysis that they feel are the most appropriate to finding an answer to their research question. (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998, 26)

Values played an important part in determining who, what and how this study was conducted. Moreover, as an African there is a growing conscience among the African elite on how Africa and Africans are portrayed in both academic and other writings (TED Africa, 2007). All too often what is studied about Africa and Africans is what is sensational, especially if it is negative, and it obliterates the true picture of the real issues, something that this study was determined to avoid.

4.3.1 Rationale for a Mixed Methods study

The data collected for this study was garnered from various sources; quantitative data was collected by means of a social survey while the qualitative data was collected by means of a time use diary, in-depth interviews and participant observation. Work by Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) and Bryman (2006) extensively address the rationale behind why researchers mix quantitative and qualitative research in a single study, as well as at which stage the research is mixed. There were three major reasons behind the use of mixed methods research for this particular project. First, the different research questions needed different methodological approaches (Bryman 2006, 106). The survey was sufficient for collecting data on where participants

worked, but not for understanding how women's gender roles changed in migration. Therefore, even from the research question stage, methods were chosen to answer specific questions. The survey was used to formulate demographic and labour force questions, while the mainly qualitative in-depth interview and time use diary was used for answering other research questions. The second reason for conducting a mixed methods study was complementary, or by for completeness. The qualitative data collected in the study was used in part to elaborate, enhance, illustrate and clarify results gained from the quantitative research. The third reason was that mixed methods research has gained prominence as the research method most suited for studies interested in policy outcomes (Hinsliff, 2006; 75).

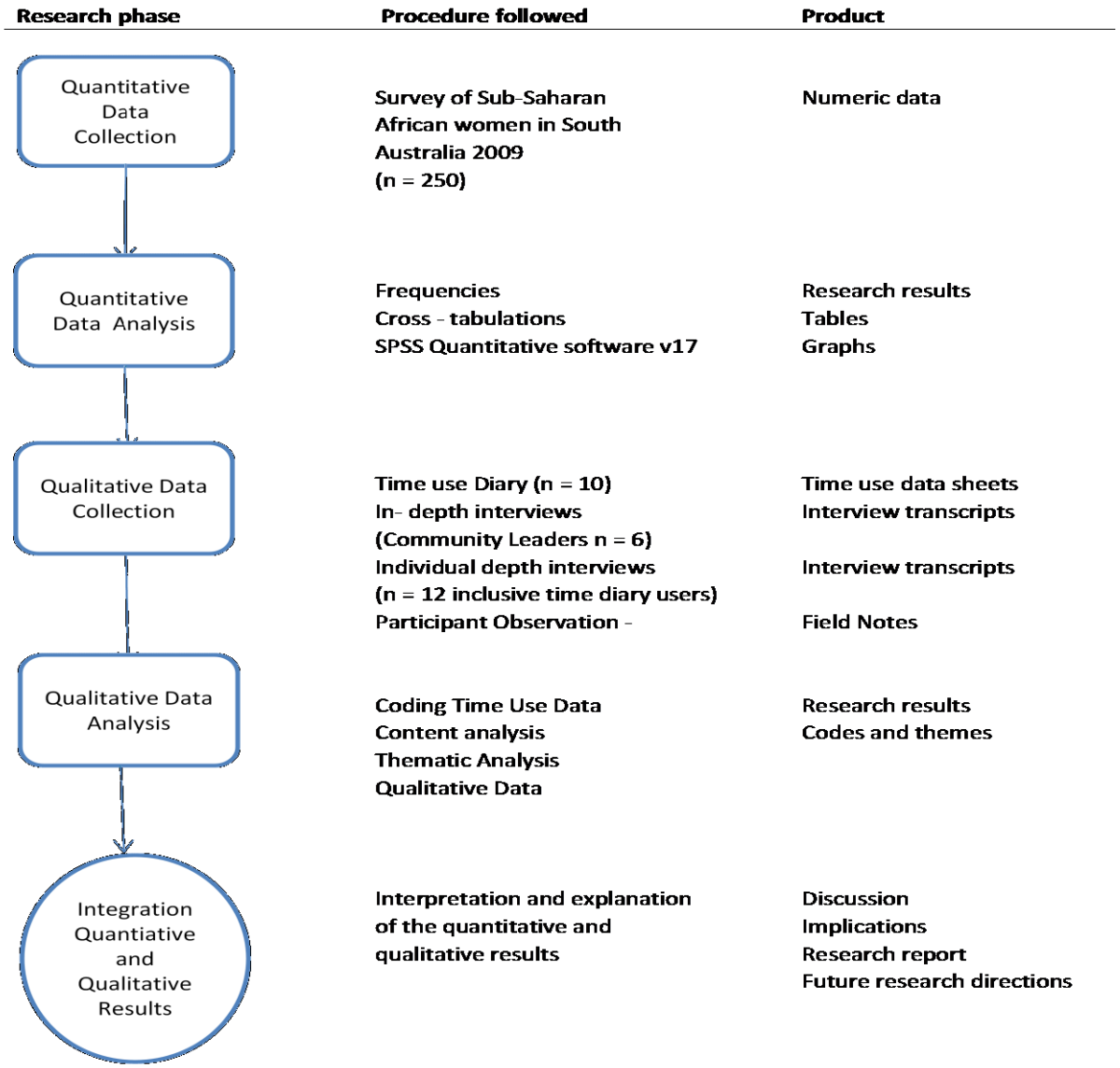
4.4 The Research Design

The study of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia is an example of a Sequential Mixed Design, a Sequential Explanatory design. Sequential designs are popular with doctoral students as they can easily be conducted by a solo investigator, they unfold in a more predictable manner making them easy to conduct and follow (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2006, 22). The design is focused on the collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data and then the two methods were integrated at the end of the study (Creswell 2003, 223). A key feature of the sequential explanatory design is the prominence given to the quantitative element of the study while qualitative research is undertaken to supplement the study.

Ivankova et al (2006) underscore the importance of having a visual model of the research design undertaken. A visual model is important for mixed methods research as it helps the researcher and the audience visualise the sequence of data collection, the

priority of each method and the connecting and mixing points of the methods within a study (Ivankova, 2006, 14). Figure 4.1 illustrates the procedure implemented for this study and indicates the steps undertaken in the research process, the procedures undertaken, as well as the outcome of each research step.

Figure 4.1: A visual representation of the sequential explanatory design of the study of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia



Source: Adapted from Ivankova et al, 2006.

4.5 Data Collection approaches

4.5.1 Surveys

A survey was deemed the most useful tool in collecting quantitative data for this study. As Bryman (1984) argues, survey questionnaires are useful when the goals of the research need quantitative data, when the information being sought is specific and familiar to the participants, and when the researcher has some indication of the particular problems and range of responses that they wish to examine. The Survey used for this study is found in Appendix 1 which details the information sought about Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia. The survey was divided into two sections, the first section sought demographic, migration and education and work status information of participants and for all members of their household. The second section, sought information on English language, education, family and social relations, family reunification and the use of migration services, remittances and income. The survey was designed to serve two purposes to meet the needs of this thesis but also as part of a larger project with the Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia.

4.5.1.1 Collaboration with an industry partner

At the onset of this study, a very rare and opportune chance determined the choice and design of the quantitative study. After meeting at a conference, the researcher was invited into a partnership with the Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia to undertake a joint research project. The MRCSA is an independent non-governmental settlement agency responsible for the settlement of migrants and refugee migrants in South Australia (MRSCA, 2008). The MRCSA needed a partner who would give

expertise in questionnaire design, training of its staff, in data collection as well as data analysis and reporting. The organisation was interested in researching settlement outcomes for all humanitarian migrants that had arrived in South Australia between September 2005 and January 2009. This period coincided with the MRCSA implementation of Department of Immigration program the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Services (IHSS).

As a doctoral student, partnering with the MRCSA was a great benefit in the following ways. First, the centre provided logistical support in terms of reaching migrants for the study, as the organisation had access to refugees in the community as well as expertise that was beneficial to the study. Second, since the organisation was amenable to a joint questionnaire that would cover both the needs of the thesis and those of MRCSA. The multilingual case workers of the organization were responsible for collecting data from all the humanitarian migrants which greatly reduced research costs. For example, the MRCSA resources in terms of multilingual staff translated the questionnaire to research participants who did not speak English. The third reason was that as a researcher this was a rare opportunity to have an insight into carrying out research in action. Working with MRCSA gave an insight into how organisations use research for policy purposes.

Zuber-Skerritt and Perry (2002) argue that although many doctoral students in social and human sciences choose to solve real–life significant problems within organisations as part of their thesis, there is a challenge in merging what organisations want and producing thesis work that is individual and an original contribution to knowledge in the field. In terms of this study, a major challenge arose in the development of the questionnaire for the study. The MRCSA had specific settlement questions, relating to

housing outcomes, uptake of English Language Services, health, employment outcomes and social and family reunification migration outcomes. Although in many ways the questions mirrored the focus of this research there were some significant differences. The MRCSA were interested in a household survey while this study was more focussed on an individual survey. This study also had a wider scope and included questions on income, money, employment and education both pre and post migration. There was a compromised reached and the questionnaire ended up being fairly lengthy and some participants did not complete resulting in higher levels of non-response.

Another major advantage of working with the MRCSA was the fact that by virtue of its position in settling humanitarian migrants it had a clientele database. One of the major problems within migration research is the idea of having an appropriate sampling frame (Bloch, 2000). Although the MRCSA client base was not an exact sampling frame, it was extremely useful for the researcher and contained information on the characteristics of Sub-Saharan African migrants who had migrated to South Australia under refugee visas and who were clients of the MRCSA. The database contained the ages, gender of the principal applicant, country of birth of the migrants, as well as the total number of persons per household at time of migration and the visa category under which the migrants had migrated.

Table 4.1 shows the number of the Sub-Saharan African humanitarian migrants by country of birth and the gender of principal applicant who had arrived in South Australia in the four year period. The total 406 humanitarian households had been clients of the MRCSA in the 4 year period. The classification of gender of the principal applicant showed that 48 percent of humanitarian migrant households were female led households. These refer to women who had migrated as head of household

without a male partner, many of them under the women at risk program. Having such an insight prior to research is a very rare opportunity as migrant researchers normally cite an inability to estimate size of migrant communities as one of the weaknesses in designing migrant research (Bloch, 2000).

Table 4.1 Sub-Saharan Africans humanitarian migrant household, South Australia MRCSA clients, September 2005 – January 2009

Nationality	Female led household	Male led household	Total
Africa nfd	2	1	3
Angola	1		0
Burundi	23	51	74
Congo	24	31	55
Eritrean	2	5	7
Ethiopia	5	8	13
Liberian	45	24	69
Nigerian		1	1
Rwanda	3	1	4
Sierra leone	9	7	16
Somali	10	10	20
Sudanese	64	66	130
Togo	6	6	12
Uganda	1	0	1
TOTAL	**195**	**211**	**406**

Source: MRCSA Database, 2009.

4.5.1.2 Sampling

Despite the MRCSA having a sampling frame of its clientele database it was impractical to use it for any probability sampling. The MRCSA mandate for settling migrants covers the first six months of arrival to South Australia, which also coincides roughly with the time most migrants are moving out of temporary accommodation to more permanent or private accommodation. Although the MRCSA had addresses for some of the clientele within their database it would have been very difficult to trace some clients. Because of the nature of their work in settling migrants the MRCSA had

access to community networks and their staff and volunteers, who are mainly members of the various community groups. This was used for snowball sampling to locate further participants for the study.

Snowball sampling, although commonly used in qualitative research, is also used to reach survey populations such as refugees (Bloch, 2000). This was seen as the most viable way in which to target migrants, and the MRCSA staff of caseworkers and volunteers from the various community groups, acted as contacts in the community and they approached past clients and friends in order to get questionnaires filled in.

Data collection to represent other groups of migrants, such as skilled migrants, family reunion migrants and humanitarian migrants who arrived prior to 2006, was also undertaken using the snowball technique. By the end of the fieldwork 250 questionnaires were completed for the quantitative part of the study. The response rate for the questionnaire was 40 percent of those targeted.

4.5.1.3 Accessing participants for the study

As an African woman, the researcher felt she had plenty of 'insider' advantage before undertaking fieldwork for the project. In Africa, prior to undertaking the doctoral research, she had worked directly with refugee groups in various cities and refugee camps within Eastern and Central Africa. She had taught migrants what to expect of life in Australia in Cultural Orientation classes funded by the Department of Immigration program AUSCO. In addition, the researcher had many acquaintances among resettled migrants some of whom she had trained and who were settled in South Australia. Moreover, as a former student who had lived in Adelaide when undertaking a Master's degree course, she had contacts among many former student migrants who

had become skilled migrants and had permanent residency. As a doctoral student, she had made further community contacts by becoming a volunteer for the Australian Refugee Association and the Smith Family, a charity organization, which involved working with African migrant groups. The researcher also became involved with the African Women Federation of South Australia and attended various seminars and workshops targeted at African women. As a member of the community, both by design and by virtue of having to conduct my day to day life, she attended African church services, shopped at African stores, styled her hair in African hairdressers, ate at African restaurants and was a member of various social networking sites that catered to particular African community groups based in South Australia, as well as living in a suburb with a high concentration of Africans. At the time of the fieldwork, the researcher had seven African families as neighbours living in the same block.

There is an extensive literature on the 'insider/outsider' role of a researcher and Griffith (1998) provides a great summary on the major ideas within the debate (Merton 1972; Zinn, 1979; Brewer, 1986; Collins, 1990). Griffith (1998) summarizes their thoughts into three major ideas. The first is that what matters most in research are the life experiences of the researcher, and these can shape the knowledge they produce. She goes on to add that it is not just the researchers biography or technical skill in research that matters, but rather the social relations both inside and outside of her research that matter, and which may change within the course of research. That is one can be both an insider and outsider within the course of the same research in different circumstances. Thirdly, 'Insider' status cannot be made simply on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender or sexual preference but rather they rest on the biography, political activities, research practices and the relationship between the researcher and the community she studied (Griffith, 1998, 364). In the field of migration studies, Gans

(1999) argues that the 'insider-outsider' debate is one of the six major areas in immigration research that needs further work. He controversially argues that many of the researchers in the field of immigration, who come from the immigrant communities, have an agenda. Giving an example of his experience as a sociologist in analysing immigration research on acculturation, he claims that the majority of immigrant researchers had an agenda and they produced research to either promote or distance themselves from their ethnic communities. Without dwelling on what seems to be 'politics' within the field of immigration research, Gans (1999) calls for a closer look at the effectiveness of insider or outsider researchers is welcome. As a member of the community that was studied, this researcher can only hope their reflections transcend any debate on the effectiveness of 'insider' or 'outsider' researchers and contribute to knowledge for other researchers who propose to conduct research within their communities.

Perhaps the most obvious advantage of being an 'insider' is having easier access to the community. Kusow (2003, 594) explains that when a black African migrates to the Western World, they immediately, by virtue of their colour and race, become outsiders to the dominant culture and some choose to gravitate towards people from their own communities. As an 'insider' there were things that might not have been obvious to a researcher from another culture in accessing African women. Such as knowing how to access informal women groups that most African women belong to. Most of the groups act as social/religious/microfinance/investment clubs, and whatever name they go by 'Ekub' among the Ethiopians, or 'Susu' among the Sierra Leoneans, they have regular meetings and many women will belong to such informal groups.

Access to these regular women's meetings was a great way to meet women in a relaxed atmosphere where the research could be explained and participants recruited. A number of informal meetings were attended - the Liberians, the Kenyans, the Zimbabweans, the Sierra Leoneans - and questionnaires were filled in at these sessions. Normally access to the groups was granted by asking members of the communities for an invitation to the meetings. This turned out to be one of the most successful methods of recruiting participants to the study.

Another example of 'insider' knowledge in accessing participants was knowledge about the central role of spirituality among Africans and this made churches and other religious gatherings another good place to start meeting participants. The increasing African community in Adelaide had led to specific church services and prayer groups catering to the community, and access to these services was through members of the clergy, pastors and prayer leaders. At these services questionnaires were distributed with pre-paid return envelopes provided.

4.5.2 Qualitative Research

The qualitative research in this study was conducted to complete, complement, clarify and enhance the results of the quantitative research. Marshall and Rossman (2006, 53) explain that qualitative methodologies are useful in studies that seek "cultural description, research that elicits multiple constructed realities studied holistically, research that elicits tactic knowledge and subject understandings and interpretations". The qualitative research employed a combination of three methods. The participants completed a time-use diary as well as in-depth interviews, as well as participant observation. Each of the methods is discussed further in the following sections.

4.5.2.1 Selection of respondents for the qualitative study

A purposive sample was selected for the qualitative study based on encounters with the participants in the field. As Gobo (2004, 448), explains, "purposive sampling consists of detecting cases within extreme situations for certain characteristics or cases within a wide range of situations in order to maximize variation, that is to have all the possible situations". The qualitative study aimed to answer very specific research questions and the purposive sample was chosen to address these questions. The sample targeted women who had been married in Africa and had migrated to Australia with their partners, in order to gain an understanding on how gender roles may change in migration. The study also looked for women from different visa groups, different education backgrounds and work histories and different nationalities as the criteria to attain a diverse sample. These women were chosen on the basis of those who had completed the quantitative survey who met these characteristics.

As with other parts of this study, the very act of purposive sampling presented interesting findings that added another dimension to the study. As women were sought who had migrated with their partners, the study found that some of the partners had returned to Africa, leaving wives and children behind in Australia. These men were living transnational lives as they lived and worked part of the year in Africa and visited Australia only periodically to visit their families. This phenomenon led to a new direction in the research and in-depth interviews were undertaken with three of the women left behind, and another three women who were in the process of facilitating their partner's migration to Australia.

4.5.3 Time Use Diary

Time use diaries have been used as a social science methodology since the 1920's and have been found useful in almost all areas of social studies. Some examples are seen in sociology (Sullivan, 1996; Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998); in economics (Bittman and Rice, 2002); Urban planning in travel analysis (Bhat and Koppelman, 1999); Multinational time projects (Szalai et al, 1972; Harvey, 1993) and Demography (Bianchi, 2000). Time-use studies are also now part of economic and sociological policy planning and most major developed nations conduct such studies. In Australia, the Australia Bureau of Statistics have conducted national Time Use studies in 1992, 1997 and 2006 which have been instrumental in social and policy research that are widely used in this study (ABS, 2006). Time use studies have been topical in the study of women and in gender analysis for policy formulation, due to their ability to capture aspects of women's lives, such as labour market participation, care work, paid and unpaid work, as well as social changes and population trends in regards to living standards and well-being (Fleming and Spellerberg, 1996). As a method, time-use studies are seen as more advantageous to other qualitative methods that aim to capture the daily activities of participants, such as ethnography and participatory action research, which are costly and have lower scientific validity (Pentland et al, 1999).

Figure 4.2 is a representation of the time diary that the participants were asked to fill out. Harvey (1993) has made recommendations of the most optimal methodological options for collecting time-use data based on studies undertaken by various researchers across the world. The time-use diary used in this study covered a 24 hour period starting from 4 am for a period of two days that were convenient to the participants, a weekday and weekend. It is argued that two days of using a time use diary is optimal,

as adding more days tends to increase non-response and poor completion rates (Harvey, 1993, 209). Since the main focus of this study is on gender roles of the participants, they were asked to complete their activity information, as well as where it took place and with whom. This was mainly because the context of the activity was as important as the content of the activity (Harvey, 1993, 214). Participants were asked to complete the diaries as their day progressed to minimise errors and improve the usefulness of the data although a one day recall of activities has also been proven to be effective (Harvey, 1993, 210). Once identified, the participants were offered training on how to complete the diary and they were left with the diary for a week. After a week they were called to find out how they had gone with completing the diary and to schedule a day when the in-depth interview could be undertaken with them.

Figure 4.2 Sample of the Time Use Diary

Please complete the following Diary of a typical Weekday/ time is divided into 30 hour segments please name one or two major activities done at that time. Also name where the activity was undertaken

Time of Day	Description of Activity Undertaken (Maximum 2 activities) e.g. Washing dishes, writing a report	Where the activity was undertaken (home, work, travel, school/college, shops and other public place)	With whom was the activity undertaken (husband, child, friend, neighbour, colleagues)
4.00 am – 4.30 am			
4.30 am – 5. 00 am			
5.00 am – 5.30 am			

Sample layout of time diary completed by participants

4.5.4 In–depth interviews

Although interviews are commonplace in the Western world and are the most widely acceptable form of information collection in social science (Holstein and Gubrium, 1987, 113), the academic literature around in-depth interview is somewhat confusing. Rapley (2004, 15) has classified the various different types of in-depth interviews as active, biographical, collaborative, conversational, depth, dialogical, focused, guided, informal, life history, non-directed, open ended, oral history, reflexive and semi-structured.

> A successful interview is one in which there is good rapport, whether the respondent talked a lot and what they talked about, whether and how they divulged what the interviewer was after. All such criteria of success rely on the assumption that there is pre-existing information of some sort (e.g. beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, perspectives) to extract from the respondent. The interviewer attempts to position herself as colleague, friend or confessor in order that the respondent speaks openly, authentically or truthfully to produce valid reporting on some interior or exterior state of affairs. (Baker 1997, 130)

Oakley (2003) contradicts the very idea of interviewing women as a contradiction in terms, and Rapley (2004) whose advice is that a researcher should experiment to find out what works best for them in an interview situation rather than the prescribed methodologies around interviewing. Most of the academic literature around interviewing whether teaching how to interview or critiquing interview techniques, still does not offer a solution as to how to evaluate the context around interviewing, which is a major problem that researchers face. The problem was especially confounding her because when Africans communicate with each other it is very different from typical Western communication.

Cultural considerations had an impact on the interviewing process and thus a mention is warranted. It is important to understand how cultural and linguistic differences

impact on research and Van di Vijer and Leung (1997) provide an excellent review of the various cultural considerations that researchers should adopt. Within an African context, communication is totally different from the Western context, as the way in which things are done, the nuances of language, sometimes the actual words are steeped in riddles and proverbs, what is said, and the way in which things are said, and are done, were all part of the interview experience. They had nothing to do with the actual words that would end up in the notes or transcript that is to be evaluated.

A couple of examples of the complexities of interview context or language differences are highlighted next. In all the situations in which women who took part in the study were visited, there was some unspoken etiquette to be followed. Sometimes permission for interviews was not only asked of the participant, but also asked of their partners to let them know that the researcher would be visiting and the purpose of the visit. Thus even before the interview began, there was some cultural formality that very much set the tone of the interviews. In itself a paradox; studying women gender roles but having to inform and getting permission from their male partners even before interview because it is the correct way to do things in the African context. Before each in-depth interview, the researcher also always went shopping for groceries for the families interviewed. This is because as an African, the researcher would have felt uncomfortable visiting the home of a participant without a gift. The context and culture demanding that to be a successful the interview, the situation was to be treated as a social event, as well as a research process. In all cases when the researcher visited the homes of participants, they found that participants had also prepared elaborate meals, again part of the culture. The researcher was welcomed as a visitor and thus was treated accordingly.

The language around the interviewing was itself typically African. For example, when interviewing a Kenyan migrant woman, in describing her feelings of her migration experience, she said it felt like 'The *Knife that wanders that leaves its homestead during the slaughtering of a goat*'. This proverb which already in translation to English totally loses its meaning and context is not from a humanitarian migrant who is running away from war despite the obvious words knife and slaughter, as would be the first impression, but it is a common proverb among people from Eastern Kenya that is used as an admonishment to mainly young people to discourage them from leaving home and wandering as they are warned that in their leaving – they will miss out on good things - a feast –aka the slaughtering of a goat. There is also a whole history and context behind the words, on how they are used, when they are used and what they portray that encapsulates the conflicted feelings the migrant was having about their move to Australia. This use of language is difficult to code using the conventional data analysis techniques associated with interviews.

Given the different cultural issues that emerged during the interviewing process, none of the commonly prescribed interviewing techniques were deemed appropriate in themselves, but rather a combination of ideas from the various data collection and analysis techniques around qualitative data collection was chosen. A total of 20 persons were interviewed for this part of the study. The interviewees were subjected to a face-to-face interview in which they completed a semi-structured interview which was followed as a rough guide for the main topics of the research. Interview times varied, the shortest interview took an hour while others took much longer, sometimes up to six hours. Instead of the conventional interview transcripts, field notes were taken during the interviews. This was because tape recording of interviews is normally discouraged when researching persons that have undergone a refugee experience as it

can trigger painful memories of official interrogations (Omidian 2000). Field notes rather than transcripts were used here as a more appropriate method of collecting the interview data

4.5.4.1.1 Participants of the in-depth interview

1. The first group of six were various African women community leaders and workers with various settlement organisations who not only gave reflections of their migration experience, work and changing gender roles, they also provided insights into issues that the community was facing. The women came from organisations such as the African Women's Federation of South Australia, a migrant community interpreter and worker with Families SA, and an African community worker from Relationships Australia, as well as officials of the Tanzania, Burundi, Sudanese women's association of South Australia.
2. The second group of women was those who had participated in the time-use diary study. These 10 women some of whom were community leaders, were the second set of women interviewed.
3. The third group of women was another group of six women who fitted in with other criteria and research themes that emerged in the study, there were, for example, three women interviewed whose partners had left them behind and were undertaking business in Africa, as well as three other women who had or were in the process of preparing to bring their partners to Australia.

4.5.5 Participant Observation

By virtue of the 'insider' criteria addressed in the quantitative section of this chapter, the researcher endeavoured to find out as much as possible about the Sub-Saharan

African community in South Australia. Jorgensen (1989) argues that the methodology of participant observation requires that the researcher become directly involved as a participant in people's daily lives and through direct observation, as well as gather information through various sources, such as conversations, documents, formal interviews and questionnaires.

Through the months of fieldwork, the researcher always carried a notebook and took notes on any new ideas that emerged. As a result the researcher accumulated many pages of field notes from various sources. There were also many informal conversations with service providers, especially when working with the MRCSA, at conferences, seminars and workshops organised both by the MRCSA, but also many by the African Women's Federation of South Australia. The researcher also attended African women's parenting groups and sewing clubs, and spoke to various community leaders as well as service providers and government officials from the Department of Immigration. Documents such as government and agency reports, conversations in online forums on Africans living in South Australia all added to the participant observation. In many cases, organisations allowed the researcher to sit in on their sessions as they served African clientele. An example was the Kilburn Employment Service that provided job search assistance to mainly African women clientele. Exposure to a couple of their job search sessions which included helping clients complete resumes, calling up prospective employers and other job counselling services were invaluable. All this information was carefully noted and analysed and added to the interpretation of this thesis.

