



REFUGEE SETTLEMENT SNAPSHOT 2018: Fairfield, NSW



(Photo: Dimitria Groutsis, 2017)

In 2017 the number of refugees arriving in Australia effectively doubled the intake of previous decades. This is because most of the special one-off intake of 12,000 Syrian Conflict refugees that was announced by Prime Minister Abbott in 2015 in fact arrived in 2017. In addition, the annual intake of humanitarian entrants was increased to 16,250 in 2017-18. Most of these newly arrived refugee families settled in New South Wales (NSW), Victoria and Queensland.

As part of a study on Settlement Outcomes of Refugee Families in Australia, funded by the Australian Research Council, and led by Professor Jock Collins (University of Technology Sydney), Professor Carol Reid (Western Sydney University), and Associate Professor Dimitria Groutsis (University of Sydney), the first of three years of data collection has been completed. We interviewed and surveyed newly arrived refugee families from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan in four metropolitan and two regional sites in New South Wales: Fairfield, Liverpool, Parramatta, and Auburn in metropolitan Western Sydney; and Coffs Harbour and Wollongong in regional NSW.

This report provides a snapshot of the findings of our fieldwork in the area covered by our partner in Fairfield. We acknowledge the significant support of Settlement Services International (SSI) Ltd, a partner in the research, who guided us in approaching one of their partner organisations, and CORE Community Services, for assistance in connecting with and engaging refugee families as participants. CORE Community Services made contact with **27 Iraqi families and 17 Syrian families** who became participants in the Fairfield-region interviews: a location identified as a settlement zone for refugees from the Syrian and Iraqi conflict. The great majority of these participants were Christian. In 2018, these families were interviewed, mainly in their homes, and they provided valuable insights into their settlement experiences. In these Fairfield families, **93 adults (47 males, 48 females; 53 Iraqis; 40 Syrians) and 16 young people (aged 7 to 22)** participated in interviews and completed an accompanying online survey. The survey is informed by the national Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA) longitudinal survey of refugees in Australia, in order to ensure benchmarking with the survey instrument used for the purposes of this study. This snapshot identifies some of the respondents' hopes, opinions and concerns about their settlement.

Broad themes emerging from the interviews with the Fairfield family members included:

- Coming to a new life in Australia
- English language skills
- Access to and participation in employment
- Finances
- The local neighbourhood / housing
- Social integration
- Bringing up children / education
- Hope for the future / family reunion

Starting a new life in a new land is difficult. **Yet all of the Fairfield adult family members were grateful to be in Australia and most were happy.** The families had been happy back home, but were forced to flee religious persecution with the coming of ISIS:

We came to Australia not on purpose. But when ISIS invaded our area and they fire at us and they threat us then we came here to Australia. (Syrian male, 2018)

It was good in Iraq, but lately, before we fled from Iraq, there was no safety. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Yes, Australia feel home, because our previous country didn't give us anything, especially Christian people. They think people from other religions are equal but however, we suffered from the situation in our case. (Iraqi male, 2018)

After the trauma of upheaval and displacement, adults now living in Fairfield explained that **time is needed to settle into their new home:**

Life in Australia - it's okay... But when the first time, when I arrived, no, it's very hard. I not see, I don't hear, very confused for me. But now when you can go and do some things, it's okay. Yeah, more confident, more, yeah, yeah. I don't want any person to help me. If I can, I make it by myself, this is my idea. (Iraqi female, 2018)

After we arrived in Australia, we felt a little bit unsettled because we had too many things to do, too many duties, too many - too many things to do. So it was a very chaotic situation and we need one or two years to overcome. Yes, we start from zero here. (Iraqi male, 2018)

Fairfield in particular has been singled out in media reports as a location with concentrated numbers of refugees. The adults interviewed in Fairfield felt stigmatised by the media, and wanted **more awareness about their circumstances:**

It's a chaotic situation. And the situation is getting worse for refugees in Australia because of the media and society becoming angrier with refugees and migrants - blaming them for everything. We are paying the price for others abusing the Australian system. (Iraqi male and female, 2018)

