SUDANESE YOUNG PEOPLE OF REFUGEE BACKGROUND IN RURAL AND REGIONAL AUSTRALIA: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND EDUCATION SUCCESS

Jae Major, Jane Wilkinson, Kip Langat
Charles Sturt University, Australia

Ninetta Santoro
University of Strathclyde, Scotland

ABSTRACT

This article discusses literature pertaining to the settlement of African refugees in regional and rural Australia, particularly focusing on the specific challenges and opportunities faced by Sudanese young people of refugee background in education. Drawing on a pilot study of the out-of-school resources of regionally located young Sudanese students, we discuss the role of social and other capitals in generating conditions that may facilitate educational success for these students. We argue the case for educational research that takes into account the resources and capital upon which Sudanese young people of refugee background and their families draw in order to achieve in education.

Key words: Sudanese refugees; education; social capital; success; regional Australia

AFRICAN REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT IN REGIONAL AND RURAL AUSTRALIA

Recent developments and changes in migrant and refugee settlement policies and practices have resulted in increasing levels of cultural and linguistic diversity in regional and rural Australia. While employment opportunities in agriculture and manufacturing sectors have always drawn migrants and refugees to particular regional and rural localities (McDonald-Wilmsen, Gifford, Webster, Wiseman & Casey, 2009; Missingham, Dibden & Cocklin, 2006), creating "cultural islands" (Burnley, 2001, p. 69, cited in Missingham et al., 2006) of diversity, in general rural areas have been largely monocultural. However, in 1996 the Australian government introduced a policy of encouraging migrants and refugees to settle in rural and regional areas, and in 2004 government policy placed greater focus on regional resettlement with the aim that up to 45% of all refugees should be located in regional Australia (Withers & Powall, 2003). As a result, between 2003 and 2011 Humanitarian Entrants from African nations were settled in significant numbers in New South Wales regional centres: 227 in Wagga Wagga; 546 in Newcastle; 336 in Wollongong and its surrounds, and 396 in Coffs Harbour. Other regional centres in NSW to accept African refugees include Armidale, Orange, Albury, and Lismore (Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), 2012). The number of refugees settling in regional Australia increased from 5% to 12% between 1996 and 2009 (Horin, 2010).

At the policy level, the stated reasons behind moves to increase rural and regional resettlement of refugees have been to "decrease pressure on major metropolitan areas, contribute to the long-term development aims of Australia's regional towns and cities, and help to address labour shortages in these areas" (Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), 2005, p.43). Some rural and regional communities in Victoria and New South Wales have developed initiatives to attract refugees to settle in particular areas in order to address static population growth and labour shortages (Broadbent, Cacciattolo, & Carpenter, 2007; DIAC, 2011); for example: Swan Hill, Warrnambool, Gippsland and Shepparton in Victoria, and Young in NSW. There has also been growth in the level of secondary migration or relocation where refugee entrants have moved from their original settlement location to other locations around Australia. This informal secondary migration has occurred as refugees, frustrated at high urban rates of unemployment, have taken advantage of better employment opportunities in regional areas. It is also acknowledged that regional

and rural areas may provide better opportunities for refugees who have previously worked in agriculture and primary industries. Other key reasons for relocation cited by refugees include joining relatives or friends; living in a smaller, quieter, safer place; and to access more affordable housing (Boese, 2010; Taylor & Stanovic, 2005). These changes in demographics in Australia are reflected in other Western countries such as Britain, USA and Canada as levels of migration and refugee resettlement continue to grow (see Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Robinson, Andersson & Musterd, 2008; Walton-Roberts, 2005).