4.6 Data Analysis

4.6.1 Data analysis for the quantitative data

The quantitative data was coded and analysed using SPSS v17. Frequencies and cross tabulations of data were done in order to obtain the results. Data was then reported and presented in various tables and graphs to support the findings of the study.

4.6.2 Data analysis for the time diaries

Time use studies are normally associated with large scale data sets that require statistical analysis. This is mainly because most time use studies are done at a large scale or national level, where hundreds of people participate in the studies and a lot of data is generated. However, in the field of health studies, time use studies sample a small number of participants (Bejerholm and Eklund, 2004). The study of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia adopted data analysis techniques from health studies and employed qualitative content analysis, which has been found to be the most appropriate method of analysing time use data when few participants are involved. Qualitative content analysis is defined as the research method for the subjective interpretation of content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and indentifying themes or patterns (Hseih and Shannon, 2005). The activity data from the time diary was coded into specific broad categories adopted from the Australian Bureau of statistics coding system (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006), and average trends of the time taken on the activities, such as personal care time, employment time, care activities, leisure time were manually calculated. This content analysis system is known as directed content analysis because it employs

already identified research findings (Hsieh and Shannon 2005; 1286). Apart from the numeric counting, time data was then classified and categorised into various patterns and themes.

4.6.3 Analysing the in-depth interviews and participant observation field notes

Given the difficulties in language, conventional methods of data analysis, such as conversational analysis and discourse analysis were not feasible. As a result the field notes were analysed using thematic analysis, which is defined as a process of encoding qualitative information, through the encoding of particular 'codes' or themes (Boyatis, 1998). The process of analysis employed was a three step process (Boyatis, 1998, Aronson 1994). The field notes for the study were transcribed into word documents and then themes were sort and expounded in order to view any patterns that were emerging. The patterns were then combined and catalogued into subthemes and these themes were interpreted in the context of the related literature in order to build valid arguments for choosing the specific themes.

4.7 Limitations of the Study

4.7.1 Ethical dilemmas

The study was guided by the 'National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research' and ethics guidance was sought and obtained before conducting the research. Staff of the MRCSA also underwent research ethics training before any data collection commenced. The values of respect, informed consent and confidentiality, and ensuring no harm to the participants are key elements in ethical research (NHMRC, 2009).

Migration is an extremely sensitive topic for many migrants, especially due to the many laws and rules that govern Australian migration. Australia's migration laws in many cases do not fit in to specific family situations that are found in Africa (McDonald and Gifford, 2009). As a result some migrants from Africa have had to be creative in order to ensure that family members would get into Australia. There were some situations that were definite grey areas in regards to migration law, these included wives in polygamous relationships who had to migrate as mother and daughter so that both wives could migrate. In other cases, participants were in false marriages, such as uncle and niece marriages and brother and sister marriages, so more members of the family could migrate and be resettled together. Though these situations might have been flaunting Australian migration laws, confidentiality was important and the names of participants in the survey remained unknown. Many of the participants in these situations have migrated from dire situations and camps within Africa and the punishment for flaunting migration rules could have dire consequences if they were reported.

Delamont (2004, 237) explains that in conducting research within the African context, the Western concepts of research, confidentiality and data may have no meaning and so participants may not be aware of the implications of what they report. It falls on the researcher to protect their participants. Mcdonald-Wilmensen and Gifford (2009) have called on the Australian government to review some of its policies in regards to migration in the African context and consider the peculiar family circumstances that disqualify many migrants from being settled in Australia.

4.7.2 Limitations of sampling

Out of the total 406 households targeted by the MRCSA there were only 132 households, approximately 25 percent of the humanitarian population, that agreed to take part in the study. Of those, only 60 questionnaires were completed by women.

Apart from the low response, another sampling error common with other surveys using snowball sampling was the clustering of respondents from particular country groups and with particular characteristics. This mainly occurs when the interviewer follows contacts from one specific friendship or network group with similar characteristics. In the case of this study, the MRCSA sample had high levels of unemployed making up about 90 percent of the humanitarian migrants.

The low response rate from the data collected by MRCSA was also due to the limited time in which the study was conducted resulting in a low response rate. As with every organisation they needed the data within a four- month time frame. In the two months they had to collect the data it was difficult to target some communities. The other reason was that data collection was carried out by caseworkers as an additional task to their day to day duties in the community, and many times the demands of their jobs, such as settling new arrivals conflicted with conducting the research. For example, within the Sudanese community, the database showed that they had 130 households that had migrated to South Australia in the time period covered but only 20 were captured by the data collected by MRCSA. The size and daily needs of the community, as well as the task of translating the questionnaires and reaching and applying them to the community in the specified time frame was very demanding.

Despite the lower than expected response rate from the MRCSA, the researcher was able to get valuable contacts and target specific groups that otherwise would have been left out. After an analysis of the initial data from the MRCSA, there were some inconsistencies for example, the lack of representativeness of the MRCSA in reaching key groups such as the Sudanese community. This allowed the researcher to find other ways to foray into the community, focusing on reaching those who were under – represented, such as those who were employed.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the strategies and processes followed in the conduct of the study of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia. Silverman (2000, 11) warns his doctorate students that they do not get any extra brownie points for getting their own data for their PhD. Though this might be the case, this researcher believes that the fieldwork experience had many successes and frustrations but helped immensely in the understanding of this study. Reflections of the research experience in the field are provided here in the hope that it will give a better understanding of the processes underlying the data for this study.

CHAPTER 5: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN WOMEN IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the working lives of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia. The analysis of women's labour force patterns is based on visa entry into Australia, based on their human capital attributes, their education and qualifications, previous work experience, migration experience, the recognition of their qualifications, their language proficiency, migrant agency and skills acquisition within Australia. The chapter also examines how other factors such as balancing child care, and experiences of discrimination have impacted on the Sub-Saharan African women's ability to be incorporated in the workforce.

5.1.1 Defining work status

Classification of work status in Australia is quite complicated and even the Australian Bureau of Statistics has complex charts with multiple permutations to explain the various distinctions between full–time work, part–time work and casual employment (ABS.). Employed full-time refers to those persons that work 35 hours a week for one employer, and part-time refers to those who work less than 35 hours a week, working a couple of days for the same employer and having benefits such as sick leave or paid leave. Casual workers are those who are in employment without annual leave and or/sick leave. The classification also includes workers whose wage conditions reflect casual employment. Casual workers can work even more than 35 hours per week. FitzGerald et al (2007) and Ruyter (2004) describe casual employment trends as unique in Australia. Casual jobs are not relegated to unskilled 'jobs' as is normally the

case in other industrialised countries where casual jobs only apply to those that can be done easily without training or education. In Australia, casual employment is found in jobs such as nursing and other important clinical positions sectors that require skill and responsibility (FitzGerald et al 2007, Buchler et al 2009), and in other less skilled jobs in retail, community services and business services (Pocock, 2004)

5.2 Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia Labour Force Outcomes

Table 5.1 shows work force status of the African community and it is important to note that 49 percent of the Sub-Saharan African women surveyed for this study were in some form of employment. However, there are significant differences between the workforce participation rates for skilled migrants and humanitarian migrants. There were high levels of work force participation among skilled migrants at 88 percent employment rate, while for humanitarian migrants some 66 percent were not in the labour force. Those who were in employment, were mainly working in part- time or casual jobs with only 10 percent working full-time, while 53.1 percent of skilled women were working full-time.

Table 5.1 Sub-Saharan African women in South Australian: Labour force status by visa type

Labour Force Status	Humanitarian Migrants (n=169)	Skilled Migrants (n=64)	Total Persons (n=230)
Employed Full-time	8.0	53.1	20.8
Employed Part-time	8.0	17.0	10.4
Employed Casual	17.0	17.1	17.3
Not in the labour force including students	66.0	12.0	51.0
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009

5.2.1 Occupational Concentration

Table 5.2 details the occupational concentration of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, and 52 percent of those who had migrated on skilled visas were employed in skilled and professional jobs, with another 8 percent taking up managerial positions. However, less than 4 percent of humanitarian migrants were involved in professional jobs and there were none in managerial roles.

Table 5.2 Percentage Occupational Categories Sub-Saharan African Women migrants in South Australia

Occupation	Humanitarian Migrants (n=169)	Skilled Migrants (n=65)	Total Persons (n=234)
Managers	0.0	8.0	2.1
Professionals	3.5	52.0	17.1
Technicians & Trades workers	1.0	0.0	0.4
Community & Personal Service	21.3	16.9	20.0
Clerical and Sales jobs	1.7	4.6	2.5
Factory/Machine/Labourers	5.9	3.0	5.1
Students not ESL	5.9	1.5	4.7
Not in Labour force	60.0	13.8	47.0
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

These findings are significant in another respect. First, they provide a glimpse of what happens to skilled women migrants in destination countries. The literature on women in migration has always tended to portray migrant women as disadvantaged and having poor outcomes in the labour force in Western destination countries (Ho 2006, Man 2004). However, this study like the LSIA studies, shows that women who migrate under skilled migrant visas from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia have favourable outcomes in the labour force.

These findings are also significant in another respect. Migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia is fairly recent and has mostly occurred in the last 20 years. This migration has coincided with a highly regulated migration scheme that has been targeted to ensure that migrants come in to fit the specific occupational needs of Australia. The migration scheme takes into account pre-migration vetting of qualifications and proficiency in English language of migrants before they migrate, as well as targeting those who are in areas of high skill shortages within Australia and as a result removes some of the common barriers to migrant success in the labour force (Hawthorne 2005). This study suggests that this selection of migrants based on specific needs of Australia seems to produce better outcomes for migrants in the work place.

Table 5.3 shows specific jobs occupied by the employed migrant women who were surveyed. Most of these women were employed in jobs within the health and aged care sectors and there are clear differences in the professions. Thirty six percent of the skilled women interviewed for this study were nurses. As with other Western countries, Australia has been competing on a global platform for nurses and other allied health workers to meet its growing demands in the health sector due to an ageing population (Hugo, 2009). The search for nurses has also been active in Africa where there are many former Commonwealth nations who have English--Speaking backgrounds making them ideal for the Australian job market. Hawthorne (2001) showed that nurses from non–English speaking backgrounds have had problems in getting registration and being absorbed into the job market.

Table 5.3 Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia: Current Occupation by Visa of Arrival

Percentage Selected Occupations Sub-Saharan African Women in South Australia			
Current Occupation	**Humanitarian Migrants (n=56)**	**% Skilled Migrants (n=56)**	**% Total Persons (n=113)**
Aged Care and Disability Support	37.5	8.9	23.0
Social Work/Community	14.3	7.1	10.6
Workers/Interpret/cleaner	14.3	3.6	8.8
Factory/ process workers/	17.9	3.6	11.5
Hospitality / Customer Service/ Retail	8.9	5.4	7.1
Nurses/ Health Professionals	5.4	35.7	20.4
Business/Managers/Accountant/Lawyers	1.8	23.2	12.4
Engineers/Researcher/Other Professional	0.0	12.5	6.2
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

Many of the women who migrated on humanitarian visas had found work mainly in the aged care or disability support industry. There is a large literature on the increasing role of migrant women in the care chain of the aged in Western countries, some examples of which are Bettio (2006) and Escriva (2005). Australia's aged population has been increasing at a rate of about 2.5 percent per annum while on the other hand the number of young people entering the workforce is diminishing (Hugo, 2007, 2008). As a result, there is a growing demand for workers especially in this industry to cater for the aged population that is expected to live longer because of improved medical advances, but as they age, it is also expected that this population will have higher incidences of illness and, as a result, there is a growing need for workers in the health sector (Hugo 2008). It has been anticipated that the aged care industry will continue to grow and unskilled family migrants and former refugees are likely to fill this growing niche (Hugo, 2008). Apart from the health and aged care sectors the

other major sectors that employed African women were factory, cleaning industries and the community services industry for humanitarian migrants. Community support is an important sector to meet the needs of the growing ethnic community with most of the migrants working as interpreters, social workers and community liaison officers to act as a go between mainstream industry and the migrant community.

Table 5.3 also reveals a significant share of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia who are working as lawyers, accountants, marketers, managers, and business women. This is particularly significant because at the time of this study these were categories of skill shortage within Australia and were on the skills list (DIAC, sol). The majority of women found in these categories were those who were likely to have received their education and training in Australia, normally after high levels of graduate training.

5.2.2 Migrant SSA women and employment

It is important to have an understanding of how the women migrants find positions in the Australian labour market and how they are concentrated in various jobs. The literature on migrants, ethnic niches and labour market segregation gives an understanding of how migrants get into particular job sectors. Wang (2006), Wright and Ellis (2000) and Shrouver et al (2007) provide examples of the literature in this area. Work by Shrouver et al (2007) is particularly pertinent because it links niching with gendered labour market segregation. The theories they put forward to explain how migrants find themselves in particular niches in the labour force are summarised below. The most important way in which migrants find work is through networks, with the exchange of information and recruiting done within particular networks. It

then follows that migrants would find themselves concentrated in certain sectors as that is their source of information (Shrouver et al, 2007, 533).

The second theory they put forward is based on Choices theory and is based on work by Portes (1994), which expresses that women make decisions to enter particular work environments that are flexible to enable them to balance family duties. They also choose work that offers security, stability and a choice to invest less in training (Shrouver et al, 2007; 533). Human capital theory shows that individual human characteristics, education and language skills are important factors for their success in the labour market (Shrouver et al, 2007, 535). At the same time, employer's discriminatory practices are seen as responsible for locking migrants out of particular job sectors (Wang, 2006; Shrouver, 2007, 535). Other structural issues related to host society factors explain that in some cases unions and stereotypes within the host society might see women viewed as temporary workers or only able to undertake some types of jobs and thus only offered those specific jobs. In other cases, migrant groups with specific skills can monopolise specific sectors.

Table 5.4 shows the mode used by the Sub-Saharan African women to find their jobs. It is important to note some of the differences based on visa of entry. For humanitarian migrants the most important way was through 'Job Networks' a Government service with, 30 percent of the humanitarian women who were working getting their jobs through this means. Job networks are especially important for semi-skilled jobs. Most importantly, the Table indicates that most of the women working in manufacturing, factory work and cleaning work were referred to their jobs by job networks.

Table 5.4 Modes used by Sub-Saharan African migrants to find current job

Percentage of Humanitarian Migrants and mode of getting current job			
Mode got current job	**Professional Work (n=12)**	**Semi -Skilled Work (n = 32)**	**Total Number (n = 44)**
Through Job Network	16.6	37.5	31.8
Newspaper Advertisement	33.3	18.7	22.7
Private Recruitment Company	16.6	0.0	4.5
Friends and Family	25.0	25.0	25.0
Other	8.3	18.7	15.9
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Percentage of Skilled Migrants and mode of getting current job			
Mode got current job	**Professional Work (n = 39)**	**Semi-Skilled Work (n = 17)**	**Total Number (n = 56)**
Through Job Network	7.5	22.0	10.2
Newspaper Advertisement	30.0	22.2	28.5
Private Recruitment Company	35.0	33.3	34.6
Friends and Family	12.5	22.2	14.2
Other	15.0	0.0	12.2
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan Africans in South Australia, 2009.

The aged care sector is an especially important employer of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia and many of the women interviewed had been able to access it through various ways. Formal advertisements allowed over one third of the aged care workers to enter that sector. It is also important to note that for many of the women in aged care, the two month internship program at the end of the two to six month training for the aged care certificate, allowed them to enter that job market. This shows there is an important linkage between training institutions offering aged

care courses and the job market. Skilled women were more likely to find jobs through more formal channels such as newspapers and private recruitment companies. Table 5.5 shows that close to 50 percent of the nurses interviewed for this study had been recruited by private companies, many of them overseas.

Table 5.5 Mode used by Sub-Saharan African women to find job by major industries

Percentage: Mode used by Sub-Saharan African women to find job by selected occupational classifications

Mode used to find current job	Aged Care (n = 27)	Social jobs (n=19)	Factory Cleaning (n=23)	Nurse (n=24)	Professionals (n =20)	Total (n = 113)
Government Services/ Job Network	11	11	49	13	15	19
Newspaper Advertisement	33	47	9	8	45	27
Private Recruitment Company	7	11	9	50	15	19
Friends and Family Networks	22	16	26	13	15	19
Internships	26	16	9	17	10	16
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

This study found that job networks were especially critical in assisting women with low education and skills to find work. Most of the women found it difficult to find jobs on their own personal initiative as they lacked the skills necessary to work in the Australian modern economy. Most African communities by country of origin are quite small in South Australia, and since the community has very high unemployment rates amongst humanitarian migrants, the migrants did not have the critical number of working migrants who would be useful as networks and contacts to assist or inform the job market in any way. As a result a very small percentage of migrants rely on

personal networks to find jobs and it is only in a limited number of industries, such as aged care.

5.3 SSA African women jobs versus skills

One of the critical issues, of labour force participation for all migrants is the question of whether migrants find jobs that match their skills when they migrate. There is a large literature on migrant women in the labour force which refers to skilled women often in the context of devalued skills, and deskilling that forces women into unskilled jobs (Cresse and Wiebe, 2009, Ho, 2006, Man, 2005; Ho, 2006, Purkayastha, 2003). This study found that close to 60 percent of skilled migrants find professional jobs in Australia. However, it is still important to examine the labour force participation of the Sub-Saharan African community based on the skills they bring to Australia. The following section examines the educational background of Sub-Saharan African women and their previous work experience prior to migration.

5.3.1 Education and Qualifications

Table 5.6 shows the employment status of the African women surveyed based on their educational background. The human capital skills that migrants have and bring to a country are critical to their success in the labour market. The lack of qualifications among refugees from Africa has been documented (Danso, 2001; Hinsliff, 2007; Hugo et al, 2011). The Table shows that humanitarian migrants with no education or with only a primary school education were very disadvantaged in the job market with more than 90 percent of them unemployed. Over 60 percent of those who had graduated from high school were also likely to be unemployed.

Table 5.6 Percentage Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia: Highest Educational qualifications by work status

Percentage: Highest Educational Qualification by Work Status Humanitarian Migrants

Labour Force Status	No Education (n = 32)	Primary School Educated (n = 48)	Secondary School Educated (n = 51)	Tertiary Educated (n = 32)	Total (n = 163)
Professional work	0	0	2	16	4
Semi-skilled labour	3	17	41	47	28
Not in Labour force	97	83	57	38	69
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Percentage: Highest Educational Qualification by Work Status Skilled Migrants

Labour Force Status	Primary School Educated (n = 3)	Secondary School Educated (n =5)	Tertiary Educated (n = 54)	Total (n= 62)
Professional work	0	20	61	55
Semi-skilled labour	0	80	17	21
Not in Labour force	100	0	22	24
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia, 2009.

The high unemployment of African refugees is a particularly important policy issue in the Australian context. Whereas previous cohorts of refugees to Australia who arrived in the post-world war period may also have had low language and educational background. They were able to find employment at the time as there were many jobs for the unskilled (Hugo et al, 2012). However, for African migrants who had little or no education prior to migration, the chances of finding work is very small. Indeed, the

Survey of Sub-Saharan African humanitarian migrants with tertiary education showed that they also had problems in the workforce, with 47 percent of tertiary educated refugees undertaking semi-skilled work and 38 percent not the labour force at all.

5.3.2 Pre-migration employment experiences of SSA African women

One of the other indicators of whether women get jobs that match the jobs they held in Africa is illustrated in Tables 5.7 and 5.8. Most of the humanitarian women had not worked prior to migration. Indeed 81 out of the 168 or over 50 percent humanitarian migrants interviewed, had never worked prior to migration. Even among those who had worked only 13 percent of the 32 humanitarian migrants had professional jobs in Africa were able to find professional work in Australia. This finding is similar to what Colic –Peisker (2006) found, that professional humanitarian migrants have a difficult time finding professional jobs within the Australian context even when they had been professionals in Africa. Indeed 44 percent of those who had professional jobs in Africa are not working in Australia.

Table 5.7 Percentage Sub-Saharan African humanitarian women pre migration employment by work status

Work Status Australia	Employed Professional (n = 32)	Employed Semi-Skilled (n = 16)	Business woman (n = 38)	Not in labour force (n = 168)	Total
Professional	13	0	3	0	4
Semi - skilled labour	44	25	18	25	27
Not in Labour force	44	75	79	74	69
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

Table 5.8 Percentage Skilled Migrants Pre - Migration Employment Status specific jobs

Work Status	Business women (n =28)	Nurses Health Worker (n = 9)	Teachers Community Workers (n = 25)	Other Professi on (n = 4)	Farmers semi-skilled jobs (n = 17)	Not in Labour force (n= 85)	Total (n=168)
Professional work	10.7	11.1	16.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	7.1
Semi-skilled work	14.2	33.3	28.0	25.0	11.7	22.4	21.4
Not in Labour force	75.0	55.5	56.0	75.0	88.2	72.9	71.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

There are some theoretical explanations as to why professional refugees are not able to find employment in host countries. Theory on immigrant occupational mobility as expounded by Chiswick and Lee (2005), explains that refugees face difficulties in the labour market despite being skilled in countries of origin. This is mainly because refugees were found in skilled jobs that are not transferable internationally, such as lawyers, judges and generals. Because they are not selected on specific migration job ready skills they have a problem attaining employment in host countries. This theory can explain the low levels of transferability of skills among Sub-Saharan African migrants in Australia. Teaching and community work are a few of the options open for professional work within refugee camps, however these skills are often difficult to transfer between countries because of the differences in standards and accreditation leading to deskilling. Other professionals also found themselves unable to penetrate the job market.

Among humanitarian migrants interviewed for this study over 20 percent were involved in business activities within Africa. The importance of business and the

informal sector as an important source of employment for women in Africa is well documented (Jiggins 1989; Mapedzahama, 2007), and it is estimated that close to 25 percent of women in Africa are involved in petty trading, home based processing and manufacturing (UN), even within refugee camps there are opportunities for women to be involved in some sort of business enterprise, albeit on a small scale.

The study by Hinsliff (2007) showed that within Australia there were some African women who were involved in business activities. However this study shows that close to 80 percent of them in business in the African context were not working or involved in business in Australia. At the time of the fieldwork for this study there were less than 12 full-time businesses run by members of the African community in South Australia and 6 were owned and run by women. The size of an ethnic community is critical to the growth of ethnic business (Evans, 1989), and given the relatively small African community in Australia, the loss of entrepreneurial skills could be understood. The most common business run by the African women in South Australia was hairdressing. This was also found as an important niche for African women migrants in the United States (Babou, 2007), was seen more successful niche for these African migrants due to the large market created by the African American and the Caribbean population in the United States. This study does not foresee much growth in this industry within an Australia context due to relatively small size of the African community who would be the major market. African hairdressing is a highly intricate skill that takes many hours and requires great dexterity; it is a tradition passed on through generations although there are now colleges that teach young people how to style hair.

There were a few other businesses among the African community in South Australia, some women were involved as recruitment and migration agents. They assist student

migration from Africa and act as a go between with nursing schools and clients in Africa, gaining commission from the nursing schools. Other business ventures for women were family business ventures, such as general stores and ethnic restaurants and also acting as money transfer agents. Most of the business-women had raised their start-up capital by working and in many cases the women worked part-time as well as run the businesses. African ethnic businesses were similar to other ethnic businesses that have been undertaken by other migrant groups in Australia. Chiang (2004, 155) reports that businessmen from Taiwan to Australia entered into ethnic business when they found themselves unable to find formal employment and most of the businesses that they carried out were similar to what the Sub-Saharan African women were undertaking, the majority were interested in wholesale, retail and restaurant businesses. Le (2000) shows the factors that have been identified as important to leading to self-employment by migrants in Australia. The factors include migrant's English skills and Australian labour market experience, as well as the period of residency in Australia, and even more importantly belonging to an ethnic enclave were very important factors in migrant employment. Those who were married, owned a home, and were previously employed in managerial occupations had a higher propensity to be self-employed (Le, 2000, 209). However, migrants who had high levels of education were less likely to be self-employed.

While transferability of skills is a major problem for humanitarian migrants, among skilled migrants, 66 percent of those who had professional jobs in Africa were able to translate those skills in Australia. For example, Table 5.9 shows most of the nurses recruited overseas were still working in Australia. This finding is a reflection of the growing number of nurses and other health professionals recruited in Africa (Adepoju, 2008). It is important to highlight the finding showing that 56 percent of those not in

the labour force in Africa had found professional jobs Australia. This figure reflects, student turned skilled migration from Africa to Australia. It also is a reflection of the high unemployment rate of the highly skilled in some African countries. Unemployment is high in Sub-Saharan Africa, with unemployment rates in 2009 at 8.2 percent. Sub-Saharan Africa is described by the International Labour Organisation as the harshest labour market conditions in the world (ILO,n.d). Many skilled people, despite their skills, might find themselves unable to find employment in Africa.

Table 5.9 Skilled migrants: Pre-migration employment status by employment status in Australia

Work Status Africa	Employed Professional (n = 32)	Percent Employed Semi Skilled (n=1)	Business woman (n= 5)	Not in labour force (n = 27)	Total (n = 65)
Professional	66	0	0	59	57
Semi- Skilled Labour	19	0	20	22	20
Not in Labour force	16	100	80	19	23
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Work Status Australia	Business (n=5)	Nurses Health Workers (n = 17)	Teachers Community Workers (n = 3)	Other Professionals (n = 12)	Farmers semi-skilled jobs (n = 3)	Not in Labour Force (n = 25)	Total (n = 65)
Professional work	20.0	94.0	67.0	50.0	33.3	56.0	61.5
Semi-skilled work	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.0	66.6	20.0	13.8
Not in Labour force	80.0	6.0	33.0	33.0	0.0	24.0	24.6
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan Africans in South Australia, 2009

5.3.3 Recognition of Qualifications

The discussion on whether African migrants get jobs cannot be complete without a discussion on the recognition of African qualifications. The recognition of qualifications has always been a major problem for migrants seeking employment in

Australia (Wooden, 1994). Table 5.10 shows that among skilled migrants 82 percent had submitted their qualifications and of them close to 90 percent had their qualifications recognised and accepted. This finding is also a reflection of the changed migration system. For most of the skilled migrants recruited overseas, the recognition of their qualifications and their approval would have been undertaken prior to migrating. The other skilled migrants, the student migrants who had then applied for skilled migration, would have Australian qualifications which would be from accredited universities and accepted.