When we go to Centrelink, or any governmental office, we don't feel we are very welcomed. I think they are upset with us. Maybe because other people, they do bad things and they create maybe fake documents, and this affects our life because sometimes they can't distinguish between who is good and who is bad. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Actually, we are very sad because people in Australia think we were very poor in Iraq, that we didn't have anything. They think that we didn't have enough education or jobs. But actually, we had everything, and we were very happy. But events forced us to leave Iraq. We were threatened with killing and kidnapping. We were wealthy in our country and we were well-educated, and we had a respectful life, but people here think we were living in poverty and that we were backward people or ignorant people. They think like that. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Other problems facing Fairfield families on arrival were health-related. **More than half of the adult refugees interviewed in Fairfield were over the age of 50 – 16% were over the age of 65; these family members were generally considerably older than the refugees interviewed in other locations.** A substantial number of the Fairfield refugees were suffering poor health on arrival. Some families experienced acute anxiety not knowing how the health system in Australia works. One family had been given misleading information before they arrived:

A lot of people told us, like, for my grandpa – they're going to treat him, they're going to just, like, give him all the medication knowledge that they have. They're going to, like, just cure him. Yes, but after we arrive here, we just take him to the hospital and said they can't do anything. 'What?' So what was, like, the first thing that we face in Australia was that.

(Young Iraqi male, 2018)

The need to learn English is one of the pressures which is part of adjusting to a new land, and can be difficult, particularly for adults. Advancing age combined with deteriorated physical health and mental trauma reduce the ability to learn a new language, and to gain employment. Many Fairfield family members had the added responsibility of caring for disabled partners and siblings, preventing their attendance at English classes and other appointments:

Due to the war and the situation and the absence of my children, we can't focus too much on English. We are distracted with other things. (Iraqi female, 2018)

I studied English in Navitas, but I couldn't understand so much English, because age, and I have several health issues and I suffered from severe depression, or psychological issues. (Syrian female, 2018)

I can't study in here because it's very hard, not easy road, and as my husband mentioned, I am suffering from depression. I forgot everything I studied and worked in, at the moment. (Syrian female, 2018)

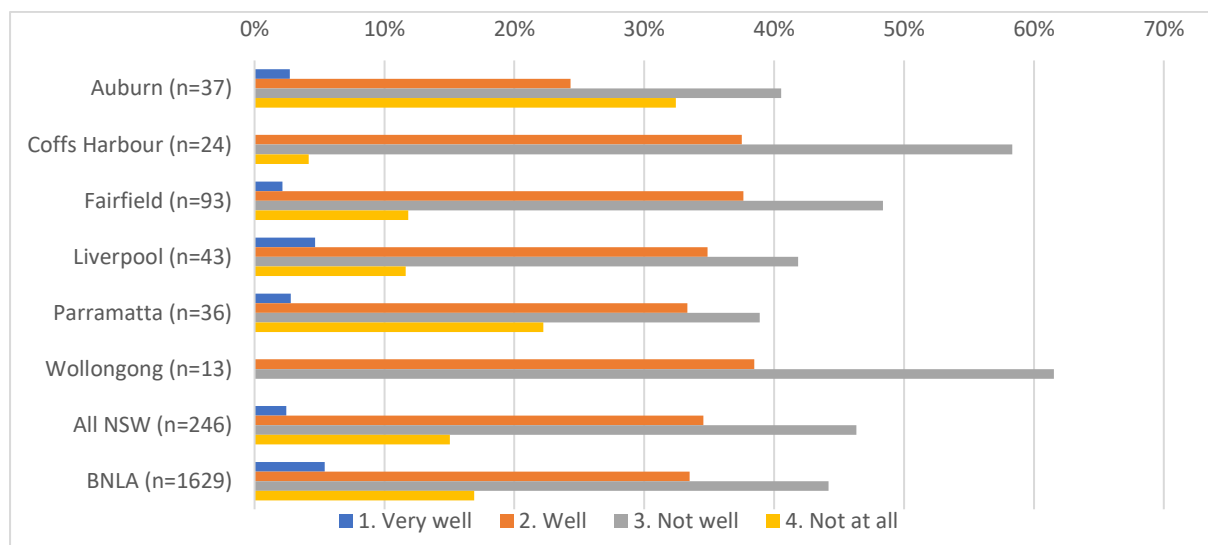
Very few Fairfield family members had been given an opportunity to learn English before coming to Australia:

In my country I realised that English is an international language, and it's the most important language in the world. But in my country there were no companies used English, in our education system there is lack of curriculums in English... English and American schools for language in Iraq - they started to show, but not in my generation. (Iraqi male, 2018)

In our country, it's only Arabic. We study English but it's not perfect. We study like a lesson, grammar, stories. That's it. Not conversation. Now they've started to do conversation. Two or three years ago they started conversation between the students. Yes, in Iraq. But fifteen years ago, only grammar, only stories. (Iraqi male, 2018)

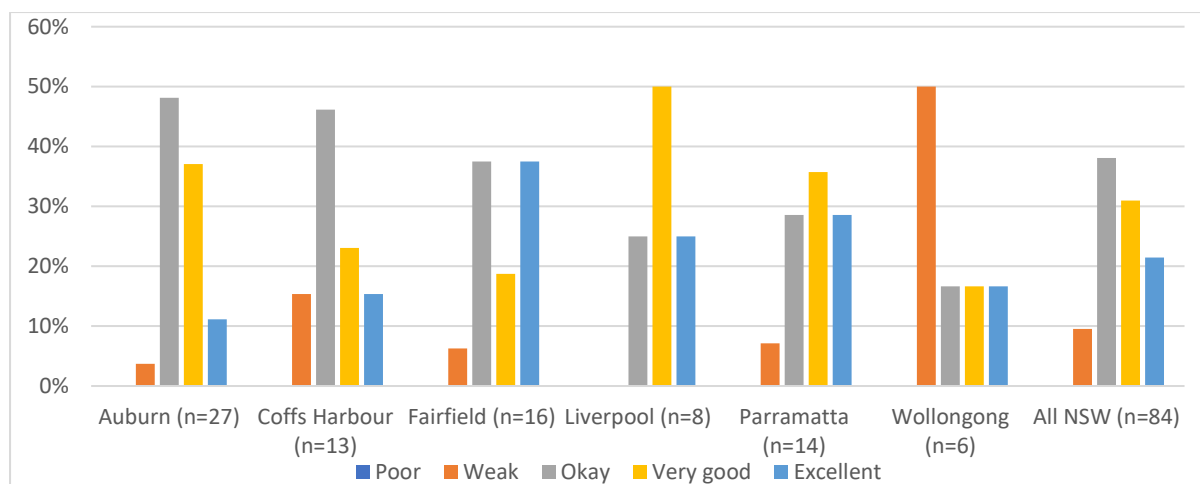
We asked the cohort of adults in NSW living in Fairfield, Liverpool, Parramatta, Auburn, Coffs Harbour and Wollongong who were refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan whether they could speak English 'very well', 'well', 'not well' or 'not at all'. We compare these results to the findings of the national longitudinal survey of refugees, the BNLA survey. **The proportion of adults in Fairfield who assessed themselves as being able to speak English 'very well' or 'well' (40%), was slightly higher than the proportion of refugees who responded in the national BNLA survey (39%), and the highest of the NSW locations (equalling Liverpool) (Figure 1).**

Figure 1: NSW adults: How well do you speak English?



Similarly, we asked the young people about their English language skills. **Young people in Fairfield were particularly skilled in writing English, being the highest proportion (38%) to rate their writing skills as ‘excellent’, considerably higher than the average for NSW (21%)** (Figure 2).

Figure 2: NSW young people: ability to write English



Learning a new language is much easier at a young age. The improvement in English skills of the children has been remarkable:

I speak so much English. I'm full of English. (Iraqi male, age 7, 2018)

My children came to Australia without much English, but here now, they have full English. (Iraqi male, 2018)

Although a few young people struggled learning English, they had classmates and teachers helping them out. Being *'in it together'* (Young Iraqi male, 2018) in the English Second Language class has fostered lifelong friendships.