The arrival of refugees, particularly those from a variety of African nations who are visibly different from previously more monocultural, Anglophone populations, has challenged and changed regional and rural communities on a number of levels. Much research about these transformations reports a range of difficulties and challenges that refugees face in settlement contexts, such as finding employment, suitable housing, and English language education (Gifford, Correa-Velez & Sampson, 2009; McDonald-Wilmsen, Gifford, Webster, Wiseman & Casey, 2009; Murray, 2010). Despite formal initiatives to attract and employ African refugees and support their settlement, the outcomes of these projects have been variable. In many cases the employment on offer has been unskilled, casual or seasonal work. Community agencies and services are often ill equipped to support and assist newly arrived refugees and there has been a lack of coordination to ensure their needs are met (McDonald-Wilmsen, et al., 2009). Where informal secondary migration has occurred, host communities in rural and regional areas may be welcoming and positive about the arrival of refugees into the community. However, a lack of resources can lead to heavy reliance on volunteers who may be inexperienced, unfamiliar with the needs of refugees, and "ill prepared to welcome and support new comers" (McDonald-Wilmsen, et al., 2009, p. 104). Secondary migration usually occurs after the six month period for settlement support from the Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS), and the small, dispersed nature of these communities means it is difficult to "benefit from the economies of scale that accrue in larger settlements" (McDonald-Wilmsen, et al., 2009, p. 104). Thus, funding is scarce and health services, English language classes, transport, and affordable housing may be difficult to access or may be unavailable.

African refugees are more likely to face settlement challenges not experienced by other migrant and refugee groups. Australian attitudes towards refugees generally are often indifferent or hostile as media portrayals of asylum seekers influence public opinion (Perrin & Dunn, 2007). Refugees suffer intolerance and antipathy on the basis of their migration status as well as their "cultural distinctiveness" (Perrin & Dunn, 2007, p. 256). Other issues for refugees are poor levels of English and a lack of first language literacy, mental health issues related to trauma associated with experiences of persecution and violence, and family turmoil related to changing gender roles and intergenerational tensions in a different cultural context (Perrin & Dunn, 2007).

Humanitarian entrants from Sudan are currently one of the fastest growing groups in Australia. The 2006 census recorded 19,050 Sudan-born people in Australia, an increase of 287.7% from the 2001 census (DIAC, 2012), and until recently they have represented the majority of refugees settled in regional areas. In general, African students of refugee background have been identified as one of the most underachieving groups in Australia with educational outcomes significantly lower than other refugee groups (Community Relations Commission, 2006). Regional and rural schools, which traditionally have not had to engage with the learning needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students, are facing new challenges in meeting the complex needs of these students. Barriers to educational achievement for refugee young people include teachers' low academic expectations, inconsistent alignment between curriculum, assessment and pedagogy, lack of differentiation of classroom instruction, lack of or insufficient teacher training and preparation, and a view that the 'refugee problem' is the ESL teacher's responsibility (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2008). Schools and teachers report being ill-prepared to respond to the challenges of addressing the complex needs of young African refugee students (Cassity & Gow, 2006; Taylor, 2008; Wilkinson & Langat, 2012).

Education provision for African students of refugee background is largely characterised by deficit discourses which position these students as illiterate, lacking appropriate education experiences and skills, and experiencing ongoing trauma from the refugee experience (Brown, Miller, & Mitchell, 2006). In addition, a discourse of 'helping', which pervades educational provision for refugees, is often underpinned by deficit notions that position refugees as 'problems' who must assimilate into the

dominant culture (Rah, Choi & Nguyen, 2009). The overall impression one gains from research into refugee resettlement and education is that refugees as a group are needy and dependent rather than self-determining and independent. While we do not wish to downplay the significant resettlement and education needs of African young people of refugee background, we suggest that these young people (and their families) also bring significant resources and capital that contribute to their ability to build a new life in Australian communities. Recognising and drawing on these resources and capital in education settings may foster greater education achievement for young people of refugee background. Hence, in this paper we suggest that social and other capitals generated outside the formal schooling setting, can play a significant role in generating conditions that may in turn, facilitate educational success for these students. Furthermore, we consider the place that regionality can play in supporting this process.