Table 5.10 Recognition of Overseas Qualifications and Jobs in Australia

	Humanitarian Migrants			Skilled Migrants		
Recognition of Overseas Qualifications	% Submitted Qualifications (n = 27)	% Not Submitted (n = 19)	% Total Humanitarian (n = 46)	% Submitted Qualification (n = 46)	% Not Submitted (n = 5)	% Total Skilled (n = 51)
Quals recognised	52	11	35	89	20	82
Quals not accepted	48	89	65	11	80	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

The Table shows that only a small percentage of humanitarian migrants, 35 percent, had submitted their qualifications for official recognition, and the rate for submitted qualifications from humanitarian migrants was 52 percent. However, most humanitarian migrants interviewed did not have a problem with the process of official recognition of qualifications, but rather with individual employers who failed to recognise their qualifications. Many migrants claimed that within a competitive situation, the employers were more likely to choose the qualifications they understood and were not willing to trust the African qualifications even if they were recognised.

5.3.4 Attainment of qualifications in Australia

There are very few studies on post-migration attainment of education and qualifications. Chiswick and Miller (1994) explain that post migration attainment of qualifications can be determined by migrants age, prior educational background and prior occupation. This study found that 50 percent of total migrants interviewed had undertaken some course or study in order to upgrade their skills. Table 5.11 shows the courses undertaken by visa of arrival and indicates that skilled migrants were more likely to upgrade their skills for the job market with close to 67 percent having undertaken some training in Australia. Low levels of education discussed above had precluded many humanitarian migrants from undertaking education.

Table 5.11 Sub-Saharan African women course undertaken by visa of migration

Undertaken Educational Qualification	% Humanitarian Migrants (N= 141)	% Skilled Migrants (n = 61)	Total Persons
Yes	42.5	67.2	50.0
No	57.4	32.7	50.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of Course undertaken	% Humanitarian Migrants (n = 68)	% Skilled Migrants (n = 41)	Total Percentage
Certificate in Aged Care and Disability	33.8	4.8	22.9
Certificate in Cleaning	11.7	.0	7.3
Other Certificates	20.5	12.2	17.4
Diploma in Nursing	16.1	19.5	17.4
Other Diploma	1.4	7.3	3.6
Bachelors Commerce	4.4	19.5	10.9
Bachelors Nursing and Health Courses	4.4	12.9	7.3
Bachelors Social Work	1.4	2.4	1.8
Other Bachelor's Degrees	4.4	7.3	5.5
Post graduate in Commerce	1.4	2.4	1.8
Post graduate in Health	.0	7.3	2.7
Other postgraduate course	.0	4.8	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia, 2009.

The study shows there is a definite bias for courses in the health sector with over 50 percent of the courses undertaken by women in nursing and aged care. At the time of the study, the Diploma in Nursing was an important pathway into the job market that allowed migrants to attain a nursing qualification in one and a half years and to register as Enrolled Nurses. For women who had migrated as students, it was a cheaper option for migration as they were able to get employer sponsorship and a temporary working visa that allowed them to work, and upgrade their skills with another two years of study for a bachelor degree qualification in nursing. Degree programs in nursing could then be pursued at a more leisurely pace without expensive, strict and restrictive educational visa conditions. Commerce courses were another popular course among Sub-Saharan Africans skilled migrants. Accounting was an important course for student migrants from Africa as it is for other international students (Birrell and Healy, 2009). Tan (2011) shows that commerce degrees are also popular with international students because they are an important educational pathway for permanent residency in Australia. Skills gained in Accounting allowed the student migrants to remain in Australia as permanent residents.

Although migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa showed incredible agency in undertaking courses and upgrading their skills for the job market it did not always translate into jobs. Table 5.12 shows half of the humanitarian migrants who had undertaken a Diploma in Nursing and two out of three of them had progressed and completed a university degree in nursing, were still working in the aged care sector and were not able to practice as nurses. The major reason for this was the inability of these migrants to pass very stringent professional English Language Standards required for the registration of Nurses by their professional bodies. The Nursing registration required

migrants to sit for an English examination and pass at an IELTS band level 7 score in English Speaking, reading, writing and listening (Nursing and Midwifery Board).

Table 5.12 Selected Course undertaken in Australia and work

Course	Percentage Humanitarian	Percentage Skilled	Total Percentage
Certificate in Aged Care or Disability			
Aged Care and Disability Support	66.6	50.0	64.7
Community and Social Workers	13.3	0.0	11.7
Cleaning	20.0	0.0	17.5
Factory	0.0	50.0	6.8
Total	n = 15	n = 2	n = 17
Certificate Cleaning			
Cleaning	100.0		100.0
Total	n = 5		n = 5
All other certificates			
Community and Social Workers	25.0	40.0	33.0
Factory	75.0	0.0	33.0
Nurses and Health Workers	0.0	20.0	11.0
Businesswomen Managers, Accountants,	0.0	40.0	22.0
Total	n = 4	n = 5	n = 9
Diploma Nursing			
Aged Care and Disability Support	54.5	50.0	52.6
Community and Social Workers	9.0	0.0	5.2
Hospitality	18.1	12.5	15.7
Nurses and Health Workers	18.2	38.0	26.6
Total	n = 11	n = 8	n=19
All other diplomas			
Community and Social Workers	100.0	50.0	67.0
Nurses and Health Workers	0.0	50.0	33.0
Total	n = 1	n = 2	n =3

Course Undertaken	Percentage Humanitarian	Percentage Skilled	Total Percentage
Bachelors Degee in Commerce			
Aged Care and Disability Support	33.3	0.0	9.0
Community and Social Workers	33.3	13.3	18.2
Hospitality	33.3	12.5	18.1
Businesswomen, Managers, Accountants,	0.0	63.0	45.5
Other professionals	0.0	12.5	9.0
Total	n = 3	n = 8	n = 11
Bachelor Nursing			
Aged Care and Disability Support	67.6	20.0	37.5
Nurses and Health Workers	33.3	60.0	50.0
Businesswomen Managers, Accountants,	0.0	20.0	13.0
Total	n = 3	n = 5	n = 8
All other Bachelors			
Community and Social Workers	66.6	0.0	29.0
Factory	33.3	0.0	14.0
Hospitality	0.0	25.0	14.0
Businesswomen, Managers, Accountants,	0.0	50.0	29.0
Other professionals	0.0	25.0	14.0
Total	n = 3	n = 4	n = 7
All Postgraduate			
Nurses and Health Workers		40.0	40.0
Other professionals		60.0	60.0
Total		n = 5	n = 5

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

The level of language required at registration is what can be rated as very good or native speaker level. However, nursing training institutions allowed migrants with functional English of IELTS level 5.5 to enroll in their programs. The problem of deskilling of nurses from overseas and especially those from non-English backgrounds is not entirely new in the Australian context, Hawthorne (2001) shows that nurses from NES backgrounds have a problem in reaching the language registration standards required in Australia. Her study showed that strict criteria for skilled migration at point of entry had often precluded nurses with low English qualifications to migrate (Hawthorne 2001, 227). However, what is different about this study is that mainly humanitarian nurses had undergone and passed their qualifications in accredited Australian institutions. This shows that there was a mismatch between educational institutions and the nursing industry on what was required for professional practice. This study felt that there is need for stricter controls within the educational system to ensure that only those nurses who will meet industry standards on graduation would be able to enroll for courses.

5.4 Unemployed Sub-Saharan African Women in South Australia

Table 5.13 shows results of a question asked about the major reason women gave for why they were not in the workforce. Since unemployment was highest among refugee women, the results show that thirty five percent of them said that they did not work because they had young children who needed care, and 40 percent of the skilled workers. The second reason given was language difficulty. The other reasons given were that they were in school or upgrading their skills, or had experienced racism and discrimination. The next section, examines how language difficulty, childcare and

racism impact on employment outcomes for Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia.

Table 5.13 Reasons given by Sub-Saharan African women for not being in the workforce by visa of migration

Reasons Unemployed	% Humanitarian (n = 71)	% Skilled (n = 5)	Total (n = 76)
Cannot find a suitable job	8.5	0.0	7.9
Lack of Knowledge of job opportunities	5.6	20.0	6.6
Young children who need care	35.2	40.0	35.5
Language Difficulty	32.4	20.0	31.6
Other	18.3	20.0	18.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009

5.4.1 Language

Language is critical to success in the labour market, McManus (1985; 78) notes that when migrants do not communicate in the dominant language, problems in the labour force occur, which include a potential loss of productivity because of an inability to communicate with other workers. This leads migrants to be crowded into occupations and industries where communication with co-workers is not critical and where advancement opportunities are low.

After many years of reported immigrant disadvantage in the labour force, especially among migrants from non-English speaking background, English language skills are taken quite seriously in the selection of migrants in Australia (Stevens, 1999). Most migrants now entering Australia - apart from preferential family migrants and humanitarian migrants - have to prove English language proficiency prior to migration as part of the points test (Stevens, 1999). The only migrants who have major problems

with language are humanitarian migrants and in order to improve the their language skills the government offers 510 hours of free English training to allow them to become proficient in English. English classes commence within the first year of arrival for the humanitarian migrants who then have up to five years to attend classes and complete their hours. A further additional 800 hours is offered to migrants with low levels of literacy to allow them to attain some competency in language literacy and numeracy and to enable them to integrate into the Australian community (AMEP). Although English classes are not compulsory they are tied to social security payments and these migrants must attend English classes full-time which is equivalent to 20 hours a week in order to receive payments giving humanitarian migrants added incentive to attend the classes (DIAC, 2010)

The English competency levels that migrants attain are gauged by an Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating ASLPR. At an ASLPR 1 level of English a migrant would require an interpreter in order to access services but is less than what is required for social proficiency. ASLPR 2 is level of English that would be required for one to obtain a job interview and at ASLPR 3 migrants are already at work (Stevens 1999 citing Abu Duhoh et al, 1993 and House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs). Iredale (1996) argues that it takes between 300 to 510 hours for migrants to raise their English competency by 0.5 on the ASLPR levels.

When migrants attend English second language classes they are placed in classes similar to the ASLPR classifications. These migrants are assigned to classes for Beginners and for those who have not been to school or only attended school for a short time. Certificate 1 training or elementary classes cover basics in language and numbers and by the end migrants should have mastered basic everyday conversation. Certificate 2 prepares migrants' language to a level where they can find a job and or

pathways to further education and Certificate 3 is functional level of English which enables migrants to have functional English for the workplace (Language center, n.d)

This study asked participants what level of English they had completed within the Adult Migrant English Program. Table 5.14 shows that the majority of the women interviewed had quite low levels of English. For example, 28.8 percent of them only had a beginner level of English language proficiency even after completing the 510 hours in classes. These were mainly women with little and no education upon migration and many were not literate in their own native languages. The Table also clearly shows that lack of language contributed to unemployment with 93 percent of women with a beginner level of language not in the labour force**.** Improved English proficiency resulted in improved labour force outcomes.

Table 5.14 Percentage Humanitarian Migrants who attended ESL and work status

	Percentage Certificate Beginner level (n = 45)	Percentage Certificate Elementary Level (n = 49)	Percentage Certificate Intermediate Level (n = 47)	Percentage Certificate Advanced Level (n = 18)	Total (n = 159)
Language Level of Survey Respondents	28.8	30.6	29.4	11.3	100
Current Work Status of Survey Respondents based on Language level					
Not in Labour force	93.0	70.0	51.0	33.3	67.9
Full-time work	2.0	10.2	17.0	22.2	11.3
Part-time work	4.0	10.2	21.2	38.8	15.9
Casual work	.0	4.0	10.6	5.5	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan Africans in South Australia, 2009.

The significance of these results cannot be overstated. It reveals that close to 60 percent of Sub-Saharan African women who migrated on humanitarian visas had less

than an elementary level of English. They were therefore not at a level that was "work –ready", again explaining the high levels of unemployment of refugee women from Sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the women did not have English proficiency to enable them to independently look for a job. They are not able to read newspapers, or even read help wanted signs in front of stores, they could not actively browse the internet, if they use it at all, and in many cases did not have the ability to write a cover letter or draft resumes. Without significant assistance they were shut out of the primary ways in which jobs are advertised in Australia many of which require individual initiative to access the job market.

As part of the fieldwork for this study, the researcher attended job search sessions for African women with low levels of English carried out by a local NGO. The Kilburn Employment Service offers help to migrants who are looking for work. It was a surprise to encounter a woman who had been in Australia for more than six years and yet could not individually apply for jobs. The women who attended these workshops could not send an email and often came to the workshops with their email accounts for the program officers to send emails to companies for work. Another group of women having been given telephone numbers to call factories that were looking for employees could not express themselves in a telephone conversation to ask for particulars of the job. All these women were desperate to work and they religiously visited the Kilburn Employment Service in the hope of getting employment but their poor level of language and skills meant that they were virtually locked out of the job market.

Apart from the language difficulty for the migrant women in accessing the job market, they also had to contend with high standards within the job market in Australia as most jobs required employees to have some level of language proficiency. This is in contrast with other developed countries. For example, jobs that would normally be

considered for migrants with low education and low English skills had low skill jobs in the agricultural harvest industry in the United States (Martin, 2006). In Australia, the same industry relies heavily on working holiday makers (Kinnard, 1999), who are young highly educated persons mainly from Europe who generally have good English language skills. In other industries (Richardson and Martin, 2004) describe young students as the ones most likely to be working in the aged care sector.

Job specifications for positions in the commercial cleaning industry in Adelaide requires applicants to have the ability to read and write comments about cleaning tasks completed on a daily basis. In addition, they need to show that they have an understanding of the different chemicals used. Industry standards are thus generally quite high in most sectors in Australia for jobs that would be considered low skilled in other parts of the world. These jobs are filled by an increasing pool of students, dependents of various visa holders and other temporary migrants, such as working holiday makers who take up what would be considered low skilled jobs traditionally taken up by unskilled migrants. These migrants have raised employer expectations and as the unskilled migrant is competing for the same jobs they find themselves unable to compete effectively in the labour force.

5.4.2 Childcare

Debates on childcare and maternal employment are some of the most heated and emotionally charged in the public sphere in the developed world but also in academia (Saraceno, 2011, Cobb-Clark et al, 1999). For example, Evans and Kelley (2002; 188) begin their paper on childcare by stating that most Australians have substantial moral reservations about employment of mothers with young children under school going age.

It is important to note that an individual's culture and socialisation have a great role to play in attitudes towards childcare. Researcher Rosenthal (1999;483) explains that in many African communities multiple care giving and shared responsibility for young children is a key feature in childcare as it is expected that mothers will work to support their families. Childcare is thus distributed among the extended family and sibling support in caring for young children is encouraged. This attitude is confirmed by Mapedzahana (2007) whose research dwelt on the differences between employed mothers in Australia and Zimbabwe. She concluded that African mothers who work due to economic necessity do not suffer as much 'maternal guilt' as is the case for Australian women. Although it is impossible to make conclusions about attitudes towards care of young children for the whole African community given the various different cultures, it can be deduced that many African women may be interested in joining the labour force even when they have young children. However, many women expressed that it was difficult to find suitable child care and this was a major hindrance to the African women working.

Table 5.15 shows the childcare options used by the Sub-Saharan African women who were interviewed by their work status. The use of formal day-care is quite low among the Sub –Saharan African community with only 25 percent of women from Sub-Saharan Africa using formal day care. The majority of the parents opted to share childcare duties. Although the majority of those employed full-time were more likely to use formal day care, there was a high percentage that relied on their partners for support in child care. Partners sometimes worked different shifts to accommodate their needs for childcare or entrusted other relatives to care for the children.

Table 5.15 Childcare arrangements by women's workforce status

Childcare options	% Employed Full time (n = 35)	% Employed Part time (n = 13)	% Not in Labour force (n = 72)	% Student (n = 15)	% Total (n = 136)
Formal Daycare	40	30.7	19.4	13.3	25
Mother takes care of children	5.7	7.6	41.6	33.3	27.9
Parents share Childcare	28.5	46.1	36.1	53.3	36.5
Other relatives assist	22.8	15.3	2.7	0	9.5
Friends/non relatives assist	2.8	2.7	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

The foremost reason given for women not using formal childcare among the African community is cost. Some Australian studies discount the cost of childcare as being a major hindrance to women using formal care (Rammohan and Whelan, 2005, 2007; Cobb-Clark et al, 1999, Vandenheuvel, 1996). However, this study found that the cost of formal childcare was a major reason for women not using formal care, especially those with more than one child under school going age, despite the quite generous childcare subsidies for parents with low incomes (Schofield and Polette, 1998). The average number of children for the Sub-Saharan African women interviewed for this study is 3.25 and most women had more than one or two children eligible for childcare. The cumulative cost of childcare should not only be calculated in fees paid but other costs such as, provision of 'appropriate' meals, especially for those in family day-care programs, ensuring children have 'appropriate' clothing so as not to be embarrassed at childcare, and transport costs. These extras all add up and become overwhelming and as such a major hindrance for larger families on low incomes to afford formal childcare.

Another issue around childcare is the nature of work that women do and how it impacts on the use of childcare. While casual positions have always been justified for women as they are seen to help women balance their family and work responsibilities. VandenHeuvel (1996) argues that women involved in shift work and or casual work are less likely to use formal day care. For migrant women from Africa the uncertainty of casual work was one of the major problems in trying to balance their work and family responsibilities. Many of the migrant women from Sub-Sahara Africa were working in occupations that require shift work, such as nurses, aged care workers, factory workers and cleaners, so negotiating childcare is seen as a major problem. The very casual nature of jobs means that most women, especially those who worked for agencies in nursing and aged care, just picked up shifts or hours on demand. In many cases they get called for positions with only 24 hours-notice and this made planning for formal childcare quite difficult, as they did not know when they would be working and this uncertainty meant that they could not commit themselves to fixed childcare positions. For others who were required to work at night or in shifts that straddle day and night, there were very few positions for childcare at night with only a few family care workers who accept children through the night. As a result families had to arrange their employment patterns within the family to ensure that they negotiated the care of young children. Fathers took care of the young children and the parents overlap with some working during the day and the others at night in order to care for the children. For the Sub-Saharan African community where there is a high percentage of a female headed household, especially among humanitarian migrants who may not have partners to assist with childcare, this means that women stay out of the labour force to care for children.

While this study cannot accurately predict why there is a preference of some African women to stay at home to care for children, there is still a question of how much migrants adapt to the cultures and ideals of the host society when they migrate. During informal sessions with women some of the reasons given as to why they were reluctant to send children to formal childcare apart from cost, was primarily lack of one on one care of children. They felt the children would be neglected and feared that African children would be discriminated against in a multicultural setting. Most importantly, they felt that their children would be exposed to frequent illnesses passed around children in childcare, such as the flu. As a result, those mothers opted to stay at home and care for their young children.

5.4.3 Racism and Discrimination

Migrant literature on women has always pointed to their triple disadvantage as women, as migrants and issues of race. Studies such as Tilbury and Colic-Peisker (2006) show the discrimination against migrants in accessing the labour market tends to push them into certain labour market niches. Hawthorne (2000) describes racism and discrimination within the professions, especially among nurses. This study also found that indeed there is discrimination in the hiring of African workers. An African woman working at a job network lamented that on many occasions employers would expressly ask her not to send them any African or Muslim workers, which made fitting African workers into positions quite difficult.

For others racism occurred more within the workplace. There were reports of workplace bullying mainly from peers rather than from supervisors. A few women had found the workplace bullying intolerable and had left employers but they were reluctant to report the bullying. Since most women were unwilling to report any

workplace bullying to superiors they also often undertook other strategies, such as searching for new jobs or avoidance of peers that were known to be difficult to work with, especially in the nursing and aged care environments. Other strategies used by the African women to cope with difficult conditions at work, included them coming together in sisterhoods and other social groups at least once a month to share with each other their frustrations at work. The women sometimes talked about bad incidents and then they drew strength from listening to each other. This coping strategy enabled them to face quite serious bullying within the workplace.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that skilled women from Sub-Saharan Africa had either arrived in Australia to take up specific jobs or they undertook studies in areas of specific skill shortages when they had intentions to migrate to Australia. As a result there were high levels of employment among skilled women from Sub-Saharan Africa with over 60 percent of them in professional jobs. On the other hand, humanitarian migrants who had migrated from Sub-Saharan Africa with low qualifications, poor language skills and had not worked prior to arriving in Australia, found themselves completely shut out of the labour market. The Australian labour force structure was very competitive and even jobs that previously would have been classified as unskilled, required levels of English Literacy that the African women were unable to achieve given the specific number of hours allocated to them to learn the language.

This study shows that migrant entry criteria as well as migrant individual agency in selecting careers, shape the occupational concentration of Sub-Saharan African women in Australia. For Sub-Saharan Africans in South Australia, nursing was popular among skilled migrants, and aged care work and cleaning among the semi-skilled.

The survey showed that over 50 percent of the women had undertaken some form of training in order to gain entry into the Australian job market. While many of the Sub-Saharan African women showed great migrant agency in training there were still a few problems. One of the major problems was that there was often a mismatch between educational providers and industry standards, especially in regards to language. Many women had completed their qualifications in accredited Australian institutions and were still unable to meet the language requirements to be professionally registered to take up jobs. This was a waste of human capital and resources that can be easily addressed by policy intervention to ensure that all those who meet education and skill requirements from accredited institutions are able to access to the job market.

Another of the findings in this chapter was the loss of entrepreneurial skills among migrant women. Close to 20 percent of humanitarian women bring these skills with them as it is one of the few avenues for income generation in refugee camps. However many of these women are not able to translate these skills into the Australian job market and more should be done to give them the confidence to start up their own small businesses.

This study has also given some insights into how women negotiate childcare and what hinders them in using formal childcare when engaging in the workforce. Many of the jobs that most African women are employed are not in formal childcare hours as most are engaged in shift work. The women are also engaged in casual positions that do not have very fixed hours and thus they cannot make a commitment to formal childcare. It was found that in the Australian case, the issue of race, class and ethnicity is not a linear one disadvantaging migrants. Women of African descent tend to enter the job market based on how they entered Australia and the skills and qualifications they bring with them.

This study sees Government services playing an important role in assisting humanitarian migrants achieve better work outcomes, especially in areas where Australia has identified shortages in unskilled labour. There is a need for a deeper understanding and a closer working relationship between government services, jobs networks, the unemployed migrant population, especially among humanitarian workers, and the industries that are experiencing shortages might deliver a triple win for all involved.

CHAPTER 6: REMITTANCES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the remittance sending practices of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia and how they impact on their settlement. Remittances are seen as important benefits of international migration and have an important role to play in the development of migrant sending countries. Indeed remittances from international migration are now the largest form of external finance to many developing countries (Maimbo and Ratha, 2005, 2).

In developed migrant host countries, most of the literature on remittances examines the positive aspects of remittances, especially within the debates on temporary versus permanent migration. In these debates, remittances are seen as one of the major benefits of temporary labour migration (Glytsos, 1997, Pinger, 2009, Sinning, 2009, Dustmann and Mestres, 2010). There are cases in which Western governments monitor or resist some remittance flows. This is especially so where there is suspected unlawful practices such as money laundering or a direct security risk. For example, in the closure of Somali remittance sending companies which were linked to terrorist organisations (Horst and Van Hear, 2002, Lindley, 2010). While most of the literature is positive about migrants sending remittances, de Haas (2005, 1275) quotes a Dutch politician; who argues that immigrants should not invest in their country of origin but in the Netherlands in order to strengthen migrant integration. Remittances in this case were perceived as a 'disappearance of income earned in the Netherlands'. However, this view is extremely rare in most Western nations.

Although the impact of remittance sending on the migrants in host countries has received very little research attention the issues it raises are quite significant for both

the migrant receiving and origin countries. While remittances are an important flow of income to developing countries, if sent at the expense of migrant settlement then they raise important policy concerns. For example, will the migrants return? Studies show that resettled refugees are less likely to return (Al-Ali et al, 2001, 618; Zetter, 1999). If they will not return what can be expected when the migrants get older - will they have enough resources for retirement? Does the sending of remittances have any implications for poverty of the migrants in the host country? What is the impact on integration and migrant settlement?

This chapter extends the debate on remittances by focussing on the impact of sending remittances on host communities and how this affects the settlement outcomes of the migrants. By examining the remittance sending patterns of women it is hoped that this will add to the scholarship on gender and remittances which is still in its infancy (Ramirez et al, 2005, Orozco et al, 2006). It also provides important groundwork and thinking around some of the pertinent questions raised.

The chapter begins an examination of the characteristics of those who remit and do not remit. This is then followed by an analysis of who receives the remittance money and its use. This is to gain a better understanding of the proportion of income sent in remittances by women and whether this is having adverse social and economic effects on their settlement. The analysis of the results is separated for humanitarian and skilled migrants as their migration and settlement patterns are quite distinct.

6.2 The determinants of remittances

Although the literature on gender and remittances is still in its infancy, a gendered and analytical framework has been proposed by Sorenson (2004) as a useful guide to

understand what determines the amount and characteristics of remittances. These guidelines are outlined in Table 6.1 and should be taken in the context of the social, economic and political values, as well as cultural values of the migrant group (UNINSTRAW, 2005). This study examines some of the factors raised by Sorensen in examining the remittance sending patterns of Sub-Saharan African women living in South Australia.

Table 6.1 Gender variables that determine the amount and characteristics of remittances

- Legal status of the migrants,
- Marital status
- Household income level
- Level of employment and occupational status in the countries of origin and destination
- Length of stay abroad
- Labour market available to migrants
- Cost of living in the destination country
- Number of dependents in the household in the country of origin and family relationships
- Household members working abroad
- Wage rates
- Economic activity in the countries of origin and destination
- Facilities for money transfers, Exchange rates between the country of origin and the destination country

Source: Sorenson 2004.