In spite of the difficulties experienced by some adults, most of the Fairfield interviewees had completed 500 hours of English language classes at Navitas. These were seen as a good starting point but, unlike the young people, **many adults had little opportunity to practice English language with others**, either at a workplace or through social engagements:

All these people – they can't learn the language in a short time. This 500 hour, 800 hour, that's not enough to learn. Just like one day the teacher said 'we can't put the spoon in your mouth, just we put you on the way'. Just they put us on the way, and 'you need to continue'. (Iraqi female, 2018)

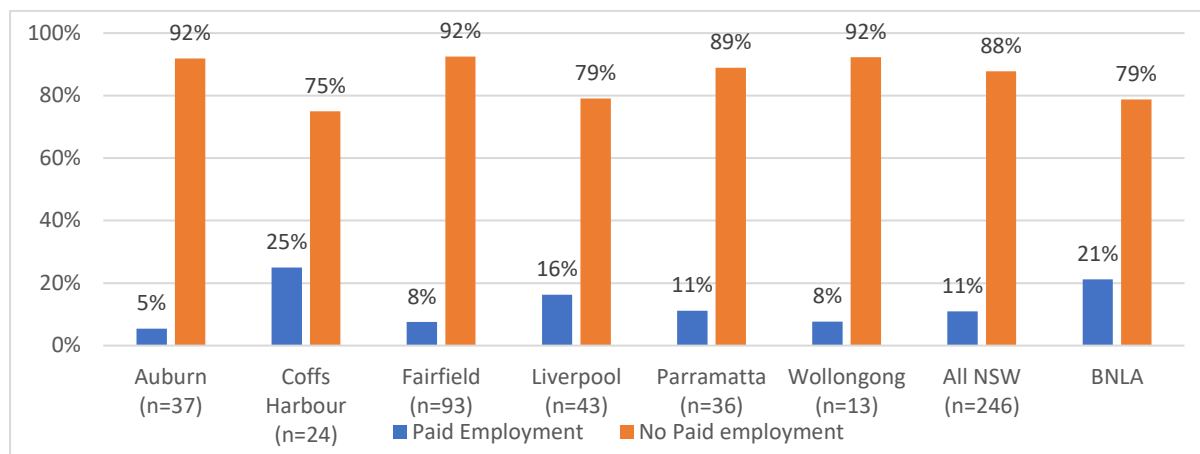
I've already done 1300 hours, but then I left because I finished my hours. I've already done my hours, but I couldn't catch too much. However, it was a good experience to learn English, because now I can read English sometimes. I could go to far places and can read those signs. (Syrian male, 2018)

I just want to learn English through work. In my country, I learnt languages without going to language school. I learn Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic... What about here, why don't I have this chance to go and find a job and learn English? (Iraqi male, 2018)

When you go to Navitas or TAFE to learn English, you find the paper, you read, or maybe listen from the teacher, you go home, and you start to speak Arabic, then that information would be useless, because I only listen, I don't use. Work environment would encourage me to learn the English that is related to my occupation. For example if I work in carpentry, I will learn the tools, and I will try to speak with clients, I will start to make sentences. (Iraqi male, 2018)

For adult refugees generally - and for those in Fairfield more specifically - getting a job in Australia is an important priority. Since this was the first year of settlement in Australia for most of the NSW refugees interviewed/surveyed, most of them had not yet found employment because most were still learning English and settling into their life in Australia. Notably, employment outcomes for the recently arrived refugees in NSW were less positive than for those refugees surveyed in the national BNLA survey. We will follow these same families over the next two years and hope to see these employment results improve greatly. **Of the groups interviewed in NSW, those in Fairfield, Auburn and Wollongong were most likely not to be in employment (Figure 3).**

Figure 3: NSW adults and employment



The refugee adults interviewed at Fairfield told us that employers and employment support service providers prefer younger people, so that **mature adults had great difficulty finding employment**, particularly when also suffering diminished mental and physical health.