REFUGEE EDUCATION IN REGIONAL AND RURAL AUSTRALIA

Education is identified as a foremost concern in all studies about the resettlement experiences of refugee families in Australia. Education and the benefits of education are central to the integration and aspirations of refugee families, whether it be adult education, English language tuition, or schooling for children. The majority of research into refugee education has been situated in larger urban areas and in recent years it has focused on Humanitarian Entrants from African countries and the particular challenges they face in Australian schooling systems. Dooley (2009), for example, suggests that earlier cohorts of migrants and refugees came with strong formal education and relatively high levels of first language literacy. However, African refugees have been identified as having much higher levels of educational need than other groups as a result of spending long periods of time in refugee camps with limited access to formal schooling, experiences of violence and trauma, family separation and loss, and struggles with the resettlement process (Atwell, Gifford, & McDonald-Wilmsen, 2009; Dooley, 2009; Matthews, 2008; Taylor & Sidhu, 2011). Brown, Miller and Mitchell (2006) interviewed African refugee students in metropolitan Melbourne about their education experiences and found that the students struggled with subject specific language, assumed cultural knowledge of school topics, the pedagogical approaches and practices used in Australian classrooms and the resources used. Particularly at secondary level, mainstream classroom teachers generally do not see teaching the language and literacy related to their discipline area as part of their teaching responsibility (Dooley, 2009). Many teachers are unaware of the processes of second language acquisition and may not adjust their expectations or their pedagogical practices in appropriate ways to take account of refugee students (Tangen, 2009). Despite research that reports positive and innovative work by small numbers of schools (for example, Taylor & Sidhu, 2011), it seems that schools and teachers are frequently ill-equipped to understand and meet the diverse needs of students from African refugee backgrounds.

Taylor (2008, p. 62) suggests that English second language (ESL) teachers "bear the brunt" of responsibility for managing the language and learning needs of young African refugee students. These professionals report feeling overwhelmed and poorly equipped to provide the holistic support required by African students of refugee background. Teachers often assume that students have experiences of formal education and have first language literacy. However, African students of refugee background require alternative approaches, resources and assessment tools to "build on the communicative competences [they bring] from non-literate traditions" (Matthews, 2008, p. 36). Approaches to refugee education in Australia are also criticised for being piecemeal and emphasising the psychological effects of displacement trauma leading to "therapeutic interventions [that] locate issues at an individual level and overlook broader dimensions of inequality and disadvantage" (Matthews, 2008, p. 32). It is suggested that a more holistic approach is needed that embeds responsibility for refugee education and diversity into school values and engages everyone in contributing to successful outcomes for refugee students (Taylor & Sidhu, 2011).

A lack of appropriate policy and adequate funding has been identified as key contributing factors to the pressure experienced by schools and teachers with regard to refugee education. Taylor and Sidhu critique the "lack of targeted policies and organisational frameworks to address the significant educational disadvantages confronting refugee youth" (2011, p. 4). Existing policies and funding regimes have not kept pace with the changing nature of refugee populations (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010)

and are based on an assumption that six to twelve months of ESL support in an Intensive English Centre is sufficient to prepare students with English as an additional language for mainstream classrooms. Given that second language acquisition research suggests that it takes up to nine years to develop proficiency in academic language (Cummins, 2000), ongoing funding beyond the transition into mainstream classrooms would seem necessary.

In rural and regional contexts, disparities in access to quality education and educational outcomes between urban and rural areas have long been recognised as a source of concern. In 2001 the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission released emerging themes and recommendations from its National Inquiry into Rural and Remote Education on Australia. Amongst the key issues identified in rural education were staff and student retention, transport, achievement outcomes for students lagging behind their urban counterparts, restricted curriculum and lack of professional development opportunities for teachers. The National Rural Health Alliance Fact Sheet 13 published in May 2009 identified attracting and retaining qualified staff and transport as key issues in rural education. It appears that in many aspects of education, things have not greatly improved in the rural context. Stories of educational disadvantage in rural areas continue to appear in newspapers (e.g. King, C. 2011; Patty, 2010) and on television news programs (e.g. ABC News, November 2011, & May 2012). Godden (2008, no page) states that "Remote, rural and regional Australians experience human rights concerns accessing quality education. Rural participation, retention and achievement in education are far below urban Australia". Moreover, there is an acknowledged lack of education services for refugees in rural and regional areas where the numbers are too small to make targeted provision viable (Shepley, 2007). It is not surprising then that in rural and regional areas there are few Intensive English Centres and a lack of English as a second language (ESL) expertise and support (Broadbent, et al., 2007). One can only assume that the educational challenges reported in urban environments will be exacerbated in regional and rural areas where many schools do not have the resources to deal with children traumatised by refugee experiences (Taylor & Stanovic, 2005).