With the growing feminisation of migration, there is quite a lot of interest in whether women remit more than men. One school of thought (Sorensen, 2005, Piper, 2005) explains that because of womens' feminine and caring role, they are expected to have longer lasting contacts with family members and as a result it is expected that women remit more than men. Studies (Orozco et al, 2006; Holst, 2010, Kunz, 2008) show that even though women remit higher proportion of their wages than men, because they earn less in wages the net figure of remittances for women is lower than that of men.

The literature on gender and remittances has also examined other dimensions to remitting. For example, Orozco (2006) shows that women do remit more than men to other family members including distant family members, while most men tend to remit to immediate families and their spouses. Remittance sending for the maintenance of transnational families, especially for the care of children, is another growing area of research (Hugo, 2005; Wong, 2006; Orozco and Paiewonsky, 2007; Orozo et al, 2008; Ukwatta, 2010). Holst (2010) shows that women will tend to remit more money if they are sending to children, siblings and other relatives and families who live abroad.

Another gender dimension often studied is whether the position of women in the household has an effect on whether women remit or not. Studies (Curran,1996; Vanwey, 2004) show that in Thai Culture, daughters are more likely to remit than sons as they receive religious merit for their families. The question of marital status of remitters has often received little scholarship, as it is assumed that women who are married are not serious remitters. For example, the UNINSTRAW (2005) working paper on women and remittances classifies women who are dependents of husbands as having little relevance in remittance sending. While King (2006) refers to remittances from married women in an Albanian context as 'coffee remitters' and their remittances are seen more in the light of gifts rather than serious financial flows.

6.3 Remittance sending among Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia

This section examines the characteristics of remittance senders among the African community in South Australia. Questions surrounding money are normally viewed with suspicion in this community (Lindley, 2009), and the response rate for questions about money was lower than for the overall survey. Nevertheless, 180 migrants

answered the question on whether they send money regularly and the analysis of these results form the basis of this chapter.

Close to 77 percent of the Sub -Saharan African women surveyed here were sending remittances to Africa. The fact that three out of four Sub-Saharan African women were found to be sending remittances regularly, confirms what other studies (Oroczo et al, 2006, 21; Bollard et al, 2010, 605) have shown in terms of high remittance sending levels among African migrants.

Table 6.2 Percentage of women sending money regularly to Sub-Saharan Africa employment status and visa of arrival

			Humanitarian Migrants		
Send money regularly	Percentage Full time workers	Percentage Part Time Workers	Percentage Casual Workers	Percent Not in Labour Force	Percent Total
Humanitarian migrants	100	85	86	67	74
Total	n = 15	n = 13	n = 7	n = 87	n = 122
			Skilled Migrants		
Send money regularly	Percent Full time workers	Percent Part Time Workers	Percent Casual Workers	Percent Not in Labour Force	Percent Total
Skilled migrant remitters	90	75		83	87
Total	n = 31	n = 8		n = 6	n = 45

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009

Table 6.2 shows remittance sending patterns of Sub-Saharan African women migrants based on their employment and visa status. Overall, 87 percent of skilled migrants were sending remittances compared to 74 percent of humanitarian migrants. However, for those humanitarian migrants in the workforce their remittance sending patterns are higher than skilled migrants, at almost 100 percent when in full-time employment. However, because of high unemployment rates among humanitarian migrants, the percentage of humanitarian women from South Australia who were remitting and were not in the workforce was 67 percent.

The findings of this study confirm other remittance literature, especially around refugee remittances (Lindley, 2009, 123; Carling, 2008, 586), which show humanitarian migrants have high levels of remittance sending practices even when not in employment. Their remittance sending practices are an important policy issue, especially if they are living on state benefits and thus would be on the poverty thresholds within Australia.

6.4 Characteristics of remittance senders among Sub-Saharan African women

6.4.1 Education

Table 6.3 shows the effects of education on remittance sending practices of Sub-Saharan African women, and that for both humanitarian and skilled migrants the higher the level of education the more likely they will remit.

Table 6.3 Educational characteristics of remittance senders among Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia by visa type

		Humanitarian Migrants		
Highest Education Attained	Percentage No Education	Percentage Primary School	Percentage Secondary School	Percentage Tertiary Educated
Humanitarian Migrants Remitters	60.0	67.0	86.0	76.0
Total	n = 15	n = 21	n = 30	n = 19
		Skilled Migrants		
Highest Education Attained	Percentage No Education	Percentage Primary School	Percentage Secondary School	Percentage Tertiary Educated
Skilled Migrants Remitters			75.0	87.2
Total			n = 6	n = 34

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

The literature on educational characteristics of remitters is divided on whether education is a factor in determining who remits. Niimi et al (2008) and Carling (2008) claim that education has no impact on remittance sending which can also be argued here as over 60 percent of those without an education were remitting. However, studies (Porine, 1997; Porine and Brown, 2004) of the Pacific region show remittance sending does occur as a result of migrants' contractual agreements with families and the payment of loans for education received. This could explain the high levels of remittance sending among tertiary educated skilled migrants.

6.4.2 Length of Stay in Australia

The question of whether remittances decrease in time is quite an important question, especially for policy makers interested in remittance sending and their effects. Under the NELM frameworks, remittances are expected to decline with time as connections to home weaken, loans are paid off, migrants are joined by other family members in host countries or they become more settled and feel less at risk in the host country. However, Carling (2008; 593) in his review of the literature around remittance decay, shows that due to different theoretical and methodological practices, it is difficult to determine whether remittances do decay in time. Literature on migration from the US and Mexico corridor, confirm that close to a quarter of migrants still remit even after 20 to 30 years (Suro, 2005). Perhaps a better perspective is elucidated by a review of literature on remittance sending patterns of Pacific Islander communities in Australia. Greico (2004) shows that migrants continue to send remittances even after extended periods of time abroad, and explains that they remain high in very poor societies where migrant households have to continually support their families even when separated for extended periods of time. It is only among the second generation of migrants that remittances are seen to decline as evidenced by studies such as Lee (2009).

Table 6.4 shows remittances of Sub-Saharan African women based on the time they have been in South Australia. Among humanitarian migrants, remittance sending seems to slightly decrease with length of stay, with lower levels of remittance sending after 5 years. Although it is difficult to conclusively speculate on the reasons for this among humanitarian Sub–Saharan African women given the relative newness of the community. Among skilled migrants the pattern also shows that in the 5-9 year period since migration, with very high remittance patterns before the rate decreases for those who have lived in Australia for longer periods. The lower levels of remittance sending practices among skilled migrants within the first years of settlement can be explained by the fact that many skilled migrants are initially settling into the system and the job market. Although the table shows that remittances decline after the 10 year mark to 60 percent, for skilled there is no meaningful conclusions that can be made about the trend given the very small numbers involved in this study. However it may well be that remittances drop as connections to home countries diminish.

Table 6.4 Remittance sending based on length of stay in Australia by visa type

		Humanitarian Migrants	
Length of Stay in Australia	Percentage 0 - 4 years	Percentage 5 - 9 years	
Humanitarian Migrants Remitters	75.3	71.1	
Total	n = 58	n = 32	
		Skilled Migrants	
	Percentage 0 - 4 years	Percentage 5 - 9 years	Percentage Over 10 years
Skilled Migrants Remitters	85.0	95.2	60.0
Total	n = 17	n = 20	n = 3

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

6.4.3 Amount of remittances

Among women from Sub-Saharan Africa, skilled migrants remit almost double the amount that is remitted by humanitarian migrants. The average skilled migrant remits around 431.25 dollars each month, whereas the average humanitarian migrant sends an average of 246 dollars monthly. Policy makers, especially in developing countries, are extremely interested in finding out the remittance sending patterns and differences between skilled migrants and those who are unskilled (Faini, 2007; Niimi et al, 2008). This study shows that when survey results are controlled for income, patterns for both skilled and humanitarian migrants are very similar. That is remittance sending increases with income. Table 6.5, must be interpreted with cautious because the skilled migrants have higher rates of remittance sending than humanitarian migrants when based on income, but that higher levels of household income among humanitarian migrants are in most cases not as a result of work but rather as a result of larger families. The larger the families, the more income the humanitarian migrants control.

Table 6.5 Sub-Saharan African women remittance senders based on household income by visa type

	Humanitarian Migrants Percentage			
Household Income	< 1000 dollars per month	1000 - 2000 dollars per month	Over 2000 dollars per month	As Percentage of Total
Humanitarian Remitters	72.5	79.1	78.5	76.4
Total	n = 29	n = 38	n = 11	n = 78
	Skilled Migrants Percentage			
Household Income	< 1000 dollars per month	1000 - 2000 dollars per month	Over 2000 dollars per month	As Percentage of Total
Skilled Migrants Remitters	70.0	92.3	90.0	86.0
Total	n = 7	n = 12	n = 18	n = 37

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

6.4.4 Family characteristics

This study examined remittance sending based on family characteristics of the Sub-Saharan African women. The two major characteristics examined are marital status and number of children. Table 6.6 shows the percentage of remitters based on marital status.

Table 6.6 Remittance senders based on marital status by visa type

	Humanitarian Migrants		
Marital Status	Single Never Married	Married	Divorced/Widowed
Humanitarian Migrants Remitters	81.5 n = 22	73.2 n = 52	66.7 n = 16
	Skilled Migrants		
	Single Never Married	Married	Divorced/Widowed
Skilled Migrant Remitters	83.3 n = 15	88.9 n = 24	

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

6.4.5 Marital Status

According to Carling (2008; 587) most remittance studies show marital status is not a determinant of remittance behaviour. This study shows that, among humanitarian migrants, those who are single are most likely to remit. This is consistent with other studies such as Decimo (2005) who showed that among the Somali community, women were more likely to remain unmarried because of pressure to remit to family members. However, the trend is different among skilled migrants, those who are married are more likely to remit than the singles. Many of the skilled migrants interviewed were more likely to have migrated as international students, and to come from families that could afford to send them to Australia and thus require remittances. This study also shows that few women were remitting to husbands overseas, as only 12

percent of the married humanitarian women were remitting to husbands overseas and less than 3 percent among the skilled women. The high levels of remittances among the married skilled migrants are due two incomes making it easier for married skilled women to remit. Among humanitarian migrants it is understandable that divorced and widowed women have lower levels of remittance sending.

6.4.6 Presence of children

The majority of Australia's migrants bring their children with them. Table 6.7 shows remittance sending practices based on the number of children and that it was quite high when among women with children showing that the presence of children was not a hindrance to remittance sending.

Table 6.7 Percentage of remittance senders based on Children by visa type

	Humanitarian Migrants Percentage		
Number of children	1 - 3 children	4 - 5 children	6 and over
Humanitarian Migrants Remitters	69.00 n = 29	69.40 n = 25	87.50 n = 14
	Skilled Migrants		
	1 - 3 children	4 - 5 children	6 and over
Skilled Migrant Remitters	89.50 n = 19		

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

Indeed, the study shows that among humanitarian migrants, those with larger families were more likely to remit. Remittance sending is probably easier within larger humanitarian families because they are better able to share fixed costs on rent and bills than would be the case for smaller humanitarian families which means the women are able to control larger amounts of money.

6.5 Characteristics of non-remitters.

Although there is a high remittance sending culture among the Sub-Saharan women community in South Australia, close to 23 percent of the women surveyed did not send remittances. Table 6.8 shows the characteristics of Sub-Saharan African Women in South Australia who did not send remittances.

Table 6.8 Characteristics of Non Remitters by visa type

	Visa of Arrival	
	% Humanitarian (n = 31)	% Skilled (n = 6)
Work force status of non-remitters	Percent	
Not in Labour Force	93.5	16.7
Working.	6.5	83.3
Education status of non-remitters		
No post -school qualifications	80.6	16.7
Post -School qualifications	19.4	83.3
Migrants not remitting by visa of arrival		
1 - 199 dollars per week	8.3	16.7
200 - 499 dollars per week	37.5	33.3
500 - 999 dollars per week	41.7	16.7
Over 1000 dollars per week	12.5	33.3
Non remitters by time spent in Australia		
0 - 4 years	86.4	13.6
5 - 9 years	92.9	7.1
Marriage Status of Non Remitters		
Single	62.5	37.5
Married	86.4	13.6
Divorced	100	
No of children among non-remitters		
1 - 3 children	50	100.0
4 - 5 children	42.3	
Over 6 children	7.7	

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

Of the women not remitting, 94 percent of humanitarian migrants were not in employment. The majority (80 percent) also had a less than secondary school education which helps explains the lack of employment. In regards to time spent in Australia, those who had stayed in Australia longer had higher rates of non-remittance. Over 88 percent of non-remitters among humanitarian migrants had an income of less than 48,000 dollars a year. In regards to family characteristics, most of the non-remitters were more likely to be married. In regards to children, those with fewer children among humanitarian migrants were less likely to remit. Despite the small sample of non–remitters, long-term unemployment could be a major factor in not sending remittances. This means that the women are experiencing prolonged poverty in Australia to a level where they find it difficult to remit.

The characteristics of non-remitters among skilled migrants were even more difficult to discern due to the small number with only six of the skilled migrants interviewed in the survey not sending remittances. Of the six, one was not in employment, 5 out of the 6 had migrated as students and then transitioned to become skilled migrants. Three of these migrants were currently working as professionals and a probable reason as to why they were not remitting is that they were from wealthier families in Africa, who could afford to send their children abroad to study.

6.6 Utilisation of remittances

There is considerable research interest in how remittances are used and their impact on the economies of developing countries, especially their impact on poverty reduction (Sander and Maimbo, 2005; Gupta et al, 2007; Crush et al, 2011; Ratha et al, 2011). This section will, however, only look at specific literature around remittance usage and how they relate to Africa and this study.

A review of the literature on remittances within the African context shows most remittances were sent for consumption, primarily for daily household maintenance as well as for education and health (Taylor, 1999; Chimhowu et al, 2005; Pendleton, 2006). It is important to note that there is some debate on the definitions around remittance uses which were earlier categorised as either 'wasteful or frivolous consumption – used on houses, feasts, cars, clothes' (de Haas, 2005, 1274) as opposed to 'productive investment'. Productive investments include business ventures which were seen as to stimulate employment generation and economic development to combat poverty (Goldring, 2002). It is difficult to draw a line between productive investments and consumption uses. For example, Taylor (1999, 72-73) shows that education is often not seen as a productive investment because it does not have direct employment and income linkages, and yet it has long-term community benefits. Another example from Taylor (1999, 72-73) is building houses which is also not seen as a productive investment, but does have an impact on family health and also helps stimulate village construction activities.

In Africa, the remittance literature (Azam and Gubert, 2006; Pendleton et al, 2006; Dobson et al, 2008) reveal that most remittances are a lifeline to survival. Studies on remittances in Africa (Pendleton et al, 2006, Dobson et al, 2008), the South African Migration Project, which looks at south to south remittances within the continent, shows how remittances are used for basics, such as making sure households have enough food to eat and clean water. Their studies show that remittances are not 'squandered' on luxury items (Pendleton et al, 2006; 33). These studies conclude that remittances are actually lifelines and active tools to keep poverty away but they may not have any developmental value (Pendleton et al, 2006; de Bruyn and Wets, 2006).

The Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia revealed that among humanitarian migrants, almost all migrants sent money to be used for daily consumption and other important needs like education and health as shown in Table 6.9. Though there are only a few studies on gender differences in remittance sending and usage, this finding is consistent with most other studies that confirm women are more likely to send money for consumption, especially for education and health (Chimhowu et al, 2005). Only about 6 percent of humanitarian migrants were sending any money for investments, while 20 percent of skilled migrants did so. In this study investments were classified as investing in real estate, land and housing, as well as investing in businesses.

Table 6.9 Use of remittance money sent by Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia by visa type (percent)

Remittance Use	Daily Consumption, food, rent	Remittance use education	Remittance use health care	Remittance use investment construction of housing, businesses	Total
Humanitarian Migrants Remitters	97.7	57.5	56.3	6.9	n = 87
	Daily Consumption, food, rent	**Remittance use education**	**Remittance use health care**	**Remittance use investment construction of housing, businesses**	**Total**
Skilled Migrants Remitters	81.6	60.5	42.1	21.1	n = 39

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

The low level of money sent for investments confirms gender differences in motivation to send remittances between men and women. The literature reports that a significant proportion of remittances sent from the Diaspora in the Sub-Saharan African context

are spent on land purchases, building houses and businesses (Ratha et al, 2011; 66-68). However the women interviewed for this study were more likely to send money for consumption and the care of the families rather than for investment. Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) showed that women from the Dominican Republic were more likely to want to stay in the host country and more likely to invest in that country than investing in home countries. The low levels of remittances that were sent for investment among African women, indicates that most Sub-Saharan African women are more likely to stay permanently in Australia.

6.7 Who receives the remittances?

Table 6.10 shows there are some differences in remittance recipients among humanitarian migrants and skilled migrants with most skilled migrants remitting for the care of parents, while most humanitarian remittance was for other relatives, primarily siblings. This study was interested in remittances sent to children given that Australia's migration program supports family units, especially among humanitarian migrants, and 27 percent of them were remitting to children.

Table 6.10 Percentage of remittance receivers as sent by Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia by visa of arrival

Remittance Receivers	Children	Spouses	Parents	Relatives	Friends	Total
Humanitarian Migrants Remitters	26.4	12.6	48.3	63.2	27.6	n = 87

Remittance Receivers	Children	Spouses	Parents	Relatives	Friends	Total
Skilled Migrants Remitters	12.8	2.6	79.5	46.2	17.9	n = 39

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009

Box 1. Recipients of remittances from Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia

Case Studies: Remittances sent to Children

1. *Grace works in an aged care home and has five children.(3 Biological and 2 Adopted) living with her in Australia and she sends remittances to her mother who lives in Guinea taking care of her 2 Biological children split from her in war and 2 of her sisters children – her sister died in the war. She is hoping to resettle her mother and the children in Guinea but it has been a difficult process in the meantime, she is the sole provider for her family in Australia and Guinea. For a single mum the cost of caring for her family and remittances burden is extremely heavy.*

2. *Mariam is 45 and has 4 children. Her eldest son was born when she was in her teens and he also married young. At the time of resettlement he was 21 years old and he was not eligible for resettlement as he was considered a grown up. Mariam travelled with her other children who were in their teens but still feels that she has left her ' child' behind in Africa. She cannot bear to think that he is suffering in the camp while she and her other children are living in comfort. Although she does not have a job she regularly sends money to her son and his family to make sure he is as comfortable as he can be in Africa. She has been unable to sponsor him for migration to Australia because she and her husband do not have jobs and thus she cannot show that she is financially capable of sponsoring a number of family members.*

3. *Margaret migrated to Australia with her husband. In the camp her husband was married to two other women and they all had children. While she was very happy to be the one he chose for resettlement, she feels an obligation to remit to her husband's other wives and pay school fees for their children. She explains that she does this to keep the whole family happy. Although she explains it is a difficult strain on her and her husband's finances who also have children to raise in Australia it is an obligation she feels they must meet in order to be fair to all the children and to give them a chance at a good life. She hopes that they will be able to sponsor the step children so as to ease the burden they have in caring for the children while abroad.*

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009

Once resettled they had better access to communication and more income, and were more likely to get in touch with family members scattered in different directions due to war than is the case in the refugee camps. For others, those they considered children had already reached the age of 18 at the time of migration and they were considered adults and not included in the immediate family eligible for resettlement. Families who were from polygamous backgrounds in Africa were also more likely to report that they were assisting family members left behind, including their children.

In regards to remitting to spouses, 12 percent of the humanitarian women migrants sent to a spouse. Some of the spouses they had separated during war were found after the women had resettled in Australia, others had travelled back after resettlement. This was especially for the South Sudanese community who in the lead up to independence elections and self-governance had seen some humanitarian men travel back to nation build as the country prepared to gain independence (SBS, 2011). Humanitarian migrants also sent high levels of remittances to siblings and other members of the extended family.

Remittances were also sent to friends some 27 percent, which reflected cultural values such as 'Ubuntu' and the close bonds formed and cultivated through survival during and after war. Many humanitarian migrants felt that they were obligated to assist those who had assisted them now that they were in a better financial situation.
One aspect that is often left out of the remittance literature is the remittance load that each migrant felt that they were obliged to assist. On average, the humanitarian migrants said that their remittances assisted close to 10 family members, whereas skilled migrants reported that their remittances assisted on average 6 persons. This is

an especially high load per migrant. This explains why there is such a high level of remittances used for consumption.

6.8 The impact on remitters

This section begins with a short literature review of the few studies that give a glimpse of the issues surrounding remittance sending, migrant settlement and integration. It is interesting that studies on remittances from a sender's perspective have started among resettled African humanitarian migrants. The literature has mainly been conducted around African resettled refugee groups in developed countries Akuei (2005) studying Southern Sudanese refugees in the United States, Horst (2008) studying Somali Refugees in the United States, Lindley (2009) studying Somali refugees in the United Kingdom and Johnson, Stroll (2008) studying Sudanese refugees in Canada and Kankonde (2009) studying Congolese migrants in South Africa. Resettlement of African refugees to developed countries started in earnest from the 1990's and as they began to be resettled, it was evident that much had to be learnt about how they were adapting. Although there are very few studies on the effects of migrants sending remittances, Lindley (2009, 133 - 134) summarises the effects very well when she states there are different types of effects of sending remittances for migrants. First, there are serious economic effects for migrants in the destination countries. Where migrants, who are living on the fringe of society in host countries, many are on government support which just ensures a minimum standard of living which is stretched further when they have to remit. For example, a study (Kankonde, 2009) showed that 31 percent of Congolese migrants living in poor suburbs of Johannesburg were poorer than the South African poor living in worse living conditions, with many such individuals sharing living quarters.

Remittance sending also has been seen as a reason why migrants might accept poorly paid work, or work in unpleasant conditions in order to send money home. Migrants also may not have any extra money or time to spend on training or looking for better jobs (Lindley, 2009). Migrants also may not have enough to save for the future due to their remittance behavior, although some remittances such as investments in home countries might be an indication that migrants intend to return.

The second effect is the enormous psychological stress that is placed on migrants because of their remittance behaviour. A former refugee now scholar Akuei (2005) explains some of the problems refugees have had in settling in Western countries, dubbing remittances a significant and 'unforeseen burden' on refugee adaptation. Her study explains the incredible pressure on migrants to remit, because of familial obligation. She also explains that remittance recipients exert great psychological pressure to ensure that migrants remit, for example constant phone calls and threats of being disowned. Kankonde (2009) also explains that threats may be spiritual curses and witchcraft used to threaten migrants to ensure that the flow of remittances. This pressure to remit is what Johnson and Stroll (2008) identify as a major problem and conclude that sending remittances was leading to high levels of financial and emotional stress among African refugee migrants in Canada as they were finding it difficult to meet their own basic expenses of food, shelter and bill payments.

Another effect identified about sending remittances on migrants is marital and intergenerational conflict (Lindley, 2009; 136). Marital conflict occurs as couple's argue about the share of family resources to be remitted, as well as to which family the remittances are sent. In addition, there is intergenerational conflict as children, who in many cases have not lived with extended family, do not understand why their parents insist on sending money to distant relatives.

6.9 Remittance sending among African women and the migrants financial position

6.9.1 Income

Table 6.11 shows the self -reported income of remittance senders as well as the source of their income. The majority of the humanitarian remitters were receiving welfare payments from the government (80 percent) and only 33 percent of those who were remitting had some paid work. About 40 percent of those who remit among humanitarian migrants had an income of less than 2000 dollars monthly or less than 24,000 dollars yearly. The reported income of remittance senders, especially among humanitarian migrants was well below what was expected in terms of the poverty threshold in Australia at the time. Australia's poverty threshold and poverty lines are measured at half of the median or average income of individuals (Saunders et al, 2007; Commonwealth of Australia, 2004). Australia's absolute poverty income threshold line calculated at the December 2009 quarter (when the fieldwork for this study was completed) was an income of 401 dollars weekly or 21,000 dollars per year for a single person, or 753 dollars weekly or less than 40,000 dollars for a family of two adults and two children (Melbourne Institute, 2009). A 2004 Australian Parliament Senate Committee Report on Poverty in Australia noted that many of those who receive government assistance and payments are at risk of living in poverty or below the poverty line in Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 2004). The majority of those who were remitting, especially among humanitarian migrants were not only receiving welfare, their income levels were considered well below the Australian poverty line.

Table 6.11 Source of income and levels of remittance among senders among Sub-Saharan Africans in Australia by visa type

Source of income	% Humanitarian migrant (n = 89)	% Skilled Migrant (n = 38)
Income paid work	32.60	89.5
Income business	3.40	5.3
Income Government assistance	80.90	13.2
Income family	7.90	2.6

Total Income	% Humanitarian Migrant (n = 90)	% Skilled Migrants (n=37)
<800 dollars monthly	14.1	8.1
800 - 2000 dollars monthly	23.0	10.8
2000 - 4000 dollars monthly	48.7	32.4
Over 4000 dollars monthly	14.1	48.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan Africans in South Australia, 2009.

The following case study illustrates these results.

Box 2. Financial strain on Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia

Case Study: Financial strain

Margaret migrated to Australia 5 years ago. Although she does not work she controls an income of over 2000 dollars each month which comes in as parenting payments for her 3 children. She often remits not less than 300 dollars monthly to family members in Africa including her parents, brothers and her sister's families. She sends remittances on a needs basis when a family member calls and asks for assistance rather than on a regular basis to a particular family each month. For her remittances are a burden, as she sends money to different members of her extended family each month. Every week she receives calls of need from various family members. There are always illnesses and other emergencies and she feels obliged to help all. In Australia she is grateful her children receive scholarships for school uniforms and books from a local charity. She confessed that often goes to various charity organisations to seek for assistance to pay electricity bills when she could not afford to make the payments. She also regularly goes to all sorts of charities to find out if she is eligible for different programs to allow her to survive in Australia as well as care for her family overseas.

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

6.9.2 Remitters financial situation

This section expands the knowledge on remittance senders to examine how they rate their financial situation. It also examines if migrants had to rely on charities for basic necessities, as well as examining remittance sending in light of other financial obligations that migrants might have. Table 6.12 shows that 32 percent of humanitarian migrants who were remitting had gone to a charity organisation for assistance during the year they were remitting, they had gone to a food bank, or to get assistance with the payment of bills. This is a real indicator of the levels of financial stress for humanitarian migrants who are remitting.