I get customer service from Target as work placement, so I worked like the workers there every day from nine o'clock to four o'clock ... just what they do, I do, for two weeks. It's okay, but for me I feel it's very tired. Because from nine, at four, you stand, no seat, just lunchtime, they give you half hour. When I come back, I feel very tired. Yeah, standing all the time for my age. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Companies and shops, they refuse to hire me because - because of my age. Yes, they - they just - it's more desirable to hire young people. (Syrian male, 2018)

For the young people, it's positive to come here. Not for me... I encouraged my son to come here, but my brother, maybe he is 60 years old ... I told him, 'No, you cannot work here.' He has a job in Iraq. He's a manager in Iraq but if he comes here... In Navitas there was a teacher with me and he has a PhD in psychology from Mosul University. When he come here, they put him in to study English and that's it. He has a PhD and he's a psychologist. No future for our age. No future... (Iraqi male, 2018)

There was considerable frustration felt where **only physically demanding jobs are available** for people who don't have English language skills or local qualifications.

Lots of the jobs for the refugee, just the buildings, yeah [low-skilled]. And it's very hard for me, and when I asked my GP, no, in this case no, you cannot go with this kind of jobs, because it's very hard for you. (Syrian male, 2018)

They don't give me good jobs due to the weak English. They offered cleaning services and I can't take such jobs because of age and health reasons. Actually, I wish to work but my health issues prevent me from standing and working or sitting for a long time. But I wish to feel that I'm important and less depressed. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Fairfield adults reported being told to downgrade their expectations about employment in Australia in relation to qualifications they held from their country of origin. **At least 20 of the adults had a tertiary education**, but as one young Iraqi male said *'educated people are struggling the most in Australia, because there are no educated jobs around'*. Another commented:

I showed the caseworker in Jobactive my degrees, and asked her to find a job for me, which suits me, and she told me, 'Put your degrees in the rubbish and find a job'. (Iraqi male, 2018)

The frustrations are amplified when **job service providers apply pressure for applicants to look for work**, while there is a perception that no help is given:

JobActive still pursued us to find a job. Because of my health issue and my age, most companies and jobs don't prefer to hire me... (Iraqi male, 2018)

I applied for studying university. I was saying, 'I'm going to start studying engineering. I want a job that related to do that. Help me to find a job' ... He told me, 'Okay, go to the computer, start researching... That's not my job. Just well spend one hour there'. (Young Iraqi male, age 23, 2018)

I suffered a lot from job providers. When I arrived in Australia, I barely knew how to write my name, or my number. And the Jobactive was very, very pressuring... At that time I was very, very, very anxious and depressed and I wished I had some money to go back to previous country... (Syrian female, 2018)

It's the job provider's responsibility to find us a job. But unfortunately the providers told us to find ourselves a job, which is very hard. (Syrian male, 2018)

Those who found employment did so through their own ethnic networks, but they also received warnings that some employers exploit workers by paying them less than the legal minimum wage:

One of my daughters tried to work as a kitchenhand in a restaurant. But the employers were Iraqis and they tried to abuse her by giving her less than the minimum wages. Yeah, cash. She tried to push the employer to fix her job as legal but he refused and they fired her after one week. (Syrian male, about his daughter, 2018)

I think sometimes the bosses, like, misuse the situation and they give low wages. (Iraqi male, 2018)

Those adults who are able-bodied are keen to work – even in volunteer positions. But barriers to employment can be complex:

Here in Australia... I have the full willingness to work complete voluntary. With any organisation or any company. (Iraqi male, 2018)

If there is any available jobs for me, even if it's going to be in the city, I will go, I will go, I want just to work. I am willing to find the job, but... at the same time I am carer of my Mum. And sometimes I am suffering from many differences in my mind, 'I want to just do this one, but I can't because of my Mum', and 'I want just to do this one, I can't because I don't have the English', 'I want just to do this one, I can't because I'm sick'. So it's like a struggle. (Syrian male, 2018)

Many of the young people interviewed in Fairfield had already finished school and they too wanted to find their first job:

I just want to work, because I have friends from school, they have their own jobs and they ask me 'why you don't work?', and I feel sometimes embarrassed. I want to be same as them, I want to work. (Young Iraqi male, age 22, 2018)