Is there any good news?

Reports and research about the regional settlement of African refugees clearly outline the many challenges that exist and militate against successful integration into Australian society. However, there are also consistent messages about significant levels of resilience and optimism amongst refugee young people and their families in regional and rural settings. The Community Relations Commission Report (2006) asserts that

> despite the seemingly overwhelming challenges faced by African humanitarian entrants during settlement, African communities have displayed great strength, commitment, and resourcefulness in addressing community needs and assisting new arrivals with the settlement process (p. 132).

The report contends that while research tends to focus on difficulties faced by new arrivals, there are many strengths within African refugee communities that need to be tapped into and supported. In a similar vein, Gifford, Correa-Velez and Sampson (2009), in their report on a longitudinal project investigating the wellbeing of recently arrived youth with refugee backgrounds in Melbourne, suggest that young refugee people bring considerable personal strengths and potential to do well in their new environment. The young people in their study are described, after three years of data collection, as "a group of young people with high levels of optimism, self-esteem and happiness, who have a moderate sense of control over their lives" (p. 108).

Key elements identified as contributing to the optimism and self-esteem of refugee young people, include family and community. While their immediate ethnic community is most important, connections to the wider Australian community are also identified as significant to feelings of belonging and wellbeing. In regional and rural contexts, a sense of safety is identified as a key benefit or reason for moving to a regional area. This contributes to a sense of wellbeing and stability for refugee families (Shepley, 2007; Taylor & Stanovic, 2005).

A gap in the literature about African refugee families in general, is the cultural, social and emotional resources that they bring to the settlement process, and how these can be drawn on in ways that build social capital that supports young people's educational achievement. In the next section we discuss a

recent study undertaken by the authors that responded to the need for research that focuses on the out-of-school resources generated and drawn on by young refugees in regional and rural settlement in terms of potentially nurturing their educational achievement (Wilkinson, Santoro, Langat & Major, 2012). The study focused on Sudanese refugee background young people and their families in regional New South Wales, Australia.

Telling a different story

Theories of capital, in particular social capital, were used in the study described here to explore and understand the out-of-school resources that Sudanese refugee young people draw on that may support educational achievement. In this section we discuss these theoretical frameworks in the context of our research and how they illuminate the potential of regional and rural locations as sites where out-of-school resources can be used to generate capital that may contribute to educational achievement for Sudanese young people and their families.

The concept of capital provides a means of theorising and understanding settlement experiences. Social networks have been identified as assisting refugees to manage the difficulties they face in resettling and adjusting to an unfamiliar environment (McDonald et al., 2008) and social connectedness has been closely linked with feelings of wellbeing for Sudanese refugees (Murray, 2009). Capital refers to material resources such as money and property (economic capital), as well as less tangible resources such as social networks of friends and acquaintances (social capital), and cultural resources such as education and language (cultural capital). These forms of capital interlink with different forms of capital being accumulated, transmitted and reproduced inter-generationally (Bourdieu, 1986). Notions of capital are used to explain the ways in which people position themselves, and are positioned in the social order. It has been argued that all human action is patterned and self-interested, focused on securing some form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). However, this operates at a "tacit, pre-reflective level of awareness", rather than as a conscious, purposive strategy (Swartz, 1997, p. 67).

Bonding and bridging capitals (Putnam, 2000) are an extension of social capital and describe the different kinds of social networks that people draw on to build social capital. Bonding capital is "gained from participating in local social networks that are most often homogenous and supportive, and provide a sense of belonging" (Santoro, 2012). Family and ethnic community are key sources of bonding capital, which Putnam (2000, p. 20) describes as "sociological super-glue" creating tight, more inward-looking networks. Bridging capital develops from heterogeneous, outward-looking and more loosely tied social networks that generate "broader identities and reciprocity" (Putnam, 2000, p. 20). Bridging capital is more inclusive enabling the crossing of social groupings and acting as "a social lubricant [...] for allowing different kinds of people to mix together freely" (Brough, Bond, Hunt, Jenkins, Shannon, & Schubert, 2006, p. 407). There is a strong and positive relationship between bonding and bridging capital. Research suggests that strong bonding capital within a refugee community provides the emotional support, confidence and self esteem that contribute to the development of bridging capital (Strang & Ager, 2010). Bridging capital is important to the instrumental support that helps refugees to "better navigate their new environment" (Murray, 2010, p. 39).