Table 6.12 Self-reported financial commitment of Sub-Saharan African women who visit by visa type

Financial indicators of remitters	Percentage Humanitarian	Skilled	Percent of All Remitters
Received charity assistance in last year	32.9	5.1	24.0
Repaying loan	31.4	61.1	39.0
Reason for loan			
Mortgage for house	23.0	70.0	43.0
To buy a car	40.0	17.0	30.0
To meet day to day living costs	10.0	0.0	6.0
Other	27.0	13.0	20.0
Self-reporting of financial situation			
Very poor	9.0	3.0	6.6
Just managing	66.0	35.0	56.6
Doing well	25.0	61.5	36.9

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

Not many humanitarian remitters had taken out loans or were drowning in debt, indeed only 30 percent of those remitting had taken out other types of loans. Generally humanitarian migrants were not taking mortgages or gaining any property in Australia.

Those humanitarian migrants who had taken any loans were mostly servicing consumption costs such as buying cars (40 percent) and day to day living. The case study below (Box 3) illustrates this.

Box 3. Financial Commitments and Plans of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia

Case Study: Financial Commitments, Remittances and Future plans.

Jeanette migrated as a single woman. She has an extended family in the refugee camp as well as a fiancée. She has a job in a factory and earns 2000 dollars each month. She has a one bedroom flat where she pays rent of 800 dollars each month. Her other expenses including food, transport and bills all add up to another 600 dollars per month. She remits 200 dollars each month to her family and 100 dollars to her fiancée. In the meantime she is working very hard, to save for her fiancée to join her. Jeanette has been trying to raise 20,000 dollars to bring her fiancée to Australia. She needs 5000 dollars to deposit with Centerlink as assurance of support deposit for her fiancée. Another 2000 dollars to process his migration case send him for medicals and other visa related costs. Another 2000 was used to pay for a wedding and 4000 dollars for an airfare. In order to meet all these costs she has joined a local group from her home town and borrowed 10,000 dollars from the welfare kitty of her community group which she will pay back at a 10 percent interest

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan Africans in South Australia, 2009.

It is a worrying indicator that humanitarian migrants are not making any long-term investments in Australia. However, despite the poverty levels indicated above very few of the remitters said they rated themselves as poor. Most humanitarian migrants felt that they were just managing financially and this might be due to how they rate their poverty vis-a vis what life was like in refugee camps rather than their relative poverty as compared to the Australian population.

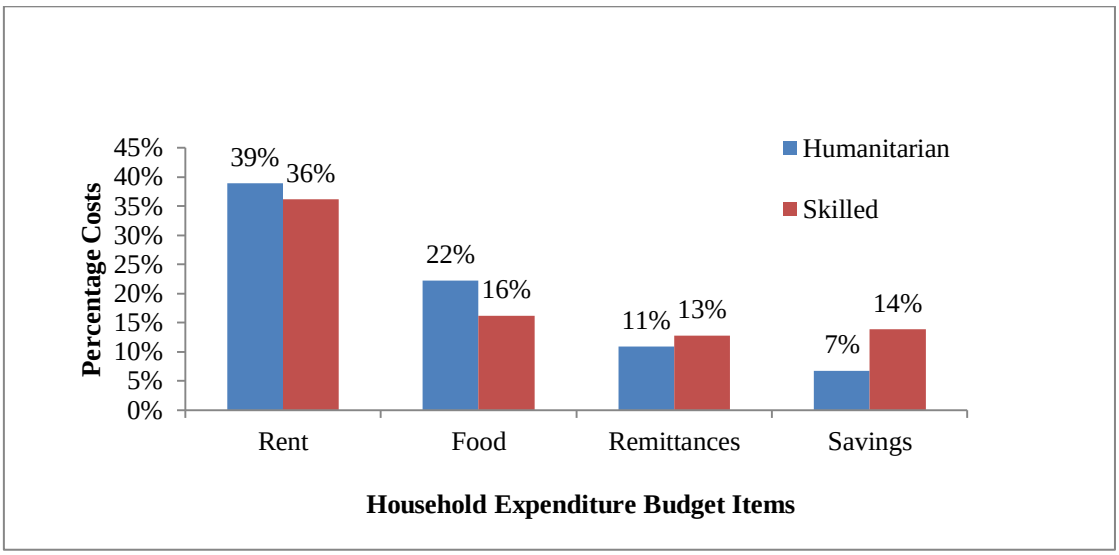
The story was however quite different among skilled migrants, 61 percent of them who were remitting had also taken out loans and most of the loans for skilled migrants were

to service home loans (70 percent) which indicates that skilled migrants were planning long-term investments in Australia.

6.9.3 Remittance sending and household expenditure among Sub-Saharan African Women in South Australia

This section looks at the importance of remittances vis a vis household spending in order to assess the effect of remittances on household expenditure. Figure 6.2 shows the bulk of expenses for both humanitarian and skilled migrants was around housing, about 40 percent of income spent on either paying rent or servicing mortgages. The amount spent on food was also quite a high, especially for humanitarian migrants, they tended to budget twice for food, once on what they spent on daily meals at home but y also on what they spent on food for children to take to school, and they also had larger families which accounts for the large expenditure for food.

Figure 6.1 Household expenditure for humanitarian and skilled migrants – Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia



Humanitarian N=89, Skilled N=39

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

What is really important for this study is the nexus between migrant savings and remittances. It is important because it gives an idea as to where migrants are investing for the future and it is a good indicator of the return intentions of migrants, or future burden of migrants to host societies if migrants are not saving for their retirement. There has been some research interest in the savings and remittances of migrants (Osili, 2007; Sinning, 2009; Bauer and Sinning, 2011), which seem to point to lower savings among migrants as opposed to citizens in the host communities. For example Bauer and Sinning (2011; 443) conclude that the lower savings rate among migrants will be an additional burden on welfare systems in Germany as migrant groups reach retirement age.

This study found some interesting facts around savings and remittances of the Sub-Saharan African women in Australia. Among humanitarian migrants only 34 percent reported to saving money regularly and the mean amount they were saving was about 110 dollars monthly. The fact that the savings rates are so low among humanitarian migrants is quite understandable, with many not working and on social security benefits. However, it is important to note that among humanitarian migrants those who had a savings culture were saving around 7 percent of their income, almost half of what they were remitting.

Saving rates were higher among skilled migrants with about 53 percent of the skilled women reporting to be saving money regularly, approximately 305 dollars monthly. It is important to note that remittances were just as important as food and family savings for skilled migrants. That most skilled women saved up to 14 percent of their income monthly (refer to Figure 6.2) is quite impressive. However, most of the women

reported that their savings were mainly a cushion against periods of non-employment, as most women were involved in part-time or casual jobs and their tenuous relationship with the job market had encouraged them to develop a savings culture.

This section has shown that although remittance sending is equally important for skilled and humanitarian migrants; there were distinct differences. Among skilled women, remittances were sent in tandem with savings and securing a future for themselves in Australia, which included buying homes. Humanitarian migrants were sending remittances in already difficult situations, they had lower incomes and most of the money they received was not going to home ownership or savings for the future. It is also important to note that humanitarian migrants were not overly extended in terms of debt with less than 30 percent of them in any sort of debt. Those who resorted to charities were approximately another 30 percent of the African migrant women.

6.10 Social impacts of sending remittances for Sub-Saharan African Women in South Australia.

Studies on remittances often concentrate on the economic aspects of remittance sending, and there appears to be limited studies that relate to cultural or social aspects. There is however plenty of evidence that sending remittances has some social effects on migrants. Sending remittances have been a reported source of social strain and tension between families and studies such as Akuei (2005), Johnson and Stroll (2008) and Lindley (2009) report that migrants constantly complain of being unable to meet the demands of family members in Africa. There is also literature from other parts of the world that provides evidence that sending remittances is a major source of strain in marriages. Some examples include, Susksomboon (2008) who studied Thai women

married to Dutch men, and Stirling (2000) who studied Filipina women married to Australian men. The following case studies illustrate that even among persons of the same culture, when it comes to sending money there are often tensions. Although the social effects of remittance sending discussed in this section are further espoused in the following chapter on gender roles.

Box 4. Marital strain of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia

Case Study: Remittance sending and marital strain

1. *Josephine migrated to Australia on a humanitarian spouse visa after a very expensive dowry negotiation in which her partner paid over 40,000 dollars as a dowry for her hand in marriage. The money was paid to her family. Josephine then migrated to Australia and soon after found a job in the aged care sector. Each month she and her husband argue as she sends her family money as remittances. Her husband argues that since he paid so much in dowry to her family then her loyalties must lie with his family as she is now part of his family. He feels that it is unfair that she continues to remit to her family regularly and yet she does not remit to his mother and his family – the family she should be caring for since she is now married into that family. Josephine's argues that she does not stop her husband from remitting to his family but does not feel any loyalties to remit to her mother in law especially since her son is also working and her family are in great financial need. She feels that the idea that he paid a dowry should not even come to question as even in traditional African society men had to pay dowry for their wives and although women moved and became part of their husbands family, culturally women still could visit their mothers and present them with gifts. She thus rationalizes her remittance sending to her family as gifts.*

2. *For Amina and Hassan the problems caused by remittances are based on the frequency of sending and amounts sent. Amina sends 100 dollars as remittances to her mother each month. This money she says helps her mother keep her little business afloat. On the other hand Hassan remits to his family but he does this quarterly and he often sends money for specific causes such as school fees or in an illness. When he remits he often gives larger sums of money, over 500 to 1000 dollars at a go. Amina and Hassan argue each month because Hassan feels that Amina is creating dependency within her family - creating the expectation that remittances will always come into the family each month. However Amina argues that when Hassan remits he often remits such large amounts of money and that causes a big strain on their finances that month.*

3. *Grace has 4 children, she works as an aged care worker, although her husband does not work he has a lot of pressure from his family to remit. He has never told his family that he does not have a job because he wants to 'save face' with his family back in Africa. Because he has no job, her husband spends a lot of time on the internet, talking to relatives and friends through skype. He portrays an affluent lifestyle in Australia often taking glamorous photographs of life in Australia and fuelling the myth that he is doing very well financially in Australia. This increases the pressure of family always asking for money. Grace is often upset that he is always volunteering her hard earned money to assist relatives and friends in Africa while they are doina it touah in Australia.*

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

Not all the effects of remittance sending were negative on the family. Remittance sending gives women status and more power within the families that they had prior to migration (UN_INSTRAW, 2007). Among humanitarian migrants, Australia's policy on government assistance and parenting payments is gender balanced and often makes payments into women's bank accounts. This enables women to control income for the first time in their lives giving them financial power. This access and control of family income means that they can control remittances. Some of the women interviewed, who before migration were unable to make decisions in patriarchal families, reported more respect because of their role in sending remittances. Among married couples, there was more respect from the in-laws but even among young and single women, they gained status and respect. When they regularly remitted money, they were also often consulted in decision making within the family.

Researchers (Horst, 2008; Decimo, 2005) show in their studies that Somali women in the diaspora delay or postpone marriage and motherhood all together, because of their remittance obligations to their families in Africa. This study found that among skilled unmarried women in Australia, their ability to remit made them highly sort after brides. Among Sudanese men who had migrated to Australia it was found that they often paid very high dowries when they wished to marry, as high as 50,000 dollars as a bride price. This shows how remittances have raised community standards in Africa with men who are living overseas expected to remit more in dowry in order to find partners.

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter found that remittance sending is especially important for Sub-Saharan African women and a large proportion of them remit. However, there are some significant differences between humanitarian migrants and skilled migrants. While both groups do remit, the skilled migrants, tended to do so from the money they earned in employment. The skilled migrants are also making some investments in Australia which are more long-term considerations than was the case for humanitarian migrants.

However, among the humanitarian migrants, most of those remitting were still on government benefits and despite having large families in Australia, they were still responsible for extended large families in Africa. Most of what they were sending was survival money that was probably keeping poverty at bay for family members overseas who have been ravaged by war. For those in Australia their remittances had significant implications for their own poverty. The characteristics of non-remitters showed that for some humanitarian migrants absolute poverty may eventually discourage remittances, which has consequences for African countries becoming so dependent on remittances. The lack of savings or any long-term investments among African humanitarian women in Australia is of considerable concern, because they have no retirement savings. This means that they might continue to be dependent on the Australia government welfare benefits and therefore a long-term burden to the Australian tax payer. However this study has also revealed that the levels of debt around humanitarian migrants are not very high.

There are some policy implications around refugee remittances. For example, this study has found that many of the remitters are sending remittances to many family

members and increased family reunification programs for humanitarian migrants may actually alleviate the burden on refugees in Australia.

Remittances have been left out of any settlement and integration literature by policy makers. Settlement problems around humanitarian migrant integration are always seen in the context of torture and trauma or inability to find employment. The strain of remittances is perhaps one of the major impediments to successful migrant settlement, and without an understanding of the burden that African migrants have when they migrate to Australia, policy makers miss out a critical factor in any interventions relating to refugee settlement. There clearly needs to be some thinking and education for humanitarian migrants in the long-term, and some financial planning for when migrants retire. However, this is a mammoth task, given that humanitarian migrants are remitting to close family members in precarious situations. Given the importance of the use of remittance in alleviating absolute poverty of family members in Africa, it is not possible to discourage the sending of remittances, however a need to get migrants thinking long-term might be necessary.

CHAPTER 7: CHANGING GENDER ROLES AND GENDER RELATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Women have migrated to Australia from different countries and different social, economic, cultural, and refugee backgrounds. Boyd and Greico (2003, 2) define gender as the identities, behaviors and power relationships within the culture of a society in accordance with sex. It includes the ideals, expectations and behaviours of masculinity and femininity within a society. Therefore gender is not only socially constructed but is also culturally specific and changes over time (Acker, 1992). This chapter does not examine specific change of roles or relations given the many differences but rather gives an overview of what trends affect gender roles and relations among African women.

It is important to note that studies on gender roles and relations have traditionally examined nuclear families that migrate and focus on husband-wife relationships, and how they are affected by migration (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Tienda and Booth, 1991; Kibria, 1990; Hondagneu – Sotelo, 1994; Min, 2001; Zentgraf, 2002; Yeoh and Willis, 2002; Boyd and Greico, 2003). This chapter examines not only the dynamics within partnered relationships but also expands the understanding of gender roles to encompass other gendered circumstances. For example, 45 percent of all refugee households accepted into South Australia between 2005 and 2009, were female led households with refugee women accepted under the humanitarian 'women at risk program' (unpublished Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia data, 2009). The 'Women at Risk' program creates a gendered flow of female refugee migrants, other gendered flows include, women from Africa migrating on skilled visas and also on

student visas. This study shows the consequences of this female led migration for both men and women in Australia, as well as important intergenerational relationships between parents and children.

7.2 Gender roles in migration

Early scholarship of women in migration was initially influenced by Feminism and the influence of Western feminist ideas has, and continues to have, an impact on the scholarship on women migrants and gender relations. While feminist ideas added an important element to gender and migration studies, their scholarship was very much hinged on the feminist understandings of the roles of men and women from a Western perspective. There was thus a focus on the roles of men and women as male 'breadwinner' and women 'homemaker' so that early research on gender relations in migration came from the premise that women migrated as 'trailing spouses' and 'tied migrants' who followed their husbands to his work environment and were then tied to a domestic role (Morokvasic, 1984). It is not until Phizacklea (1983) and Morokvasic (1984) argued that migrant women were not just passive migrants but very active decision makers and workers with a dual role both in and out of the home that the perspectives changed.

Early writing on migration and gender roles looked at two major themes (Boyd and Grieco, 2003). The first was studying women migrants in relation to patriarchy[1] and power relations (Kibria, 1990; Parrado and Flippen, 2005). The underlying assumptions in this literature was that most women migrating are moving from traditional to modern societies where they were challenged to enter the work force to provide for their families and where increased income from their work in the new

[1] Patriarchy has been defined as hierarchies of power, domination and control men use to rule women (Boyd and Greico, 2003).

migration destination gave them more autonomy, independence and bargaining power at home than they had prior to migration. Men were also seen to lose ground after migration (Mahler and Pessar, 2006, Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2010). The second major theme examines gender relations and how interpersonal relationships between men and women influence migration and change as a result of migration (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Tienda and Booth, 1991; Pedreza, 1991; Kibria, 1990; Hondagneu – Sotelo, 1994; Hugo, 1999; Min, 2001, Zentgraf, 2002; Yeoh and Willis, 2002; Carling, 2005; Shandy, 2007).

In their review of gender relations literature, Mahler and Pessar (2006) and Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo (2010), examine the major arguments around migrant women and gender relations. These include migrant women using their wages to negotiate greater parity in the household, in areas of budgeting, housekeeping and childcare, leading to assertions that migration fosters more companionate spousal relations (Itzigshon and Griorguli –Saucedo, 2010, 897). As a result, women are very pleased with their status gains in migration, while for men the loss of status threatens their gender identity resulting in various outcomes. For example, some of the literature reveals how the growing independence of women is met with masculine dominance and control over the women, often with very negative consequences, such as increased incidences of domestic violence (Mahler and Pessar, 2006, 34, Min, 2001). In other cases men are more likely to want to return to their home country in order to regain the status and privileges that their migration challenged (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2010, 897). While there have been many studies on the subject it is difficult to make any generalisations about the effects of migration on gender roles and relations, as these often are mediated by

class, ethnicity and gender ideologies of the countries from which they come (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2010).

In the 1990's, Castles and Miller (1993) termed the 'feminisation of migration' as one of the key features of the age of migration. A gender selective demand for labour, family reunion of women, and refugee migration are some of the reasons behind this feminisation of migration. King et al (2004, 36) argues that the basic premise of the feminisation of migration literature is that "women were migrating as independent migrants, sometimes alongside, or separate from, their male counterparts". This literature has been successful in capturing the agency of women in their roles as workers and as independent migrants.

Hugo (1999, 2005, 36 - 37) offers insights explaining that it is most likely a two way relationship with female empowerment driving migration, as well as women becoming more empowered through migration. Some of the changes associated with independent female migration include, women moving from traditional and often patriarchal forms of authority and being separated from such controls by distance (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). Other changes include the fact that women may be receiving money for the first time and thus have more control over what they do with that money. The women are more likely to have more personal decision making power in relation to day to day living. Migration can lead to the formation of new alliances and friendships with other women through informal groups, like unions and sisterhoods. On the other hand, migration can also result in the breakdown, seclusion and isolation of women, for example women in domestic work who work in seclusion (Hugo 2005, 36-37).

Much of the literature on feminisation of migration has concentrated on the structural reasons leading to female flows of migrants. As a result, there is not much scholarship on the relationship between the independent movement of women and the changes in the roles and status of these women (Hugo 2005, 36). However, there are a few studies (George, 2005; Espiritu, 2005) that have looked at the change in gender roles when women migrate first. George (2005) in her book "*When Women Come First*" details the experiences of migrant women from India who lead the migration of their families when they take up nursing jobs in the United States. Her study shows how gender relations change when women migrate first and their men are dependent on them, it tests the taken for granted patriarchal gender relations. Her study has some very useful insights into how gender relations are reworked among men and women from Kerala, leading her to conclude that there is not a linear relationship in explaining changes in gender relations. She shows how the gender relations change in the household, in the workplace and in the community with different exchanges of power between men and women in the different spheres within which migrant families operate (George, 2005).

Espiritu (2005) adds an important dimension to gender relations literature by discussing single Filipino nurses who migrate to the USA for work, and how they make decisions on marriage and family formation. In her discussions on married women who migrate first, her findings reveal the challenges that couples encountered when women are in stable employment as professionals and their partners are not only dependent on them for migration, but when they join them they cannot find suitable employment (Espiritu, 2005).

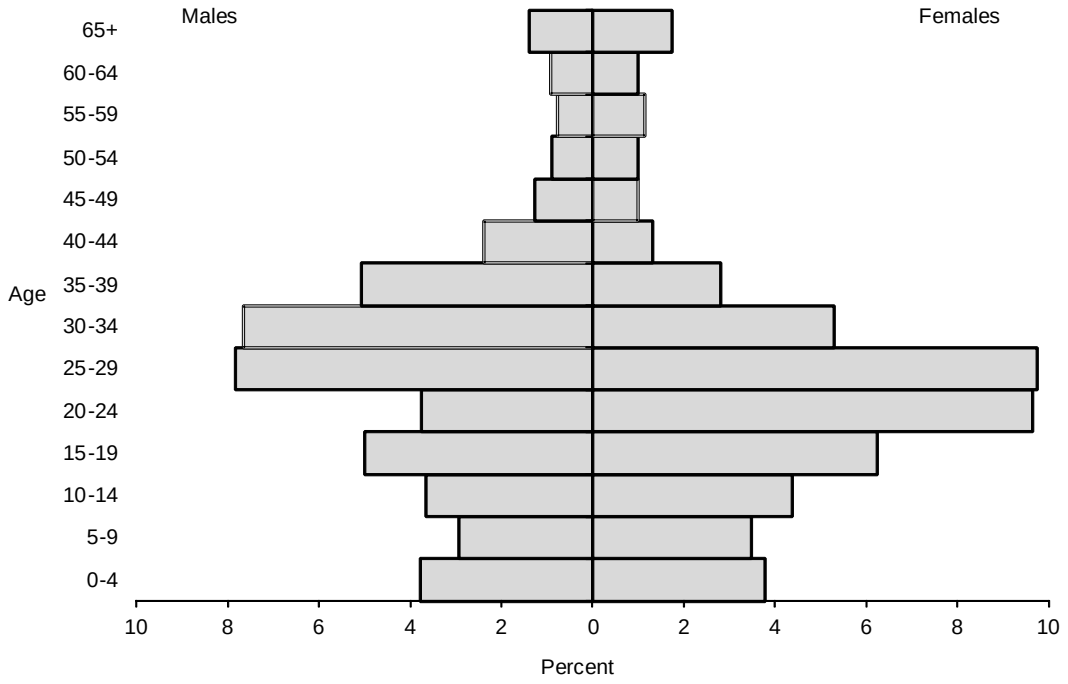
7.3 Feminised Marriage migration

It is important to distinguish and define the differences between family reunion and marriage migration. Birrell (1995) and Khoo (2006) have defined family reunion and marriage migration in the Australian context, with Family reunion referring to the enablement of a foreign spouse to migrate so that a family unit can be reunited after a period of separation, while marriage migration occurs when persons seek marriage partners abroad.

There are three types of marriage migration. The first is when residents seek potential marriage partners from abroad, an example, of which is 'mail order brides' and such relationships that have been fuelled by the internet. There is a significant amount of literature (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2010; Robinson, 2007) around this area. The second type is when single immigrants return to their homeland to find a spouse, and the third centres around second generation immigrants who return to their parents' homeland to seek partners (Charsley, 2005). This study discusses the second type of marriage migration in which female immigrants return to Africa to find spouses, thus contributing to an area of literature that has had little scholarship - female led marriage migration.

Figure 7.1 shows the age and sex structure of family members sponsored for migration by Sub-Saharan Africans to South Australia between 2005 and 2011 based on family migration statistics from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. The pyramid shows that the male migrants sponsored for family migration flows are largely aged between 25 and 35 years indicating the migration of 'grooms', and the increasing feminised marriage migration that seems to be occurring at younger ages, with the bulk of females migrating at the ages 20 to 30 years.

Figure 7.1 Family Migrants: Sub-Saharan African Born by Age and Sex, 2005-2011



Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

It was found that marriage migration is taking place among both skilled and humanitarian migrants. On the other hand, Australia's migration system attracts young Sub-Saharan African migrants on student visas or at early stages of their careers, as nurses and other health and welfare professionals. There are also feminised flows among humanitarian migrants with the 'Women at Risk' program, although most of those selected under this program are widows, this study found that they are also active in the marriage migration market. There are however distinct differences in the underlying reasons behind marriage of skilled migrants compared to humanitarian migrants as shown in the following sections.

First, it is important to understand why Sub-Saharan African women mostly marry partners from their home countries. Birrell (1995) explains that when immigrants are

from societies that are religiously and culturally different from Australia, they tend to find it difficult to obtain spouses, and so return to their homelands to do so. This was true for the African women interviewed, as many of them preferred to marry African men because they feared men from other cultures who would not understand their obligations to family in Africa, which could cause strain in the marriage. There was also a fear of easier divorce, although the reasons behind this were more complex than just the separation of the couple. Many of them felt that marriage in an African context was more strongly linked to the extended family and less likely to end up in divorce. Another reason given was that there was little interaction between cultures, many of the women said that they did not have many opportunities to socialise with men from other cultures, as they tended to socialise with people from similar backgrounds.

The idea of importing husbands from Africa is popular among single African women in Australia, and is discussed often in social settings and even in online forums around the community. However, the idea of women searching for partners represents a complete change in traditional African gender roles. For example, one of the women interviewed spoke of how she worked for a couple of years and then had taken an extensive holiday for 6 months to go to Africa to find a partner. She unfortunately found that the trip was fraught with frustration because she could not determine how to select the right person. Though many men were interested in marrying her she felt that they were more interested in migrating to Australia than in marriage. On that trip she did not meet anyone. Her family however, seeing her determination to find a partner got involved in the search and assisted her to meet someone who was more suitable and who was living in another developed country. They subsequently got married and live in Australia.

The search for partners in Africa has become a yearly ritual for many single African women in Australia. The women take holidays to not only seek partners but also for elaborate courtship rituals, which include spoiling their prospective partners and taking them for expensive holidays around Africa, with a view to gauge their suitability for marriage. Once the women return they keep in contact with these prospective partners through social media. The next step in the courtship ritual was the application of a visitor visa for their prospective spouses to introduce them to Australia. If suitable, weddings were arranged in Africa or in Australia and then the partner migrated.

There were also similar patterns among humanitarian migrants. However their motives and strategies for marriage were quite different. Among humanitarian migrants, the process is tied up with the imperative of removing as many family members out of the refugee camps as possible. One of the respondents explained how she had met a prospective partner in Australia, a resettled refugee like herself, but both had been pressured by family members in refugee camps to marry relations in those camps and bring them to Australia. For the respondent the decision was not easy but what made it even more difficult was the constant battle with her parents over the selection of a marriage partner. While her mother wanted her to marry her maternal cousin her father wanted her to marry her paternal cousin. At the time of the interview, her boyfriend had travelled to marry his cousin and she was preparing to go and marry one of her cousins, although she had not made up her mind about which one until her arrival in the camp.

One of the features of marriage migration is the migrant - agency the women portray in seeking their partners. The African women interviewed, made very conscious marriage decisions and they are very proactive in attaining their goals. While migration from Sub-Saharan Africa is still in its early stages in Australia, in many

cases, the ‘imported husbands’ and the women they married were living quite happily and most of the marriages appeared to be stable. However, like Charsley (2005) found in her study of ‘unhappy husbands’ a group of Pakistani men who had migrated in order to marry daughters of second generation British Pakistani families, some of the marriages among the imported partners were at times difficult. This study encountered cases where men who had been brought to Australia by women had found themselves to be victims of domestic violence. There were cases where men who were having marital problems with their spouses who brought them to Australia, were ending up sleeping in their cars or living under the threat of deportation back to Africa. There were other cases where the women had their ‘imported husbands’ reported for deportation back to Africa when they felt that the relationships were not working in their favour. Women were very aware of their rights in Australia and that there were laws to protect them. For example, women used threats of imprisonment or loss of family as attempts to control their partners. This finding is consistent with other studies among the Sudanese community in Australia (Lejukole, 2008). This study argues, like Carling (2005), that whereas most early studies of gender roles have focussed mainly on patriarchy and the domination of women, they miss the point that women are not necessarily the victims in migration.

Another major problem for the ‘imported men’ was finding a place in the Australian workforce. While most of the women were trained and were in professional jobs their men with foreign qualifications often found it more difficult to find work that was commensurate to their skills attained in Africa, and this was often a major challenge for the couples.

7.4 Female breadwinners

In almost all the interviews, when asked to reflect on their gender roles in migration, most reflected on how migration was difficult for their partners. There is an extensive literature on men's loss of status in migration and how this impacts on gender relations (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Espiritu, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Min, 2001). However, the literature does not express the concerns women have about the changes that occur in gender relations.

One of the major areas where women had problems is when they were able to find jobs commensurate to their skills, especially in fields such as nursing and social work, their partners were unable to find jobs equivalent to their skills. Chapter five shows that the majority of the skilled women interviewed had worked in Africa prior to migration. However, many of the women indicated that while in Africa, their incomes were more a subordinate or supplement to the family income rather than the major source of income, which was provided by their husbands. Other studies on African migrants (Lejukole, 2008; Mungai and Pease, 2009, Pasura, 2008) show that financially men are the breadwinners within the African context. However after migration, as some women become the primary breadwinners, their husband's financial contribution becomes the second income and this can lead to problems.

Table 7.1 shows the occupations of the men whose partners took part in the study; and reflects only those whose partners were in employment and the occupations they were undertaking in Australia. While close to 60 percent of the partners of skilled migrants were engaged in professional jobs, the other 40 percent were not. For the women whose husbands could not find work equal with their skills, the biggest change for the women was taking on the role of primary breadwinner for the family. One of the

respondents likened her new role of breadwinner in the family to the role of an African lioness, she explained that lionesses are responsible for the hunting and when they had caught their prey they then took it to the male lion, he then eats the best part of the prey before the lioness and cubs have their fill. While the statement was quite light hearted the significance of the role change for women was profound. For the women, the extra burden of shouldering most of the financial responsibilities for the family, which they may not have done prior to migration, was a major challenge. But most importantly, the major difficulty they complained about was dealing with frustrated or bored men. Many women spoke of how they watched with dismay as their partners changed as they tried to deal with the loss of status.

Table 7.1 Sub-Saharan African men in South Australia as partners to survey respondents– Occupations

Partner Occupation	% Humanitarian Visas (n = 18)	% Skilled Visas (n =34)
Managers and Administrators	6.0	8.8
Professionals	0.0	50.0
Tradespersons and Related workers	17.0	14.7
Clerical and Service Workers	38.9	5.9
Labourers and Related Workers	11.1	14.7
Students	27.8	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of Sub-Saharan African women in South Australia, 2009.

In a study on African masculinity in Australia, Mungai and Pease (2009; 105-107) described the major roles that define manhood in an African context as provider -with responsible men seen as those who provide for their families; defender - with men called on to defend families and communities, (which is especially poignant for those who had arrived from war torn countries) and also the role of counselor or leader. These are roles which Mungai and Pease (2009) explain become redundant when African migrants move to Australia, especially when the men cannot find work or their

wives make more money than they do. While the literature on gender relations in migration has concentrated on how men then try to regain dominance and marital power, through domestic violence, marital conflict, divorce, and excessive drinking (Espiritu, 1999; Min, 2001; Hyman et al, 2008). Indeed, issues of marital conflict and domestic violence were common among the Sub-Saharan African Community in South Australia. There is an element of this debate that is normally left out of migration literature which is the very sad stories of families in crisis adding another dimension to the understanding of what the loss of status means for families.

Most of the women interviewed for this study explained that men did not necessarily act in a negative manner or assert dominance when confronted with loss of status, especially because of the strong legal implications in Australia. One respondent spoke of how difficult it was to deal with her husband when he was unable to get professional employment and his subsequent depression. Another respondent explained how she felt guilty going to her professional job each day, while her husband struggled to find employment. After a few years the man returned to Africa with her eldest son which led to her family being split between two continents.

The women in the study also revealed how they found it difficult to deal with the additional pressures of being fully responsible for the household. They felt that, although they controlled the money, they also lost and were missing the leadership and counselor roles their partners provided in Africa. This was because their partners did not feel that they had a right to make major decisions if they were not earning the money. Other women worried about their partners with problems such as depression which had a big toll on the family. When men could not find jobs there was a tremendous flow on effect to children. Some women spoke of how some male children within the African community did not want to work hard in school, because

they saw few prospects for themselves in Australia as they saw their fathers struggled in the job market and did not provide a positive male role model that they could look up to in terms of career prospects.

Government welfare payments in Australia are paid out to the principal caregiver within the family (Centerlink) and in most cases women were the ones who received the payments. That government benefits and money are paid to women is a major contentious issue among African couples in Australia (Lejukole, 2008; Pease, 2009; Mungai and Pease, 2009). Most women were very happy to be in a country where they had financial and decision making power in regards to budgeting for their family priorities, but it was a fine balancing act within the families. Women felt the government had made the right decision in giving them the money and were very keen to show that they were more likely to spend the money on their immediate family welfare. They felt that men were more interested in spending the money on communal activities, such as socialising, or on vices such as drinking and gambling or sending remittances. The role of government policy in reducing patriarchy is seldom discussed in the literature on gender and migration. However, this study argues that government policies are a critical factor in how immigrant gender roles are shaped in society.

As well as the lack of jobs for men and government and societal regulations that seem to favour women in the areas of finance, another concern with regards to gender roles is knowledge that is targeted at women. The study found that there were many non-governmental organisations that target assistance programs for migrant women to provide services and information. Most African migrant women had access to a range of programs and workshops. For example, there were parenting programs, financial and money management programs and workshops to teach women about the law in Australia. Newcomer African women regularly attended programs on domestic

violence and other programs included relaxation classes for women. In fact, the African Women's Federation of South Australia coordinates and runs a myriad of programs and workshops geared towards helping African women with their settlement.

Most African women were also well organised into informal community groups and regularly met to offer each other social support as well as carry out other programs, such as investment clubs. These African women's groups have become an important platform for various organisations to reach African women within South Australia. For example, during the study, the researcher attended various African Women meetings and during the sessions there were different representatives from government services, like Centrelink, who answered women's questions about their rights and responsibilities towards government and welfare organisations.

In another meeting, a domestic violence service offered a workshop to African women on healthy relationships. They were very well coordinated and well- meaning service delivery programs that have been directed towards African women in South Australia. However, one of the major issues from women attending these meetings and workshops was that although they appreciated the new knowledge on settlement, it was important that men were also included in such workshops for them to be effective at a family level.

There were, however, very few programs geared for men in resettlement, and unfortunately, this was a major problem. While many migrant programs were geared towards women, and this was commendable, women attending seminars without their husbands was a source of friction in families. One example the researcher witnessed was a workshop on healthy relationships, which showed women how to recognise if they were in a healthy or unhealthy relationship in regards to domestic violence. Some

women privately mused that although they understood the rights, when their partners did not understand their responsibilities, then there was not a proper dialogue between both sexes about the problems they were having in settlement. As a result problems such as domestic violence were not likely to end because the messages were just targeted at only women. Another negative consequence of access to knowledge directed only towards women was that many men resisted their wives going to meetings and workshops targeted at women because they were suspicious of the information the women were receiving, and how it would impact on their relationships. Women felt that if their husbands were included in such trainings and workshops, or really understood the benefits of these programs for the whole family unit, then the men were less likely to feel threatened by women attending these sessions.

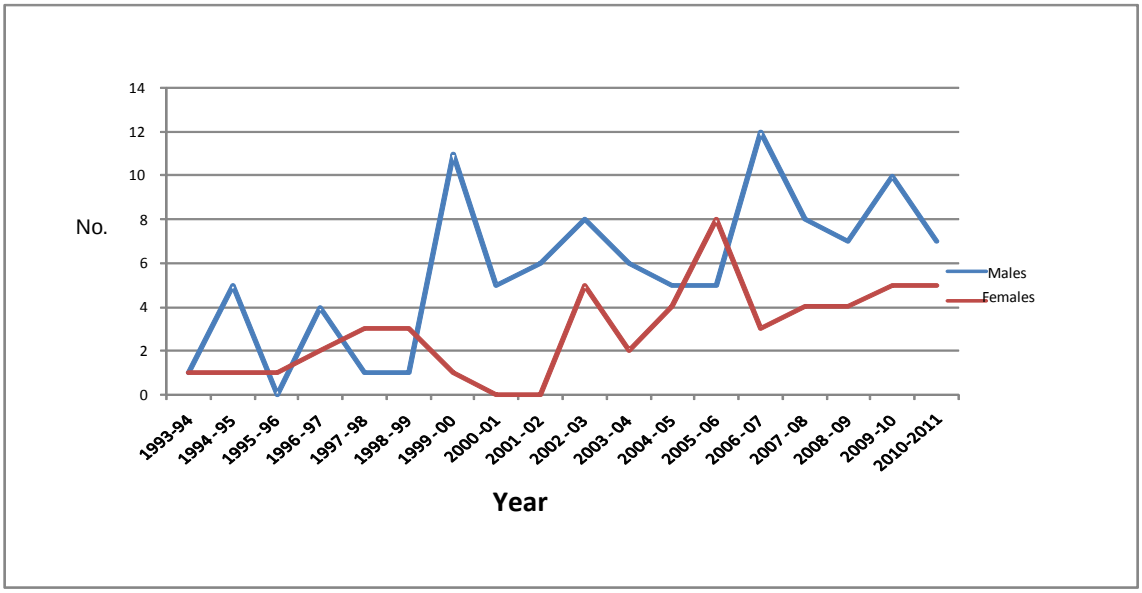
7.5 Returning men

One of the major consequences of men losing status in migration is the propensity to want to return to their home countries (Hondagneu –Sotelo, 1994; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991). A major consequence of African men feeling they were unable to find their place in Australia due to poor employment outcomes, was the flow of returning men who left their wives and children in Australia and returned to Africa. The fact that men leave their wives behind in Western countries is not unique to Africans. There is a considerable literature on 'astronaut families' with mainly men from more developed countries such as Hong Kong and Singapore, leaving their wives and children in countries such as New Zealand, Canada and Australia in order for their families to gain permanent residency, as well as to take advantage of the better educational systems in these countries (Waters, 2002; Ho and Bedford, 2008; Chiang, 2008). Within the Sub –Saharan African context there are studies on the Zimbabweans

in the United Kingdom (Pasura, 2008) and the Somali's (Hansen, 2008) which show return migration among African men.

Figure 7.2 shows permanent resident departures of Sub-Saharan Africans from South Australia for the period between 1993 and 2011, and male rates of return are higher than for females. In general the rate of permanent returns from South Australia is not very high with less than 12 people returning permanently each year.

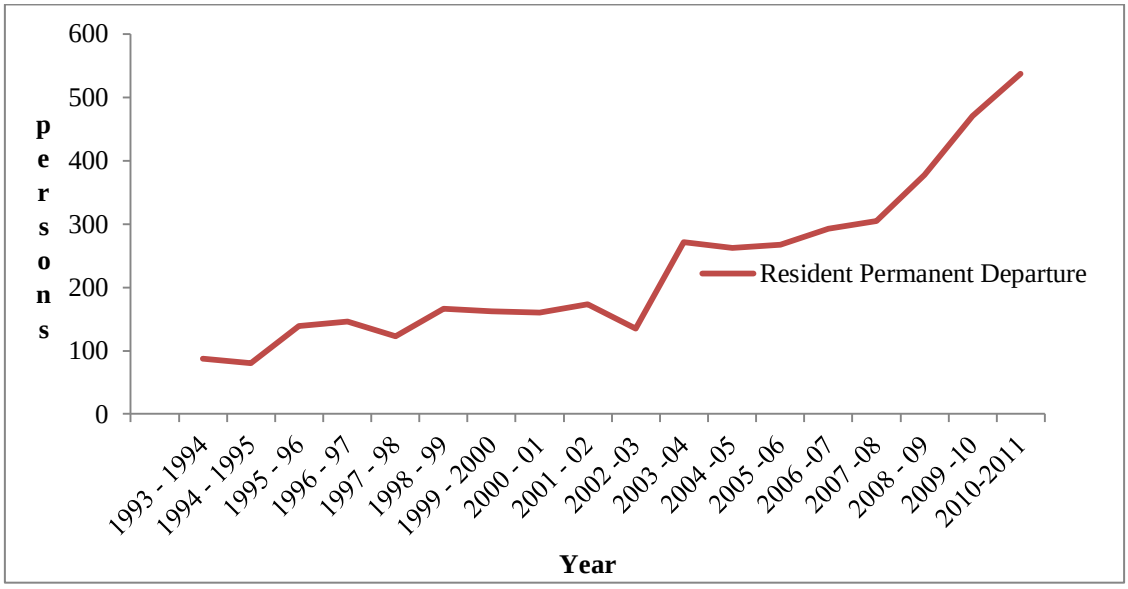
Figure 7.2 Departure of South Australian Sub-Saharan Africans Permanent Resident by sex, 1993-2011



Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

Figure 7.3 shows the numbers of resident permanent departures to Sub-Saharan Africa from Australia as a whole. The figure shows a sudden spike in resident returns in the year 2008. This was a result of an increase in the return of migrants from South Sudan who were returning to their home country just as it was attaining independence.

Figure 7.3 Australia to Sub-Saharan Africa. Resident permanent, 1993-2011



Source: DIAC, Movements Database.

The birth of a new nation after decades of war was an exciting time for the Sudanese who had to flee their country and many men returned to nation build. There were also many opportunities and openings within the South Sudan government, private business and overseas aid organisations which attracted the South Sudanese men back to Sudan (Sudan Tribune, 2009). Patriotism was a major reason driving the return migration and there were significant pull factors from the new Sudanese government. The diaspora was a fertile ground to recruit manpower that was educated and had Western exposure and who could then be called upon to rebuild the nation. One such program was the IOM program for the return of qualified Sudanese Nationals (IOM, RQS, n.d). While the return of men was noble, wives and children were left behind as infrastructure in terms of schools and hospitals in Southern Sudan were inadequate, and so the families continued to take advantage of the schools and other opportunities offered in Australia.

Return migration was not only evident amongst males from South Sudan but was a common theme among other African groups. This male migration was fuelled by a lack of opportunity and has been documented by other scholars such as Hansen (2008), who documented on the gendered nature of return migration among Somaliland men from the United Kingdom and other European nations. Hansen (2008, p 1115) reveals that return migration to Somaliland was not a result of improved opportunities for men there, but rather a result of those engaged previously in prestigious and professional careers in Somalia resisting the idea of working as labourers, cleaners or being underemployed in Western countries. According to Hansen (2008) when the Somaliland men could not find jobs that matched their previous positions they ended up on welfare or being financially dependent on their wives, and when they found this position untenable they to return to Somaliland.

Hansen's (2008) study of the return migration of men to Somaliland was not always positive, as in many cases they were unable to settle successfully back in Somaliland. Those men who had set up businesses often failed due to a myriad of reasons, such as corruption and other governance problems. These men often took part in some cyclical migration going back and forth between Somaliland and the Western Nation from which they had returned. The idea of failed return migration leading to cyclical migration was also reported in findings about Mexican male migrants (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). It is difficult to determine if return migration of African men from Australia will take the same pattern as those undertaken in Somaliland, as it is a unique nation and at the time of the study it did not have a recognised government and thus no formal structures. This caused many businesses to fail and they had to return to the United Kingdom. It is difficult to determine if return migration of men to Southern Sudan or other stable African nations would follow similar circular migration pattern.

The men who were leaving Australia for Sudan were going into valid employment opportunities and thus were probably more likely to remain in Sudan in the long-term.

The third reason behind return migration among African men in South Australia was due to cultural differences. The issue of polygamy and how cultural practices affect migrants is little understood. The law in Australia does not allow for polygamous families. However, with polygamy legal in many African nations, it is inevitable that some migrants who have come to Australia were in polygamous relationships prior to migration. In order for men to meet the migration requirements of Australia, often the men choose one of the wives to come to Australia and leave other wives and their children in Africa. When the men were settled and had their Australian passports then they would frequently travel between the two continents–dividing time between the families. One of the respondents told how she was very pleased when they migrated to Australia with her husband, and was looking forward to a new life as a nuclear family unit in Australia. However, as soon as they arrived in Australia, she was jealous of the other women left behind because she frequently called her husband for financial assistance. In the end, she resented how hard she worked and how the women left in the camps were benefitting from her husband as his money was remitted to support his other wives and family in Africa.

Even when the men had not left wives or partners behind in Africa, the return migration was becoming an area of great concern for many African women left in Australia. The women felt that return of men was always an avenue for the men to find other partners in Africa, especially with their new enhanced status as a migrant who had lived in Australia.

Return migration has adverse effects on women. The first was that it creates female headed households within Australia. The results of this study show that women carried extra responsibilities providing money for their families, as well as taking care of the children and without their husband's support it was very difficult for the women to balance all the family needs.

It is important to draw parallels between the return of these men with findings experienced by Chinese 'Astronaut wives' of rich Asian migrants whose husbands leave their wives in Australia and other Western Nations (Waters, 2002) The African women left behind are often poor refugees, the Asian 'Astronaut wives' continued to receive material support from their partners, who earned higher incomes in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. By contrast, the men who returned to Africa were not doing so to provide for their families in Australia. One of the women interviewed explained how her husband continually asked her to supplement his income in Sudan. For women having to support their husbands in Africa this added to their vulnerability as they tried to meet the demands of the family in Australia as sole parents, as well as supporting their husbands in Africa.

Another adverse effect of this return migration, especially in cases where it was cyclical migration and the men returned to Australia for a brief holiday each year, was that it posed some health risks particularly in cases of multiple partners across continents. At the time of this study, a working group to combat HIV/AIDs had been set up by the department of health in South Australia because of increased cases of HIV/AIDs detected in the Sub-Saharan African population. The prevalence rate for HIV/AIDs was six percent of the Sub-Saharan African community with 259 cases diagnosed between 2002 and 2006 in Australia (Lemoh, Biggs and Hellard, 2008; 313). Since the Sub-Saharan Africans make up less than one percent of the Australian

population these statistics are particularly high revealing that indeed it was a potential health problem within the community (Lemoh, Biggs and Hellard, 2008; 313). Although this study does not want to stigmatise refugees, it is important to note that women feared that return or cyclical migration of men was one of the major reasons behind the spread of HIV in the community.

7.6 Female-headed immigrant households at risk

One of the key features of Sub-Saharan African migration to Australia is that there is a significant population of female headed households, partly as a result of the proactive Government policy to accept 'women at risk' refugee s. Female headed households are also created with the return of men, as well as cases of single women with children who often migrate as independent skilled migrants. Changes in gender roles as well as marital conflict are also a contributing factor to single parenting among immigrant families. Female headed refugee families from Sub-Saharan Africa are made up of almost 45 percent of the humanitarian 'women at risk' program within African migration (MRCSA database 2009). Zhou (1997; 68) explains that there is a major risk of poverty between single parenting and immigrant status. While immigrant children from middle class families can benefit from financially secure families, and as a result do very well in migration, children of uneducated and unskilled parents can find themselves growing up in poverty, poor schools, violence and drugs. The literature on the intersection between female headed households and the risk of poverty show that there is a connection (Synder et al, 2006; Kimenyi & Mbaku, 1995) This is also evident in the survey as many of the Sub-Saharan African women migrants have low education, low employment rates, lack English language skills, as well as large families, and as such, there are many high risk factors for the women and their

children. Apart from the risk of poverty, one of the major areas of concern for female headed households was how they manage parenting and the issues they raised are discussed below.

7.7 Parenting

Foner and Dreby (2011; 545 - 550) have reviewed key themes in the literature around parent child relationships in migration. The themes they include are intergenerational conflict, discipline, migrant children as translators and advocators for parents when they do not understand English, high expectations of children to perform well in education and the maintenance of immigrant culture. The topic of families and children has drawn some considerable interest by scholars studying Africans in Australia, including intergenerational conflict between parents and children (Lejukole, 2008; Hiruy, 2009; Renazho et al, 2010, 2011; Lewig et al, 2010), in the area of discipline and respect (Renazho et al, 2010, 2011; Hebbani, Obijiorfor and Bristed, 2010), and maintenance of culture (Wakholi, 2005).

These studies reflect the difficulties that African families experience in undergoing parenting in Australia. For example, Renazho et al (2011) explains that African parents are used to both a collectivist and an authoritarian approach to parenting that includes extended family members, the community and neighbours. In Australia parenting is an individual nuclear family matter. Traditional norms and practices around parenting, such as corporal punishment or older children tasked with taking care of younger children, are some of the practices that are incompatible with Australian law (Renazho et al, 2011; 77). The area of pocket money and welfare payments for teens was another major source of tension within parents and children in the African community (Renazho et al, 2011). Parents felt that teenagers were

demanding money due to peer pressure but rather than use the money for constructive purposes it was used for drugs and alcohol. Although the Australian law allows for children to have access to payments, parents felt that refugee children were not yet mature enough to handle the money. The above examples show that parenting was one of the areas that was challenging for all African parents as they try to adjust to the new expectations that are required as a parent in Australia.

While most of the parents interviewed were doing very well with the upbringing of their children, learning new parenting techniques in a different cultural context was a challenge. There appeared to be only one parenting classes geared towards refugees. However, many of the women were frustrated, especially in the area of discipline, because they felt that they were not properly trained or equipped for correct parenting techniques, since the methods they employed in Africa were not permissible anymore. One refugee woman claimed that although she had protected her children through war, walked hundreds of kilometres with them in jungles, survived years in a refugee camp and had not only been able to fend for the children, but had protected them. She felt that a critical part of that role was being taken away from her if the police could get involved in her disciplining the children, as children threatened to call the police, as a result many African parents were afraid of their children (Lejukole, 2008; Renazho et al, 2011).

The complexity of the issues around training African parents on parenting require not only the support of the African community, as well as expert ideas on parenting, as Renazho et al (2011) suggest, but also constant monitoring for the effectiveness of programs. For example, an African community worker expressed that some of the programs and techniques that were being used within the community to assist parents with discipline were referring the children to community counselling. However, this

technique she felt was actually failing the children as they felt labelled as 'problem children', a label the children did not like, but also within the community parents tended to isolate their children from them. These children who felt rejected by the community then began to target 'good children'. An example was given where 'problem children' would form some groups and target children they felt were doing exceptionally well in school. These children would then be bullied and harassed by the 'problem children'. In one case the mother of a 'good boy' had to resort to sending her son interstate to live with relatives. It was also learnt that there were cases of other children being sent overseas to African countries, such as Kenya and Uganda, in order to ensure that the children got an education, especially if they were being targeted in Australia. There was a sense of helplessness within the community as to what was appropriate if the parenting techniques that they were asked to employ were not working for their children.

7.8 Domestic work

One of the major themes within the gender relations literature is division of labour and how sex roles are negotiated in the area of domestic work. There is an immense literature about the gender division of labour in immigrant studies (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, Kibiria 1993, Pessar, 1999; Menjivar, 1999; Pinto and Coltrane, 2009; Yasuike, 2011) . The overriding theme is that domestic duties are a major source of tension within migrant families. This is especially so in more conservative or traditional societies where there is an inequitable distribution of household labour between the sexes prior to migration. Household duties become a major area of negotiation within the family. Pinto and Coltrane (2009; 483) argue that household division of labour research has been traditionally understood from three theoretical perspectives. The

first looks at the negotiation of domestic work based on time constraints which considers family composition (presence of children) and work schedules (of the adults) outside the home. The second school of thought examines the power dynamics between husbands and wives and how this relates to what role they take in regards to domestic work. While the third school of thought is on gender perspectives which examine the beliefs men and women have in regards to domestic work, these beliefs are often heavily influenced by cultural background. For example, studies among some African communities in Australia reveal that African men find domestic work not only as women's work, but also as taboo, an excuse they give so as not to assist in household chores (Lejukole, 2008; Mungai and Pease, 2008).

There were three major findings from the study on the division of labour. The first was that women undertook most of the domestic work, which is consistent with other studies of Australian women and the Time Use Survey Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). This study asked 10 married women who were living with their partners in Australia to fill in time diaries to ascertain the time allocated to domestic work, as well as to assess with whom the women undertook domestic duties and thus assess the sharing of domestic duties. The time diaries (Appendix 2) were accompanied by interviews later to discuss if there were any changes in gender roles after migration. Studies on time use in Australia show that on average, Australian women spend approximately 2 hours and 40 minutes on domestic work on a typical weekday and 3 hours on a weekend, this is almost double the time spent by Australian men on domestic work (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). This study showed that patterns of domestic work among African women were similar in regards to time spent undertaking domestic duties with those interviewed taking an average of 2 – 3 hours a day on domestic chores, longer periods of time for those who were not in

employment and shorter ones for those who were combining work and domestic roles. The average time men spent on domestic work was also similar to the Australian standards.