The study undertaken by the authors focused on Sudanese young people and investigated their out-of-school activities, networks and practices and how these contributed to their success across a range of contexts, but particularly relation to education. The study explored the following key questions:

1. What are the practices through which Sudanese refugee students and their families negotiate their way into the discursive, material and social spaces of Australian rural and regional settings?
2. What types of capitals do students generate in out-of-school contexts in Australian regional and rural settings?
3. What social conditions enable and facilitate the generation of these capitals?
4. How do these capitals facilitate success for students at school?

5. What are the implications of these findings for Australian schooling, in particular, in rural and regional settings?

The project consisted of case studies undertaken with eight Sudanese young people of refugee background between the ages of 13 and 17 in regional NSW. There were four males and four females. We focused on young people who were identified as successful in their respective communities. Success was defined in broad terms, and encompassed such things as: family/community engagement and responsibility, positive attitudes to learning in general, belief in one's potential to learn, knowing how to learn and where to go to learn, and formal and informal learning. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews using as stimulus, photographs taken by the young people on digital cameras. The photographs were of people, places and things that were important to the young people and that made them feel successful and good about themselves. Each young person was interviewed twice over several months. Interviews were also conducted with parents or caregivers and a community person nominated by the young person; for example: a sports team coach, leader of a community group the young person belonged to, family friend, volunteer mentor. We also spent time observing the young people in a chosen community activity; for example: sports practices and matches, cultural activities.

It is not the intention of this paper to provide a detailed report of the research. However, preliminary findings from the data indicate a number of key factors that all three groups of participants identified as important to the success of the young people. These are: family, friends, church, sport, the regional location and community, and school (Wilkinson, Santoro, Langat & Major, 2012). These are discussed below in relation to the forms of social capital that each enables.

In the context of refugee resettlement, bonding capital has been identified as the experience of "receiving emotional support and encouragement in establishing ... new lives in Australia" (Murray, 2010, p. 38). The strength and importance of bonding capital for the young people in our study was evident in their cohesive family relationships which included extended family living in the same location or within a reasonable distance. In addition, there were strong connections to the Sudanese community with many of these relationships treated as family relationships. Bonding social capital contributes to the integration process by providing information and material resources, emotional resources and capacity building resources (Strang & Ager, 2010, p. 597). The value of these resources shifts from material to emotional over time and with longer settlement. In the context of refugees who had relocated to regional towns, bonding capital was particularly important as formal funding and social services were often unavailable. It was evident that longer settled families played a significant role in the support of those newly arrived into the community, assisting them with securing housing, choosing appropriate schools and connecting them to local service agencies and the local Sudanese community.

Strang and Ager (2010) emphasise the importance of refugees developing "social bridges" to avoid separatism and isolation. Friendship groups played an important role in this for the young people in the study. Their friendships groups were heterogeneous, including cousins and other Sudanese as well as those from the wider Australian Anglo-Celtic community. School, church and sport were important sites where friendships developed and played a key role in the development of bridging capital by providing access to new social networks, opportunities to make friends across a variety of ethnic and socio-economic groups and by acting as a bridge to the broader Australian community. This facilitated a sense of belonging and resilience. Friendships built both bonding and bridging capital and provided a sense of self-esteem and inclusion by giving access to wider networks and activities. It was clear that these successful young people were drawing on their strongly bonded social networks to develop strong bridging relationships that contributed to their overall success within their communities (Santoro, Major, Wilkinson, & Langat, 2011).

The regional context was significant in underpinning the other factors that emerged in the study. It is easy to overlook or disregard the significance of place, but it was central to many of the findings in this research. The smaller size of regional towns facilitated easier access to and participation in activities, and thus enabled networks and connections to be established more easily. For example, participation in sport was significant for the development of social capital and was facilitated by the regional location in that access was easier due to shorter distances to travel to sports grounds.