The migrant women were mainly happy that their husbands who undertook little housework in Africa did try to adapt to Australia and to help with some of the housework. The men were however more likely to choose some household tasks over others, these findings were very consistent with many of the findings of studies among men as household duties were more likely to take up outside jobs cutting lawns or taking care of the young children (Lejukodje, 2008; Yasuike, 2011).

The second major finding from the time diaries was that the division of labour was unequal, while some of the women negatively reflected on the strain of working outside the home and also undertaking household chores. Some of the women interviewed had migrated from more traditional cultures and were opposed to the idea of their husbands or men undertaking any household roles. Men being found in the kitchen would be considered a major failure of their responsibilities as wives and mothers. As a result not all immigrant women wanted their partners to contribute to all household duties and women themselves influenced the duties that their husbands could undertake. Pinto and Coltrane (2009) maintain that it is important within gender relations studies to examine the role of women in the maintenance of traditional gender roles even in migration.

A third major finding revealed that where households had teenagers, household duties were divided between the women and the children rather than between husbands and wives. A study of Mexican immigrant households (Valenzuela 1999) shows that children often have critical roles in the settlement of families, especially in the area of

household duties. One of the African mothers, who had 7 children ranging from the 23 to 7 years old, explained that much of the domestic work was done by herself and the children and she did not feel any household burden or strain. Including children in household tasks was meant to teach and train the children on how they would handle household duties later on in life. She went on to explain that in African culture, children as young as 12 were able to make a full meal for the family of 9, as well as do a myriad of other tasks. For African families that were large and had a good number of older children, household roles and domestic work were not seen as a major problem.

Whereas domestic work did not seem to be very contentious among the African community in Australia, the area which women considered to be their greatest challenge was in food preparation and what can only be described as the politics of the children's 'lunchbox'. Studies in the area of immigrant health and nutrition among Sub-Saharan Africans have shown that there are some dietary concerns within African families in finding foods that they used prior to migration, and as a result there is a total adaptation of new foods for the Sub-Saharan communities in Western countries (Renzaho and Burns, 2006; Patil et al, 2008). While most studies debate the health implications of dietary practices prior to migration and post migration, this study examines the practical difficulties for parents to learn and adapt to new practices in the kitchen. In almost every interview, the women explained how they had to learn new recipes that their children would enjoy to take to school and would not be an embarrassment to their children. Though it was not specifically a change in the women's roles within the household it was an area that was extremely important to them as part of their settlement experience. Cooking was also a major activity for

major service providers, such as the African Women's Federation whose main focus was to teach women how to prepare wholesome and nutritious meals for their families.

The rationale behind holding cooking classes for refugee women was because many of them had come from refugee camps where there was a major little choice of foods. For example, food rations within refugee camps in Kenya were mostly, wheat or maize flour, some beans or lentils, vegetable oil, fortified blended food, sugar and salt all year round. If the refugees sold some of their food rations or found firewood they could they then get some meat or milk to supplement the diet. Years in refugee camps had eroded women's access to a variety of foods and these classes were an important part of giving the women new skills. As a result exchanging recipes as well as coming together as women to teach each other how to cook was one of the major activities African women's groups undertook in South Australia. This happened among all classifications of women both skilled and humanitarian migrants.

The relevance of this particular example on food preparation and the adaptation of women migrants in new roles, is an attempt to expand scholarship of immigrants and gender roles to other platforms rather than just the relationships between family members. Linkages with other important aspects of immigrant lives, such as health and housing are required in the field of gender roles and relations to assist in the growth of this literature.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter has examined some social aspects in relation to gender roles and relationship changes among the Sub-Saharan African community in South Australia. The study has broaden the understanding of gender roles and gender relations in the literature to take into account changes within the sphere of international migration in

which there are increasing numbers of females, and to examine the impact of these changes. The chapter explored the fact that women are not only the lead migrants in migration but also in many cases, women are the primary breadwinners for their families. The survey found that female headed households are often at risk of entrenched poverty, especially refugee women with low education, poor language and high unemployment which can lead to very vulnerable situations.

One of the major changes in gender roles was in the area of marriage migration. It was found that young Sub-Saharan African women unwilling and/or unable to find partners in Australia and were seeking them in Africa and then sponsoring their partners for migration. That women are actively involved in courting their partners is a role reversal, which is different from what the case would be in many traditional African societies.

One of the major messages of this chapter is the need for a change of focus in gender relations from a purely feminist point of view. Feminist ideas have played a part in the inclusion of gender in migration studies, highlighting problems such as domestic violence and marital conflict, some of the major negative consequences for women in migration. The focus on patriarchy and the portrayal of women as victims in migration may have left out some salient changes occurring in migration. Women now have agency in areas such as marriage migration and being breadwinners for their families. The chapter has also examined the effects of the economic situation and decreased opportunities for men leading to the return of some men to Africa leaving their wives and children behind in Australia. The effects of decreased opportunities for men was also having a devastating effect on families, such as male children unwilling to work hard in school as they have lost male role models, or wives dealing with their husbands depression as well as the strain of providing for their families.

The other major focus here has been the adaptation of the Sub-Saharan African women into the Australian society and the role of government and society in shaping it. Women focused policy programs, as well as societal demands jobs, such as nursing, has led to increasing female dominance in migration. The African women were also grappling with how to adapt to laws, such as in the area of parenting as well as how to adjust to societal expectations. An example is in the area of domestic roles as they learn how to prepare culturally appropriate meals for their families. While there were many programs for women, however there seemed to be few for men, and women then became the gatekeepers not only for information on settlement but also they gained economic power with welfare programs geared towards them.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The overarching aim of this study is to provide a gendered perspective of the social and economic consequences of Sub-Saharan African women's migration to South Australia in three diverse areas; migrant women's work, remittances and changing gender roles. Migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia is relatively small in numbers as Sub-Saharan Africans make up less than one half percent of the total population in Australia. The migration from Sub-Saharan Africa is also relatively recent, only beginning in earnest at the turn of the century, making the migration of persons of African descent less than two decades old. Nevertheless they are one of the fastest growing groups of immigrants to Australia.

The major findings of this study are summarized here in relation to its five major objectives. The first three objectives cover the principal findings of each of the results chapters. That is the chapter on women and work, remittance sending and changing gender roles. The fourth objective engages policy implications of the findings and the fifth discusses the theoretical implications of this study and includes a section that gives guidelines for future research.

8.2 Major findings

The first major objective was to examine Sub-Saharan African women and their labour force engagement in Australia. The study showed that 52 percent of skilled migrant women surveyed for this study were found in professional jobs with 8 percent in managerial positions. The high professional engagement of skilled Sub-Saharan

African women was comparable with what has been learnt in other Australian studies, such as the Longitudinal Survey of Migrants.

The high levels of employment among skilled migrants reflect the selective recruitment of women into particular jobs with skill shortages within Australia. Nursing is one such example, with 50 percent of the nurses interviewed recruited overseas. The high professional engagement of skilled migrants, is also a reflection of the highly managed Australian migration system, which allows for the selection of migrants based on their human capital endowments, such as age, education, language and qualifications, as well as accepting only those whose skills match areas of occupational shortages within Australia. This study found that, in general, Sub-Saharan African migrants have high agency in selecting professional areas which they see as most likely to allow them to stay in Australia, but also that would allow them to gain professional work. Many of the African skilled women were most likely found in professional jobs within health and in commerce related careers, such as accounting and law. In some cases where students arrived with intentions to study in one area, they would change their minds if they found that the skills they were interested in would not allow them to remain in Australia or get professional jobs. Students and other migrants were often guided on the professions in which they were most likely to be successful, found on lists published periodically by the Australian Government Department of Immigration of areas experiencing skill shortages.

On the other hand, it was found that labour force participation rates among humanitarian migrants were very low, with close to 70 percent of Sub-Saharan African women who arrived on humanitarian visas not in the workforce. This finding was again comparable to other Australian studies such as the Longitudinal Survey of Migrants (Richardson et al, 2004), as well as studies such as Colic-Peisker and

Tilbury, (2006, 2007). An analysis of human capital endowments of humanitarian women migrants showed only 20 percent of the women interviewed arrived in Australia with any post school qualifications. Over 50 percent of them had never worked prior to migration and over 60 percent had an English language level that was below what is functional for the Australian job market.

Migrant women with only a few years of education, without English language or skills, found entering the job market in Australia extremely difficult for a number of reasons. The first was the lack of requisite language and literacy skills to find employment. These women had to rely wholly on government services to assist them to find jobs, as they were unable to use other common modes of finding jobs by themselves. For example, where jobs were advertised on the internet, or in the newspaper, women with low skills could not access them. The small size of the Sub-Saharan African community groups based on country of origin meant that communities were still too small to form significant networks that could assist each other to find work. The communities were also too small to create any significant ethnic business or job niches.

The second, and most significant reason for the lack of employment amongst humanitarian migrants, was the high standards required for the job market. In Australia, jobs that would normally have been considered low skill industries in earlier years now require some short courses at certificate levels in order to meet industry standards. Thus migrants who want work as cleaners, in manufacturing and process jobs, or aged care and childcare, are required to undertake short courses and training or have language and literacy necessary to meet occupational health and safety standards. Without these requisite education and language skills to undertake these courses women find themselves locked out of the labour market. Humanitarian migrants are

also in competition for low skilled jobs with other categories of migrants, for example, international students who were likely to accept any positions as they studied. The competition from other groups of migrants had significantly raised industry standards in regards to language and training further disadvantaging humanitarian migrants with low language and skills

The other major area under review was the occupational concentration of migrant women. The study found women were concentrated in the community and personal service sector especially in aged care, cleaning and factory work. It was difficult to determine from the small sample surveyed whether women were forced into these occupational concentrations because they are locked out of the wider job market. Women because of their dual roles caring for their families choose areas of flexible work and this was an important criterion for the African women. However, many African women chose an area like aged care as opposed to cleaning or factory work, because it was seen to have a clearer pathway for professional upgrading in other work in the health system.

Aged care work was easily available to African women due to a high demand for aged care workers in Australia; it had advantages as the nature of the job, with a 24 hour shift cycle allowed women more flexibility for when they worked which suited women who had caring roles. But most importantly aged care was also seen as an important pathway to upgrade the women's skills. Women saw the aged care certificate qualification as an entrée to the job market, particularly the health sector. One could start as an aged care worker, then train as an enrolled nurse, then as a registered nurse. For some, they had even higher aspirations to work as public health specialists, in medical management and even attend medical school as doctors. This vision played an important part for the migrant women in their choice to work within the health system.

It is, nevertheless, important to note, that one of the most critical skills lost among the Sub-Saharan African women surveyed were entrepreneurial skills. Studies in Australia have shown there are high levels of entrepreneurship within persons of refugee backgrounds upon settlement (Hugo et al, 2011). Entrepreneurship is one of the very few ways that refugees can make an income within refugee settings in Africa (Jacobsen, 2002), and 25 percent of the humanitarian women who were interviewed were businesswomen in Africa. However, 80 percent of them found it difficult to convert those entrepreneurial skills within the Australian context.

The study also examined the major barriers that women expressed as reasons for unemployment. These were three-fold; the first was a lack of language and literacy skills. The second was a lack of suitable child care, including the high costs, especially because many women had larger than average families and needed to pay for extra childcare, or before and after school programs, which made the cost of care outside their reach. Another major problem with the formal childcare system was that it lacked flexibility. Many African women could only access casual and part-time jobs and were often called in to work at short notice. They thus found the inflexibility of the childcare system a major hindrance to finding work. Women were reluctant to commit to paying for childcare places when they themselves were not assured of work every day and this impacted on their ability to have a secure foothold in the job market.

The majority of women from Sub-Saharan Africa were sending remittances regularly. This finding was consistent with other global findings that have found African migrants are high remitters (Orozco, 2006). However, it was found that there were some marked differences in remittance sending practices between skilled and humanitarian migrants. Skilled migrants were on average able to remit more money

because they were in employment. They sent approximately 400 dollars each month, almost double what humanitarian migrants could afford to send. In many cases they were remitting for the care of ageing parents in Africa. Most of the remittances sent were spent mainly on consumption. For skilled migrants, because of their higher incomes, the remittances represented a smaller percentage of their income and were not such a critical part of their daily expenditure. The skilled migrants were also laying a foundation within Australia, with many taking out mortgages and buying houses, and were more likely to save money.

For humanitarian migrants, however, the sending of remittances was a critical obligation to family members left overseas. Their remittance sending behaviour raises serious concerns given the high numbers of humanitarian migrants who were unemployed. Most of the humanitarian women remitting relied on government welfare payments for living expenses. These payments, already pegged at the poverty level within Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 2004, 99), means that many of the women were left with very little after remitting. The average amount of remittances sent by humanitarian migrants was 230 dollars each month, and accounted for on average, 11 percent of the total household income which is significant given low levels of income and large family sizes within humanitarian homes. This study showed that close to 30 percent of the humanitarian women who were remitting had therefore had to turn to charity organisations in order to meet daily needs for food and to pay bills. The sending of remittances was having a profound effect on the settlement of humanitarian migrants with important implications for migrant poverty in the host countries.

An understanding of who receives the remittances and how the money is used explains why remittances are such an integral part of migrant life among the humanitarian

migrants and why there are no easy answers. For humanitarian migrants, remittances were sent to relations, many of whom were still in precarious positions within refugee camps. Close to 50 percent were sending remittances to adult siblings to support their families. It was also significant to note that close to 30 percent of humanitarian migrants were sending remittances to their children overseas. It was found in many cases that complex and slow family reunification processes for humanitarian families, separated by war and sometimes in different countries, made the reunification processes drawn out. Then there were other migrants who had consciously returned teenage children to Africa for education when they were not coping well in the Australian system. For others 'children' referred to step children left behind, especially those who were previously in polygamous families. There were also others referred to as 'children' who had not been eligible to migrate with their family units because they were over 18 years old and had formed their own family units.

Another important factor relating to remittance sending was the enormous strain on humanitarian migrants because they were taking care of at least 5 other persons overseas. This was an enormous burden per individual given many of the migrant women had their own children and families to care for in Australia and were existing on very limited incomes. As a result, more than half of the remittances sent had to be spread very thin and were for survival to meet consumption costs, such as food, rent, clothing and household bills. Remittances were also used for education and to cover health costs.

There is a debate in migration and development studies of how remittances can be channeled to development of third world countries (Brown, 2006). It was found that only 6 percent of women who had migrated on humanitarian visas sent any money to invest in land, houses or businesses in the origin country. This could be the result of

non- conducive investment conditions in countries which are ravaged by war, as well as their poverty in Australia leaving little money for investment. It could also result from greater demand for consumption needs of migrant families overseas, or due to gender and cultural issues whereby women are less likely to buy property in Africa.

The fact that most women migrants were not investing within Africa is an indicator that they were unlikely to see themselves returning there in the long-term. This finding raises many questions for Australian policy makers, especially those interested in retirement planning. The lack of employment among this group shows the likelihood this cohort of migrants will be living on government support for many years. As a result of sending remittances and living on very limited incomes, they are also unlikely to save or afford their own housing or have any other safety nets for retirement, such as superannuation benefits. This means they might need social support throughout their lifespan. On the other hand, for the countries of origin, the low level of investment among migrants raises important questions. One is how private flows of income which are mostly used for consumption can be used to drive development growth or create employment, so that those receiving remittances can find ways to empower themselves and relieve the pressure for migrants living in poverty.

The third objective examined was the changing gender roles of migrant women from Sub-Saharan Africa**.** The earlier literature on gender and migration, saw migrant women as tied migrants migrating in support of their 'breadwinner' husbands. However, this has changed along with changing gender roles in migration, and women are now more likely to lead migration streams. This study therefore argues that these changes in flows and in light of gendered labour markets must be understood, especially in the health sector as many nurses migrate to Australia from Africa and bring their families. Student migration leading to skilled migration attracts younger,

unmarried cohorts of women who then were involved in instigating migration as they settled into careers in Australia. This study showed how these women were involved in leading marriage migration as they went back to find partners in Africa. Even among humanitarian migrants who had initially travelled with their families or under the 'Women at Risk' program, after years in Australia, women often returned to Africa to find and sponsor marriage partners. This change is a significant shift in what has been understood in migration research as women as tied migrants. The shift to women as the major 'breadwinners' is also significant as within a traditional African context it is profound, as many African cultures are still very patriarchal. The concept of women going to find spouses and marrying them is contrary to what normally occurs. In most cases men are the ones who choose marriage partners.

Scholarship on gender roles has also traditionally looked at women and how they relate to men in regards to patriarchy and power relations and how women navigate autonomy, independence and bargaining power with their husbands when they migrate (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Espiritu, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Min, 2001). When women from Sub-Saharan Africa migrate to Australia they find important societal structures that allow for the equality of women. In Australia especially, systems such as the ability for women to have equal access to and control of financial resources like welfare payments for their families give the migrant women a high sense of empowerment. There were many support agencies that assisted women with settlement information, and all these privileges embedded in the societal structures were greatly appreciated by the migrant women. However, African women were concerned that there was equal need for similar structures for migrant men, to support them to cope within a new culture and to explain their new roles after migration. While many women appreciated the greater autonomy that living in Australia afforded

them, it was found that they were worried about the effects of changes in gender roles on their partners, as they spoke of them getting depressed or stressed and turning to alcoholism and other social problems, which had an overall negative effect on their families and children.

One of the findings of this study was that there were higher rates of return and circular migration among African men than women. This migration among African men was due to many reasons. This study coincided with the independence of South Sudan and many Sudanese men returned to be part of a nation building initiative. For other men, the loss of status and lack of opportunity in Australia saw some of them return to Africa to work. This finding is consistent with other studies of Africans globally, such as a study of Somali men in London (Hansen, 2008) and of Zimbabwean men in England (Pasura, 2008, 99). Another reason found to be a catalyst for men returning was for them to reunite with split families. Where men had multiple wives due to polygamy they were likely to undertake circular migration between countries, dividing their time between the families who they officially migrated with and those they left behind.

The other questions this study examined were in the area of domestic work and parenting among migrants. The debate on domestic work must be understood in the context of specific family and migration circumstances, as the double pressure of domestic work, which characterises studies on gender roles, has to be understood within a lifecycle and cultural perspective. For many of the humanitarian women migrants with large families and children of varying ages, domestic work was not seen as a major pressure in the developed first world with its modern appliances. For example, where many women had moved from rural refugee backgrounds, and had to fetch water and firewood and had no modern appliances, housework in Western

countries consumed much less time and had actually freed up time spent on domestic work. However, for those who migrated from urban settings and had young families more were likely to say they experienced the pressure of dual roles.

However, although domestic work was not necessarily an issue, one of the major challenges for both humanitarian and skilled women was in the area of meal preparation, and adapting to children's expectations of new foods and what this study refers to as the politics of the 'school lunchbox'. The preparation of healthy nutritious meals, especially for humanitarian migrants who had to contend with simple meals and a limited choice of ingredients in refugee camps, was one of the new skills of migration. It was also a major focus of settlement organisations to ensure African women had the skills to prepare healthy meals for their families. In regards to African women and parenting in Australia, this study, like others before (Renazho, 2011), found discipline was a major area where African parents struggled. The migrant women felt there was not enough support to assist them in understanding what was required of them in terms of discipline in the new country.

8.3 Policy Implications

The fourth objective of this study was to recommend policies based on the findings that would assist in the integration and settlement of African and other migrants to Australia. Different policy recommendations for Australia are made for different tiers of government - Federal, State and Local as is appropriate. This study also makes some recommendations for a broader audience especially for origin countries within Sub-Saharan Africa.

8.3.1 Policy implications: women and work

There is still much that needs to be done to raise the levels of employment for humanitarian migrants. One of the policy frameworks that has credence within Australia in the last few years has been social inclusion, which would act as a specific affirmative action program to ensure that refugees and others disadvantaged in the job market are able to access to it. The call for humanitarian migrants from third world countries, including Sub-Saharan Africa, to be recognised as socially excluded in Australia is an important policy outlook that is supported by this study. While much has been proposed to improve the social inclusiveness of refugee migrants within the Australian context this study adds to these ideas (Hinsliff, 2008; MRC, 2008; ASIB, 2011; Hugo et al, 2011; Hugo et al, 2012).. One of the principal findings is the reliance of African migrants on job networks and government services to enter the employment market. This study makes similar recommendations to those made by the Australian National Social Inclusion Board (ASIB, 2010, 2011) in calling for specialised training and programs aimed at the integration of humanitarian migrants with low levels of education and English language skills into the job market.

One of the recommendations of this study is to create a system of closer working relations between employers and the government networks that assist with employment of humanitarian migrants, albeit in a different manner than proposed by the national social inclusion board. Within the Australian context there are many areas that need semi-skilled workers, such as the aged care sector and there will be a continuing need to fill these positions as the population continues to age (Hugo, 2008).

This study proposes that more needs to be done to inform humanitarian migrants of the options available to them to take up these employment positions. In order for women

to work in the aged care sector, migrants need to undertake a training course that last between two and six months full- time study for an aged care certificate. At the time of this study, the government was offering incentives for training of workers to attain courses in aged care. Workers received subsidized fees at the beginning and at the end of the course and the aged care facilities offering internships for graduates were eligible for grants to assist them with the training costs (Health, n.d). However, most women interviewed were not aware of these opportunities for funding and more needs to be done to enlighten the community about training and funding, a concern raised by other settlement reports on African migrants in South Australia, such as MRCSA (2008) and HREOC (2010). There is also a need for the government agencies responsible for offering incentives for aged care training, in this case the Department of Health, to work more closely with other job networks in the recruitment of migrants to undertake such training opportunities.

Another recommendation around the issue of women and work is in the area of language training for the job market. Although Australia already has an English language training program for migrants that provides 510 hours of English training and a further 800 hours for those with low levels of English, it was found that for those with low levels of education the 1300 hours of language training are still inadequate for the job market. It thus recommends that, since it is unlikely to raise the levels of language for those with very low literacy levels within such a short period, a deliberate job training component is incorporated into language training to enable low literacy level migrants to learn language geared to specific industries. Migrants with low literacy and language skills can be taught practical language for specific job industries, for example, in manufacturing, agriculture, cleaning and aged care. Migrants could choose what courses best suit them and then be trained specifically in the language and

terms used within each sector allowing them to be absorbed more directly into industry. Language training for the job market is a model that has been adopted within Australia, especially in the 1960's, when many migrants from Eastern Europe arrived in Australia and learnt English within a more non-formal structure (Stevens, 1999). While that model was criticized, for not allowing migrants to learn English for general day to day living, it can be argued that more can be done to assist migrants to be more job ready by offering formal English classes that also incorporate a specific job training component.

Another way of encouraging women to work is providing more flexible and affordable childcare. There is a need for more flexible access to childcare programs. Most women undertake work in areas that require shift work, such as is the case in nursing and aged care which has 24 hour cycles. There is need to expand of family day care programs that would offer more flexible child care hours including overnight care which would greatly benefit migrant women in these areas. The aspect of flexibility would also be covered by making available access to childcare available at short notice. This could include a pay as you go system which would work well for many women with flexible casual jobs that may not necessarily need structured childcare all the time. There is also a need for more women within migrant communities to be encouraged to undertake childcare training as a means through which they create opportunities for themselves and also offer culturally appropriate childcare.

One of the principal findings of this study was the high levels of entrepreneurship among humanitarian migrants prior to migration. It was found that over 25 percent of migrants humanitarian visas had owned businesses prior to migration. However, 80 percent of these businesswomen were not in employment nor able to generate their own income within Australia. The business acumen and skills they bring from Africa

were under utilised after the women migrated, as women are not sure about how to start small businesses within Australia. Global comparisons of Africans in international migration show that when they are shut out of the job market, they often undertake entrepreneurship and small and petty business trading. One example shows that over 20 percent of the Senegalese in Italy are engaged in self- employment and entrepreneurship, making them the largest foreign community engaged in self-employment within Italy, with over 9676 small businesses run by Senegalese businessmen (Riccio, 2008, 8). This study contends that there is room for more Africans in Australia to get into self- employment, if they could undergo some training on what is required to start a small business. Training programs would include access to information on the business regulations, as well as business mentorship from established businesses owners.

While this study did not specifically target younger migrants, there is an important need for the government to focus on the second generation of humanitarian migrants from Africa. With such a large number of first generation migrants uneducated and unemployed there is a need for specific interventions to ensure that the second generation of African youth do not fall into a cycle of disadvantage. High levels of unemployment lead to other social problems and if the young do not see their parents leave a cycle of poverty they too are likely to succumb. Studies have shown there are already problems for young humanitarian migrants, including African youth who are migrating from poor third world countries to Australia. In regards to their outcomes in the education sector there are signs they are already at risk (Oliff, 2010; Hugo et al 2012). For example, specific measures placing migrant children who arrive from Africa in classrooms based on previous literacy rates rather than by chronological age (Hugo et al, 2012). Providing programs that would assist these children with

homework especially for children with low literacy rates, mentoring programs, scholarship programs are some ideas that would assist the African humanitarian migrants ensure that the next generation is competitive within Australian society.

8.3.2 Policy implications: remittances

While remittances are an important aspect of migration and development, the sending of remittances is often at a high cost, especially to the settlement of humanitarian migrants. However, remittances are a very important lifeline to the families in Africa. Remittances sent to very close family members are critical to household survival. The majority of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa were sending remittances to close family members. There is need for quicker and wider scope in processing of family reunification visas especially for humanitarian migrants. Many humanitarian migrants were many times denied sponsorship of close family members, especially if they could not show financial assurance of support or afford the hefty fees required to sponsor family members (McDonald –Wilmsen and Gifford, 2009). This caused considerable distress to the families but also increased the pressure on migrants to support extended family at home as well as family in Australia. Better support is needed for poor humanitarian migrants who are unable to bring close family members as they are unable to raise the capital needed for assurance of support. There is also a need to extend the criteria of what constitutes family, rather than just the immediate, nuclear family. This is especially in the African context, where members of the extended family are very important. This is important for humanitarian migrants where war can cause the realignments of families and because of the context of family within Africa sometimes incorporates other family structures such as polygamy (McDonald-Wilmsen and Gifford, 2009). Where these unique structures exist prior to initial migration there is a need to acknowledge them and to have them incorporated into

family reunification classifications so migrants are able to bring all members of their families to Australia.