Interconnections between factors also played a role; for example, information about and invitations to participate in community activities were generated via school or church contacts and friendships. Parents also described a greater sense of safety and security in country towns. A country town was perceived as quieter with fewer negative influences and distractions for their children. Because of their previous experiences living in rural areas of Sudan many parents felt more comfortable in a smaller regional centre than large urban environments. The outcome for their children was a greater sense of freedom to visit friends and socialise in community spaces such as shopping malls and parks because the environment was perceived to be safe (Langat, Wilkinson, Santoro, & Major, 2011).

Regional and rural centres may be largely monocultural and conservative, but they also have the potential to be hospitable and friendly towards newcomers. As Adele Horin (2010) described in the Sydney Morning Herald, "In towns untouched by the winds of multiculturalism suspicion of the outsider is tempered by a predisposition to be hospitable and helpful and to take time for personal relationships". Building social capital requires trust and reciprocity which can be developed through opportunities for "people to meet and exchange resources in ways that are mutually beneficial" (Strang & Ager, 2010, p. 599). Schools, in particular, are ideal places for this to occur as all young people are involved in schooling. As such, schools have an important role to play in the development of bridging capital for refugee young people and their families. Turner & Fozdar (2010, p. 376) concluded that the most successful students in their study of South Sudanese tertiary students in South Australia were those who were able to engage with both academic and ethnic communities to access learning support. These students actively sought assistance from their teachers and turned these bridging relationships into bonding relationships, building social capital that benefited their education outcomes as a result. This study emphasised the individual agency of the participants. However, in our view, schools need to recognise the importance of actively building on the social capital that refugee young people bring to their learning. This will support the building of bridging capital, and ultimately, support education achievement.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The weight of literature related to settlement of African refugees in regional and rural Australia suggests that there are some significant difficulties and challenges to successful integration. However, there are also positive characteristics of regional and rural settings that could be further exploited to overcome some of the challenges. An approach that identifies and builds on the resources that African refugee young people and communities bring to the settlement process may be a positive first step towards changing the predominantly negative discourses surrounding refugees and may potentially reposition them more positively within Australian society.

Knowing one's learners and acknowledging the resources they bring to the education context are central to a culturally responsive pedagogy (Santoro, 2009; Wilkinson, et al., 2012) This is potentially more achievable for teachers in rural and regional settings. There remains however, a need for greater resourcing of professional development for teachers in regional and rural locations in the area of culturally responsive pedagogy and teaching English alongside curriculum content (Wilkinson & Langat, 2012). The predominantly deficit discourse about refugee students in education, coupled with teachers' own feelings of inadequacy, lead to low teacher expectations and an unwillingness to take responsibility for meeting diverse learners' needs. Hattam and Every suggest that "the experience that refugee students have in schools is very much determined by the way that refugees are thought about, and represented in the public culture and how these representations are taken up or contested in school" (2010, p. 409). Schools must develop a culture that represents refugees in positive and empowering ways, based on the strengths and personal-social assets they bring. This requires teachers who understand how to build on these assets in the curriculum and in their pedagogical practices. Regional and rural locations are currently something of a double-edged sword for refugees. On the one hand, there are issues and challenges around funding and provision of social services, access to suitable employment and quality education, and the potential for the intensification of racist attitudes in a wider climate of negativity about asylum seekers. On the other hand, there is the potential of regional and rural locations to offer fruitful opportunities for the building of bonding and bridging capital through access to social networks and support that may not be available to the same degree in a large urban environment.

Notions of social capital and the associated resources that accrue from its development offer an alternative way of considering refugee settlement that challenges prevailing deficit understandings of African refugees. Deficit models keep refugee communities in marginalized and dependent positions within wider communities through interventions that focus on what the host community can do for refugees, rather than considering strategies developed and enacted by refugee communities for their own empowerment and benefit. There is a clear need for further research that focuses on resilience and the contribution of parents, extended families, ethnic communities, schools, church and sporting groups to the generation of the various types of capitals that young people of refugee background draw on in order to positively engage with, and participate in, Australian society. Further research into regional and rural Australia may play a key role in generating these understandings.

REFERENCES

ABC News. (29 May, 2012). *NSW reforms education to lift 'shameful' results.* Retrieved September 4, 2012 from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aeg6aZ8dV8g&feature=plcp

ABC News. (Nov 11, 2010). *Rural education the biggest challenge.* Retrieved September 4, 2012 from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9t2W1qzsUP8

Atwell, R., Gifford, S. M., & McDonald-Wilmsen, B. (2009). Resettled refugee families and their children's futures: Coherence, hope and support. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 40*(5), 677-697.

Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). (2011). *Refugee and humanitarian issues. Australia's response.* Canberra, ACT: Author.

Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). (2012). *Community information summary.* Retrieved September 4, 2012 from http://www.immi.gov.au/settlement/

Australian Government Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. (2005). *Refugee and humanitarian issues. Australia's response.* Canberra, ACT: Author.

Boese, M. (2010). Challenging current policy rationales of regionalising immigration. Paper presented at the *Australian Political Science Association Conference,* University of Melbourne.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital (R. Nice, Trans.). In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.

Broadbent, R., Cacciattolo, M., & Carpenter, C. (2007). A tale of two communities: refugee relocation in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 42*(4), 581-601.

Brough, M., Bond, C., Hunt, J., Jenkins, D., Shannon, C., & Schubert, L. (2006). Social capital meets identity. Aboriginality in an urban setting. *Journal of Sociology, 42*(4), 396-411.

Brown, J., Miller, J., & Mitchell, J. (2006). Interrupted schooling and acquisition of literacy: Experiences of Sudanese refugees in Victorian secondary schools. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy, 29*(2), 150-162.

Cassity, E. A., & Gow, G. (2005). Making up for lost time: The experiences of Southern Sudanese young refugees in high schools. *Youth Studies Australia, 24*(3), 51-55.

Community Relations Commission. (2006). *Report of the Community Relations Commission for a multicultural NSW: investigation into African humanitarian settlement in NSW.* Sydney.

Correa-Velez, I., & Onsando, G. (2009). Educational and occupational outcomes amongst African men from refugee backgrounds living in urban and regional Southeast Queensland. *The Australasian Review of African Studies, 30*(2), 114-127.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, Power, and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.

Dooley, K. (2009). Re-thinking pedagogy for middle school students with little, no or severely interrupted schooling. *English Teaching: Practice & Critique, 8*(1), 5-19.

Gifford, S. M., Correa-Velez, I., & Sampson, R. (2009). *Good starts for recently arrived youth with refugee backgrounds: promoting well-being in the first three years of settlement in Melbourne, Australia.* Melbourne: LaTrobe Refugee Research Centre, LaTrobe University.

Godden, N. (2008). Education in rural Australia. *Online Opinion (e-Journal of Social and Political Debate),* Retrieved September 4, 2012 from http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=7376

Hattam, R., & Every, D. (2010). Teaching in fractured classrooms: Refugee education, public culture, community and ethics. *Race, Ethnicity & Education, 13*(4), 409-424. doi: 10.1080/13613324.2010.488918

Horin, A. (2010, July 10). Country cousins defy redneck label in treatment of refugees, *Sydney Morning Herald.*

King, C. (2011). Community launch ambitious project to 'Unlock Sunraysia's Potential'. *ABC Mildura-Swan Hill,* 24 Feb. Retrieved September 4, 2012 from http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2011/02/24/3147321.htm

Langat, K., Wilkinson, J., Santoro, N., & Major, J. (2011). Building educational success for Sudanese-Australian young people by establishing social networks. Paper presented at *Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE) Annual Conference,* Hotel Grand Chancellor, Hobart, Nov 27-Dec1.

McDonald, B., Gifford, S., Webster, K., Wiseman, J., & Casey, S. (2008). *Refugee resettlement in regional and rural Victoria: Impacts and policy issues.* Melbourne: Refugee Research Health Centre, La Trobe University.