Another policy recommendation is that the African community could benefit from financial management and retirement planning information sessions. While, the African community is still quite new within Australia and there are programs that assist migrants with day to day financial planning, this study found there is also a need for better retirement and financial management training for new migrants within Australia context. Migrants would benefit from thinking about where they will retire and making preparations for their retirement. Unlike earlier cohorts of refugees to Australia who were absorbed into the job market, recent humanitarian migrant groups who are not able to find work, who are living in poverty, and who are sending remittances, are not laying any foundations for the future. They do not have homes or any superannuation or retirement funds.

Globally one of the major challenges in the remittances and development nexus is how to turn remittances from basic consumption to productive uses (de Haas, 2007; Taylor, 1999). More than 50 percent of the remittances sent by African women migrants in Australia are used for day to day expenses. However there is a need to channel some of these remittances to income generating opportunities for families in countries of origin, so as to ease the burden on migrants and also to eliminate a dependency syndrome for remittance receivers. Although remittances area private income, there are initiatives that can be undertaken to ensure that they are converted to productive uses to generate income and promote development. This study recommends that programs such as cultural orientation programs carried out by IOM should incorporate discussions with migrants about how remittances can be channeled to productive uses and to encourage migrants to examine ways to turn remittances into start -up capital

for income generation rather than for day to day support. Other recommendations that are spelt out by IOM 92006) which urge Western Governments to give migrants tax breaks for remittances sent for development projects.

Another very practical way in which Western Governments can get involved in assisting migrants is to get involved in lowering money transfer rates (Brown, 2006, IOM, 2006). Money transfer fees to Sub-Saharan Africa from Australia is very high, for example, at the time of this study, the average cost of sending the average remittance was 200 dollars and 35 dollars transfer fee which is close to 20 percent of the money sent. The high money transfer rates between Australia and African countries are a barrier to remittance sending, especially when they are sent through established banks and money transfer agencies. Although there are smaller money transfer companies that have cheaper rates, for example the Hawala system used by the Somalis, these are located in only a few parts of Sub-Saharan Africa mainly in Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa. For the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, the remittance fees charged is exorbitant and largely controlled by a few large multinational money transfer companies. There are also very few banks within the Australian financial system that have any connections within Africa. Although the African population in Australia is not large there is enormous business potential for the Australian banking sector to have better partnerships and banking systems between the two continents that would lead to cheaper money transfer services within the two regions.

8.3.3 Policy implications: Changing gender roles

There is indeed a shift in gender roles for some migrants when they migrate from Africa to Australia. The empowerment of women and the change of gender roles is not a new phenomenon within migration studies. It has often been linked to the loss of

status for men but the literature has not shown how this loss has other adverse effects on families. It was found that women reported they had to deal with depression of men as well as a lack of family leadership. Women were also worried about how the loss of status affected men as role models for their children and families. The lack of opportunities in Australia for some migrant men, as well as improved chances to nation build within Africa, saw the return of Sudanese men to Africa which often caused the split in families.

The above factors showed there is need to build structures and programs to assist men in settlement. While there are structures to assist African migrant women in their settlement in Australia there were not many programs that target migrant men. Programs already in place should also focus on both sexes, for example, there are many programs in South Australia that deal with training around domestic violence, however, until these programs target and train both men and women about acceptable behaviour they are unlikely to achieve their intended goals.

There is also a need for better overall support programs for women who migrate under the 'Women at Risk' program. These women need more support to enhance their settlement within Australia, as they are still at risk. This program while a very welcome program, brings a group of very vulnerable women to Australia, who migrate with more disadvantages than other humanitarian migrants. In many cases they are mothers with larger than average families, and many from Africa come without adequate education and skills that would make them employable. These women especially need assistance to ensure that their children do not get caught up in a cycle of disadvantage and poverty. Support such as parenting programs expounded below would benefit them.

There is a need to offer comprehensive parenting programs for migrant women as what are acceptable parenting practices in Australia sometimes differ from what parents find acceptable within an African context. One critical area is in the area of discipline, where parents feel that they are losing control of their children after resettlement in Australia. Workshops and training on parenting practices would be helpful for migrant women to equip them with the skills they need in resettlement. African youth would also benefit from mentorship programs that would empower and encourage them.

8.4 Implications of this study for gender and migration theory.

This study builds on Boyd and Greico's (2003) theoretical framework on gender and migration which refers to the post –settlement experiences of migrants, as well as incorporates aspects of gender and transnationalism theory (Mahler and Pessar, 2006) into an integrated framework. This study makes two major contributions to migration theory.

The first is it urges the importance of examining migrant's transnational practices in models on migrant settlement. The idea of migrants living transnational lives and migrant integration and settlement is not new, indeed, it is the core reason behind why transnationalism is an important framework in explaining contemporary migration (Schiller et al, 1995; Portes et al,1999; Vertovec, 2009). This study by incorporating migrants' transnational practices into Boyd and Greico's theory on the post migration experiences of migrant women, is able to expand their model. The section on remittances shows that a significant percentage of humanitarian migrants are at risk of absolute poverty because of their obligation in sending remittances. The study therefore urges the importance of examining transnational practices of migrants as a

major policy and settlement issue for host countries. Any theories on migrant settlement must include migrant transnational practices as a critical aspect of explaining settlement.

The second contribution to theory differs from most other theoretical models of migration that express the importance of race, class, ethnicity and nationality as important pillars in examining migrant experiences. The idea of 'intersectionality' is particularly prevalent in gender and migration studies as it has some ties with black feminist roots and the struggle of women of colour and minority groups in migration (Yuval – Davis, 2006, McDowell, 2008). Even established theories such as gender and transnationalism theory, explain that race, class and ethnicity are important determinants impacting on migrant settlement (Mahler and Pessar, 2006).

This study, by examining the migration of Africans in the Australian context, contends that in contemporary, stratified migration systems, where there is competition for highly skilled migrants, the issue of race, class and ethnicity is not a critical issue in migrant success. Rather, the stratified migration system, divides migrants into two major groups: those with relevant globally competitive skills who are able to migrate and circulate easily and the unskilled. This study thus argues that the global competition for skilled migrants diffuses the 'intersectionality' debate.

8.5 Implications for Future research

It will be important to undertake longer term studies of African migration and settlement to Australia especially as the migrant group ages. There is a weakness within the Australian research context where the majority of studies concentrate on the first years of migrant settlement for example, the Longitudinal Survey of Migrants

(Richardson et al, 1999). Longer term research would allow researchers to understand other elements of migration rather than just early settlement. One area of interest should be deeper research into understanding migrant agency in settlement. Another important area for further research is that of the second generation and how they settle within the Australian context. A follow up study to understand the settlement experiences of the second generation cohort of African migrants would be most useful.

With the increasing ability of migrants to live transnational lives there is a need for a better understanding of migration from a transnational perspective. This study has shown how the transnational practice of sending remittances can have an effect on migrant's settlement experiences. The growing ability of transnational living brought about by changes in technology, such as the internet and its ability not only to connect families, but also to make the transfer of goods and ideas and services, as well as financial flows between nations almost instantaneous, coupled with cheaper travel, all have a tremendous effect on our understanding of migration and settlement (Vervotec, 2004).

This study has focussed on the migration of women from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia but contends that there is also a need to focus on the settlement experiences of migrant men. As more women lead migration flows from developing to developed countries there is a need to focus on the men left behind or the men who follow, as well as men's employment opportunities in an increasingly female oriented labour market. There is a need to complement the ideas such as 'masculinity in migration' (Hansen, 2008; Pease, 2009), in order to have a clearer picture of migrants in society.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the major findings of this study as well as recommended implications for policy and migration theory. It was found that Sub-Saharan African migration, although relatively new to Australia, presents some interesting insights for our understanding of international migration in the 21st century. Most migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Australia is characterised by the resettlement of humanitarian migrants, who present a major challenges in terms of a lack of language, education and skills in a highly competitive society like Australia. This means that a great deal of support is needed to ensure successful settlement of this group, especially in the job market so as to ensure that the next generation of migrants from the region do not fall into a cycle of disadvantage.

This study has concentrated on the migration of women in a time of increased independent migration of women to developed countries. The implications of increased migration of women have important implications for not only host nations but as this study has shown has the capacity for major changes for origin countries. The remittances that African women send are a major lifeline for the alleviation of poverty in the country of origin, however beyond the empowerment of women, there are also important implications for men and families when women lead migration streams.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
AUSTRALIA

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
Survey of Settlement Experiences of African Women in South Australia 2009

Dear Madam

My name is Patricia Wawira Njuki and I am a PHD student at Adelaide University. I am doing a study on the lives of Sub-Saharan African women who have migrated to South Australia. My study examines various aspects of women's daily lives in Australia from housing, educational background, their working lives as well as matters about family and social life, money and budgeting.

This study has 9 sections, please try to complete all the sections as best as you can, some questions may not apply directly to you - based on the visa under which you migrated so just indicate N/A (not applicable) is the particular section does not apply to your circumstances.

The information received from this study will be strictly confidential and only used for study purposes for the PHD thesis and journal articles. There will be no way anyone can identify you from this Survey, the PHD thesis or any publications written for academic purposes.

You are allowed to change your mind and withdraw from this study at any time. If you wish to find out more about the study or ask any questions please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors - our addresses are at the end of this study. If you have any problems or are unhappy with any aspects of this study you are free to complain and I will leave you with a form that is confidential that goes to the Universities Ethics Board would you wish to make a complaint.

Thank you very much for assistance in this study

Patricia Wawira Njuki

A. Household Questions

A 1 Please answer the following questions about each person who usually lives in your household.

	RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD	AGE	SEX	MARITAL STATUS	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	ETHNICITY	DATE OF ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA	VISA UNDER WHICH MIGRATED	HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	OCCUPATION	WORK STATUS
Person 1											
Person 2											
Person 3											
Person 4											
Person 5											
Person 6											
Person 7											
Person 8											
Person 9											
Person 10											

A. Could you please tell me a few things about your house

A 2 a	Type of house	1. Separate House ☐ 2. Semi - detached house ☐ 3. Flat/Unit ☐ 4. Other (please specify) _____
A.2 b	Can you please tell me about the ownership of your house	1. I rent this house from State - Housing Trust (Go to A 3) ☐ 2. I rent this house from private landlord (Go to A 3) ☐ 3. I am paying mortgage on this house (Go to A5) ☐ 4. I own this house (Go to A 6) ☐
A 3	How much do you pay in rent per week (Go to question A 4)	_____
A 4.	What is the length of your current lease (Go to question A 6)	_____
A.5	How much do you pay as mortgage per week (Go to question B1)	_____
A.6	How long have you been Living in this current house	_____
A.7	Before you moved into this house where did you live? (name of surburb)	_____
A 8	What reasons best describes why you moved to this house	1. Moved to be closer to workplace ☐ 2. Moved to be closer to community members and friends ☐ 3. Moved to a better house ☐ 4. Moved to be closer to school for children ☐ 5. Moved to a cheaper house ☐ 6. Moved from Temporary accomodation previded by Anglicare ☐ 7. Other (please specify) __ _____
A 9 A 9 a	Are you happy with your current housing If No please give reasons	1. Yes ☐ (If yes go to A 10) 2. No ☐ (If no please give reasons below) _____ _____
A 10	How many times have you moved houses since you migrated to Australia	
A 11	Whose responsibility is it to do the following tasks in regards to the maintainance and upkeep of your house.	My family / The Landlord Cleaning the carpets ☐ ☐ Keeping the walls neat ☐ ☐ Keeping the yard/gardens neat ☐ ☐ Repairing damage in the apartment ☐ ☐

	Questions	
A 12	Is there any maintenance needed on your property If yes - What have you done to ensure it is fixed?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ _____ _____
A.13	Are you aware of the options available to you to enable you buy your own home?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
A.14	Any other comments about your housing situation	_____ _____ _____

B. ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS

B1.	How would you rate your English language skills Very good - VG, Good - G Not good - NG	Please tick one Speaking VG ☐ G ☐ NG ☐ Reading VG ☐ G ☐ NG ☐ Writing VG ☐ G ☐ NG ☐
B2.	Since arriving in Australia have you attended English language training?	1. Yes (go to B4) ☐ 2. No (Give reason - question B3) ☐
B3.	Why don't you attend the English Language class (Go to question C1)	_____ _____
B4.	If yes what level of English have you attained?	Just started classes ☐ Certificate 1 (Beginner Level) ☐ Certificate 2 (Elementary) ☐ Certificate 3 (Intermediate Level) ☐ Certificate 4 (Advanced Level) ☐
B5	Which school do you or did you attend for English Language Course?	_____
B6.	Which classes do you attend in English Language Training	1. Full time classroom tuition ☐ 2. Part time classroom tuition ☐ 3. Distance Learning ☐ 4. Home Tutor course ☐
B7.	Are the classes helpful?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
B8	If yes?Please explain how they have helped you. If No ? Please explain	_____ _____ _____ _____
B 9	How many of your 510 English Language hours have you completed	_____

C	EDUCATION	
C1.	What was the highest completed educational level before coming to Australia?	1. No education ☐ 2. Primary/Elementary school ☐ 3. Completed high school ☐ 4. College/Tafe Certificate/Diploma ☐ 5. University Bachelors degree ☐ 6. Post graduate degree ☐ 7. Other (please specify) _____
C2	Have you submitted your overseas qualification for recognition?	1. Yes (go to C3) ☐ 2. No (go to C4) ☐
C3	Were your overseas qualifications recognized?	1. Yes (if yes go to C4) ☐ 2. No (if no go to C 5) ☐
C4.	Have you been able to get a job in Australia with your educational background and skills from overseas?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
C 5	Since you arrived in Australia have you attended any Australian educational facility other than English Language Classes?	1. Yes (if yes go to C6) ☐ 2. No (If No go to D1) ☐
C6.	What level of Education have you or are you currently undertaking in Australia?	1. Primary/Elementary school ☐ 2. Completed high school ☐ 3. College/Tafe Certificate/Diploma ☐ 4. University Bachelors degree ☐ 5. Post graduate degree ☐ 6. Other (please specify)
C7	Name of course/training program you are undertaking or undertook	_____
C7.	How often did you attend the educational program?	1. Full time ☐ 2. Part time ☐
C 8.	Has your Australian qualification enabled you to get a suitable job that matches your skills in Australia?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

D	EMPLOYMENT	
D1.	Before you migrated to Australia what was your employment status?	1. Not in labour force ☐ 2. Employed -professional ☐ 3. Employed - semi skilled (labourer) ☐ 4. Unemployed (looking for work) ☐ 5. Owned a business ☐ 6. Worked in a family business ☐ 7. Volunteer community work ☐ 8. Other (please specify) _____
D2	What was your job before migration?	_____
D3.	What is your labourforce status now?	1. Employed full time (Go to D4) ☐ 2. Employed part time (D4) ☐ 3. Employed casual (go to D4) ☐ 4. Self employed (own business ☐ 5. Contributing to family business ☐ 6. Unemployed (looking full time work D8) ☐ 7. Unemployed (looking parttime work D8) ☐ 8. Not in labourforce (Go to D12) ☐ 9. Student ☐ 10. Volunteering ☐ 11. Other (please specify) _____
D4.	What kind of job are you doing at the moment?	_____
D5	How long did it take you to get a job when you first arrived in Australia ?	_____
D.6	How did you get the job that you are currently in?	1. Through job network ☐ 2. Newspaper advertisement ☐ 3. Through private recruitment company ☐ 4. Through friends and family ☐ 5. Other please specify _____
D 7	Are you satisfied with the job you are currently doing?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
D.8	If unemployed and looking for work, what reason do you think best explains why you have not been able to find work	1. Cant find a suitable job ☐ 2. I don't know how or where to look ☐ 3. I have young children who need care ☐ 4. Language difficulty in looking for work ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
D.9 D.9 a	Are you registered with Job Network? If yes which center?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No (If no go to D 11) ☐ _____
D.10	In what ways has Job Network assisted you?	Yes / No 1. Job vacancy information ☐ ☐ 2. Training on how to look for jobs. ☐ ☐ 3. Helped with resume writing ☐ ☐ 4. Regular contact as I was looking for a job ☐ ☐ 5. Provided interpreters for job interviews, training ☐ ☐
D 11. D 11	Do you volunteer or have you undertaken any workplacement with any organisation? Which organisation do you volunteer for?	1. Yes (If yes go to D 11 a) ☐ 2. NO (if no go to E 1) ☐ _____ _____
D 12	If you are not looking for a job what is the main reason	

SECTION E: FAMILY LIFE IN AUSTRALIA
Question E 1 - E 10 refer to persons with children under the age of 18 years
Others go straight to question F 1

E.1	Please tell me about the school/s your children are attending in Australia	Age of child	Level of school Pre-School Primary School Secondary School Tertiary college	Name of school
E 2.	What system best explains how you provide care for children under the age of 13 years before and after school time.	1. Use formal daycare/after school care ☐ 2. Mother does not work in order to take care of children ☐ 3. Parents share childcare working at different times in order to ensure there is always a parent to take care of children ☐ 4. Older children assist in childcare ☐ 5. Other relatives assist with childcare ☐ 6. Non relatives assist with childcare ☐ 7. Other (please specify) _ _____		
E.3	Do your pre-school children aged 4 - 6 years attend kindagarten and reception	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ (If no please go to E 4)		
E. 4	Why don't your children attend pre-school	_____ _____		
E 5.	Have your children experienced any challenges within the school system in Australia?	1. Yes (If yes go to E5) ☐ 2. No (If no go to E6) ☐		
E6	Please explain the challenges your children have experienced in school system?	_____ _____ _____ _____		
E 7	What are the good aspects of the school/s that your children are attending?	_____ _____		
E 8	What are the negative aspects of the school/s your children are attending?	_____ _____		
E 9	If you have children in their teen years ages 13 - 18 what are the major challenges they are experiencing as they adjust to settling in Australia.	_____ _____ _____		
E 8.	What are the major challenges you have experienced as a parent in Australia	_____ _____ _____ _____ _____		
E 10	Do your children play any sport or belong to any club?	1. Yes (If yes go to E 11) ☐ 2. No (If no go to F 1) ☐		
E11	What sport/ team/ club do your children belong to?	_____ _____		

F . FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

	Questions	
F. 1	Do you have other family members living in Australia other than those in this household	1. Yes ☐ (If yes go to F2) 2. No ☐ (If No go to F3)
F 2.	How many of these family members are	1. Present in South Australia _____ _____ 2. Present elsewhere in Australia _____(please indicate state)
F 3	How many members of your immediate family members are in other countries. (Please name relationship and country)	
F 4	How do you rate your family's social situation. (Please select one)	1. Lonely ☐ 2. Have family ☐ 3. Have family and friends ☐ 4. Have few friends ☐ 5. Have many friends ☐
F 5.	How many of your friends are ?	1. Australian _____ 2. Migrants from same country _____ 3. Migrants from other countries _____ _____
F 6	How often do you visit with your friends?	1. Very often (more than once a week) ☐ 2. Not often (once a month) ☐ 3. Rarely ☐
F 7	How did you meet your friends?	1.HRC Ethnic community program ☐ 2.Ethnic community ☐ 3.Family ☐ 4. Neighbours ☐ 5. English Class ☐ 6. Place of worship ☐ 7. Other (please specify) _____
F 8.	Are you or your family members linked to an ethnic/ country or origin community organisation?	1. Yes ☐ (If yes, please name the organisation) 2. No ☐ (If no go to F 11)
F 8a	Name of ethnic /community organisation	_____ _____
F 9.	Do you participate in any events within your community	Yes ☐ No ☐ 1. Cultural dances and festivals ☐ ☐ 2. Recreational events (Barbeques, etc) ☐ ☐ 3. National days, ☐ ☐ 4. Education and employment fetes ☐ ☐ 5. Others ☐ ☐
F 10	How do your family members participate within your ethnic organisation	Community leadership/governance _____ Member of women's group _____ Member of youth group _____
F 11	Do you belong to any other organisations, clubs or groups?	1. Yes ☐ (If yes, please name the organisation) 2. No ☐ (if no go to G 1)
	Please name the organisation and what are the main aims of the organisation or group (for example sport, welfare, investment group)	_____ _____ _____

G. FAMILY REUNION		
G 1.	Do you have any relatives waiting to come to Australia?	1. Yes ☐ (if yes go to G 2) 2. No ☐ (if no go to G 11)
G 2.	How many of your relatives are waiting to come?	_____ _____
G 3	What is your relationship with the relatives who are waiting to come to Australia?	1. Spouse ☐ 2. Child/children ☐ 3. Parents ☐ 4. Fiance/e ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
G 4.	In which country/ies do they live?	_____
G 5	Do you know where to get migration advice	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
G 6	Have you sought any Migration Advice	1. Yes (if yes go to G 7) ☐ 2. No (if no go to G 11) ☐
G 7	Which organisation gave you migration advice for your relatives?	_____ _____
G 8.	How much did you pay for the migration advice ?	_____
G 9	Has the application for the migration process been processed?	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
G 10.	What was the outcome? of the migration process	1. Family member has come to Australia ☐ 2. Family member was denied visa ☐
G 11	Do you send money to your home country/ or to friends and relations outside Australia	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
G 12	To whom is the money sent most regularly (you can tick more than one)	1. Children ☐ COUNTRY WHERE MONEY SENT _____ 2. Spouse/Partner ☐ _____ 3. Parents ☐ _____ 4.Other relatives ☐ _____ 5. Friends ☐ _____ 6. Others(please specify _____ _____
G 13	What is the money you send used for	1. Daily needs - food, clothes ☐ 2 Education school fees, ☐ 3. Health care ☐ 3. Investments - building houses ☐ 4. Other (please specify) _____
G 14	Approximately how much money do you send per month?	_____ _____
G 15.	How do you transfer the money ?	1. Through Western Union/Moneygram ☐ 2. Through bank transfer ☐ 3. Through friends ☐ 4. Private money sending companies (Hawala, Dahabshil etc) 5. Other (please specify) ☐ _____
G 16.	Please estimate how many people you assist with the money you send monthly?	_____ _____

H. INCOME

	Questions	
H.1	What are the main ways in which you earn an income in Australia?	1. Paid work ☐ 2. Business ☐ 3. Receiving Centrelink assistance ☐ 4. Receive money from family member ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
H.2	Is your family aware of concessions (for example transport, utilities)	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
H.3	Do you get any welfare assistance from other organisations (such as help paying bills - electricity or rent, food, clothes)	1. Yes (if yes go to H.4) ☐ 2. No (If no go to H.6) ☐
H.4	Which organisation have you sought assistance from	_____ _____
H.5	In the last 12 months how many times have you sought assistance from this organisation/s and what sort of assistance did you receive	_____
H.6	Is your family repaying a loan credit from a bank or credit union or any organisation	1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
H.7.	What was the loan for	1. To buy a house ☐ 2. To buy a car ☐ 3. To assist family members to migrate ☐ 4. To assist in day to day living ☐ 5. Other (Please specify) _____
H.8	How does your family rate your financial situation	1. Very poor ☐ 2. Just managing ☐ 3. Going Ok ☐ 4. Going well able to budget ☐
H.9	What is your households estimated income per week	1. $ 1 - $ 119 ☐ 2. $ 120 - $159 ☐ 3. $ 160 - $ 199 ☐ 4. $ 200 - 299 ☐ 5. $ 300 - $399 ☐ 6. $ 400 - $ 499 ☐ 7. $ 500 -$ 599 ☐ 8. $ 600 - $ 699 ☐ 9. $700 - $ 799 ☐ 10. $ 800 - $ 899 ☐ 11. $900 - $ 999 ☐ 12. $1000 - $1499 ☐ 13. $1500 - $ 1999 ☐ 14. $ 2000 or more ☐
H.10.	Can you estimate the amount of money your household spends on	

ACTIVITY	**Amount**
Rent/Mortage	
Food	
Transportation	
Personal care/clothes	
Childcare	
Household furnishings	
Entertainment	
Sending money to family	
Savings	
Other (please specify)	

I. HEALTH

I. 1.	In the last 12 months have you received medical attention?	1. Yes 2. No ☐
1.2	If yes where did you receive the medical attention?	1. Doctor 2. Specialist 3. Health Center/Hospital 4. Migrant health service 5. STARRS 6 Other (please specify) _____ _____ ☐
I.3.	Are you aware of the Translating and Interpreting Service for Health services? (TIS)	1. Yes 2. No ☐
I.4	Does your doctor or health care practitioner use (TIS) Interpreter service when you visit?	1. Yes 2. No ☐
I.5.	Do you know how to use the emergency number (000)?	1. Yes 2. No ☐
I.6.	Have you given medicare your updated address?	1. Yes 2. No ☐
I.7	Please add any other comments or issues confronting the refugee/migrant communities in Australia _____ _____ _____ _____	

YOU HAVE COMPLETED THIS SURVEY

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete the survey. As earlier explained the answers within this survey are fully confidential. If you wish to obtain any more information about the survey pleas contact

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APPENDIX 2Time Use Diary

Time Use Diary

TIME USE

Please complete the following Diary of a typical Weekday/ time is divided into 30 hour segments please name one or two major activities done at that time. Also name where the activity was undertaken

Time of Day	Description of Activity Undertaken (Maximum 2 activities)	Where the activity was undertaken (home, work, travel, School/college, shops and other public place)	With whom was the activity undertaken (husband, child, friend, neighbor, colleagues)
4.00 am – 4.30 am			
4.30 am – 5. 00 am			
5.00 am – 5.30 am			
5.30 am - 6.OO am			
6.00 am – 6.30 am			
6. 30 am - 7 am			
7.00 am – 7.30 am			
7.30 am – 8.00 a m			
8.OO am – 8.30 am			
8:30 am – 9.00 am			
9:00 am – 9:30 am			
9.30 am – 10.00 am			
10:00 am – 10.30 am			
10:30 am – 11:00 am			
11:00 am – 11:30 am			
11:30 am – 12:00 am			
12 noon – 12:30 pm			
12:30 pm – 1:00 pm			
1:00 pm - 1:30 pm			
1.30 pm – 2 pm			
2 pm – 2.30 pm			
2.30 pm – 3 pm			
3 pm – 3:30 pm			
3.30 pm – 4 pm			
4 pm – 4.30 pm			
4.30 pm – 5 pm			

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