McDonald-Wilmsen, B., Gifford, S., Webster, K., Wiseman, J., & Casey, S. (2009). resettling refugees in rural and regional Australia: Learning from recent policy and program Initiatives. *The Australian Journal of Public Administration, 68*(1), 97–111. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8500.2088.00611.x

McMichael, C., Gifford, S. M., & Correa-Velez, I. (2011). Negotiating family, navigating resettlement: Family connectedness amongst resettled youth with refugee backgrounds living in Melbourne, Australia. *Journal of Youth Studies, 14*(2), 179-195.

Missingham, B., Dibden, J., & Cocklin, C. (2006). A mulitcultural countryside? Ethnic minorities in rural Australia. *Rural Society, 16*(2), 131-150.

Murray, K. E. (2010). Sudanese perspectives on resettlement in Australia. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology, 4*(1), 30–43.

Patty, A. (2010). City-rural divide hits computer literacy. *Sydney Morning Herald,* April 23. Retrieved Spetember 4, 2012 from http://www.smh.com.au/technology/technology-news/cityrural-divide-hits-computer-literacy-20100422-tg28.html

Pittaway, E., Muli, C., & Shteir, S. (2009). "I have a voice-Hear me!" Findings of an Australian study examining the resettlement and integration experience of refugees and migrants from the Horn of Africa in Australia. *Refuge, 26*(2), 133-146.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

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

Rah, Y., Choi, S., & Nguyễn, T. S. T. (2009). Building bridges between refugee parents and schools. *Journal of Leadership in Education, 12*(4), 347-365.

Santoro, N. (2009). Teaching in culturally diverse contexts: what knowledge of 'self' and 'others' do teachers need? *Journal of Education for Teaching, 35*(3), 33-45.

Santoro, N. (2012). "I really want to make a difference for these kids but it's just too hard": One Aboriginal teacher's experiences of moving away, moving on and moving up. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education.* DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2012.724466

Santoro, N., Major, J., Wilkinson, J., & Langat, K. (2011). The acquisition of bridging capital by Sudanese young people in a regional Australian town: the role of mothers and family. Paper presented at *Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE) Annual Conference*, Hotel Grand Chancellor, Hobart, Nov 27-Dec1.

Shepley, C. (2007). Regional resettlement in Australia: Research into the settlement experience of humanitarian entrants in regional Australia 2006-07. Canberra, ACT: Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

Strang, A., & Ager, A. (2010). Refugee integration: emerging trends and remaining agendas. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 23*(4), 589-607. doi: 10.1093/jrs/feq046

Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture & power. The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, S. (2008). Schooling and the settlement of refugee young people in Queensland: '...The challenges are massive'. *Social Alternatives 27*(3), 58-65.

Taylor, S., & Sidhu, R. K. (2011). Supporting refugee students in schools: What constitutes inclusive education? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1-18. doi: 10.1080/13603110903560085

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

Turner, M., & Fozdar, F. T. (2010). Negotiating 'community' in educational settings: Adult South Sudanese students in Australia. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 31*(4), 363-382.

Walton-Roberts, M., (2005) Regional immigration and dispersal: Lessons from small- and medium-sized urban centres in British Columbia. *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal, 37*(3), 12-34.

Wilkinson, J., & Langat, K. (2012). Exploring educators' practices for African students from refugee backgrounds in an Australian regional high school. *The Australasian Review of African Studies, 33*(2), 158-177.

Wilkinson, J., Santoro, N., Langat, K., & Major, J. (2011). The use of visual stimulus as a methodology for research with Sudanese-Australian young people. Paper presented at *Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE) Annual Conference*, Hotel Grand Chancellor, Hobart, Nov 27-Dec1.

Wilkinson, J., Santoro, N., Langat, K., & Major, J. (2012). The impact of school setting and curriculum on CALD youth's experience of education, schooling and belonging in Australia. *Mosaic, 30.* Retrieved September 6, 2012 from http://www.fecca.org.au/mosaic/archive/mosaic-issue-30-may-2012/the-impact-of-school-settings-and-curriculum-on-cald-youths-experience-of-education-schooling-and-belonging-in-australia

Withers, G. and M. Powall, (2003). *Immigration and the regions: Taking regional Australia seriously. A Report on options for enhancing immigration's contribution to regional Australia*, Chifley Research Centre.