The majority (75%) of refugees interviewed in Fairfield were joining family members already living in Australia, many of whom had acted as ‘proposers’ for their relatives to migrate. Thus, most adults interviewed had **quite a lot of prior knowledge about Australia**. Nevertheless, the difficulty of finding work was a surprise to many, as was the **high cost of living in Fairfield**, a suburb of Sydney. **Relatives who sponsored families often helped to find housing**, making the process easy:

My brother. He did all that stuff for us. When I was in Lebanon, my brother, he called me from Australia, ‘I found a big house for you, and is very, very good for you’. And when I came to Australia I came here straight away from the airport. (Syrian male, 2018)

But suitable housing was not always to be found in Fairfield, particularly given the high cost. Where the only income for a family is government benefits, even poor-quality accommodation takes a large proportion of the budget; and working families cannot afford to buy:

I want to bought a house. Because it’s very expensive, even my children, they need to work, work, collect money... Yeah, yeah, this is my dream, yeah. Because in my culture, if we had your own home, you feel relaxed, no one come one day say ‘I want the home, you need to change’ ... But it’s very expensive here, the houses, it’s very expensive. The simple house, \$1 million, \$1 million. How can you collect that? (Iraqi female, 2018)

Most of the adults interviewed in Fairfield described their financial situation as complicated. Those with health problems were grateful to have government benefits, but **all had trouble making ends meet** and certainly had no opportunity to put savings aside:

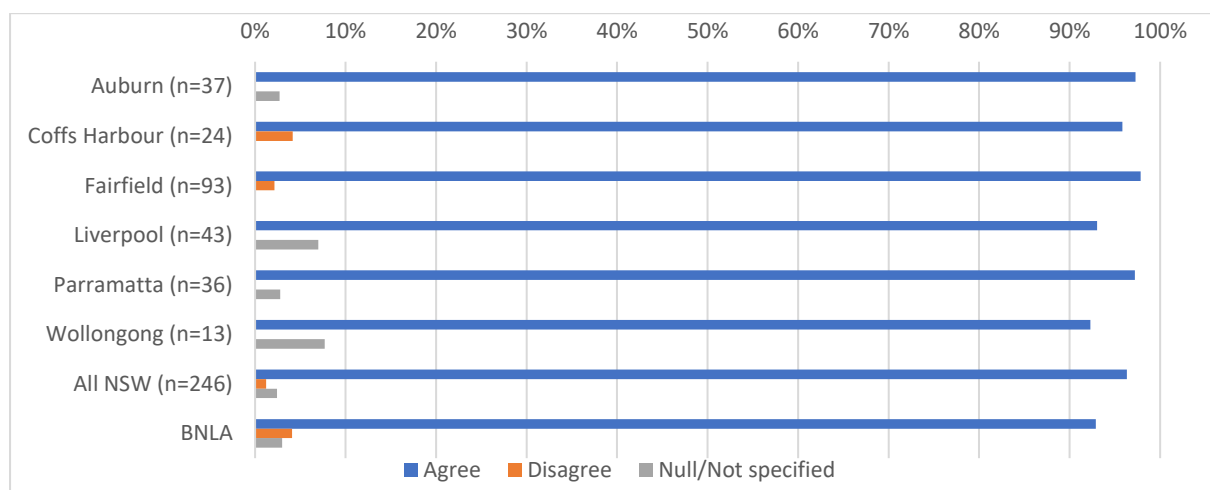
I want to help everyone here but I can’t. Sometimes my smaller daughter wants to buy something... She’s 16 years old... Sometimes she wants to eat ice cream. We can’t. You say now, ‘It’s not expensive. Maybe it’s \$5.00.’ But \$5.00 is too much for us. (Iraqi male, 2018)

I need to work here, because life is expensive here, and I have too much expenses, and I want to survive. (Iraqi male, 2018)

I think I didn’t get all my rights in Australia because I explained to Centrelink about my situation and my health issues with reports and Centrelink ignored all of them... They refused my disability. Newstart for me isn’t enough. Because I have several issues and several expenses... Here in Australia it’s very expensive and life is not easy at all. (Iraqi male, 2018)

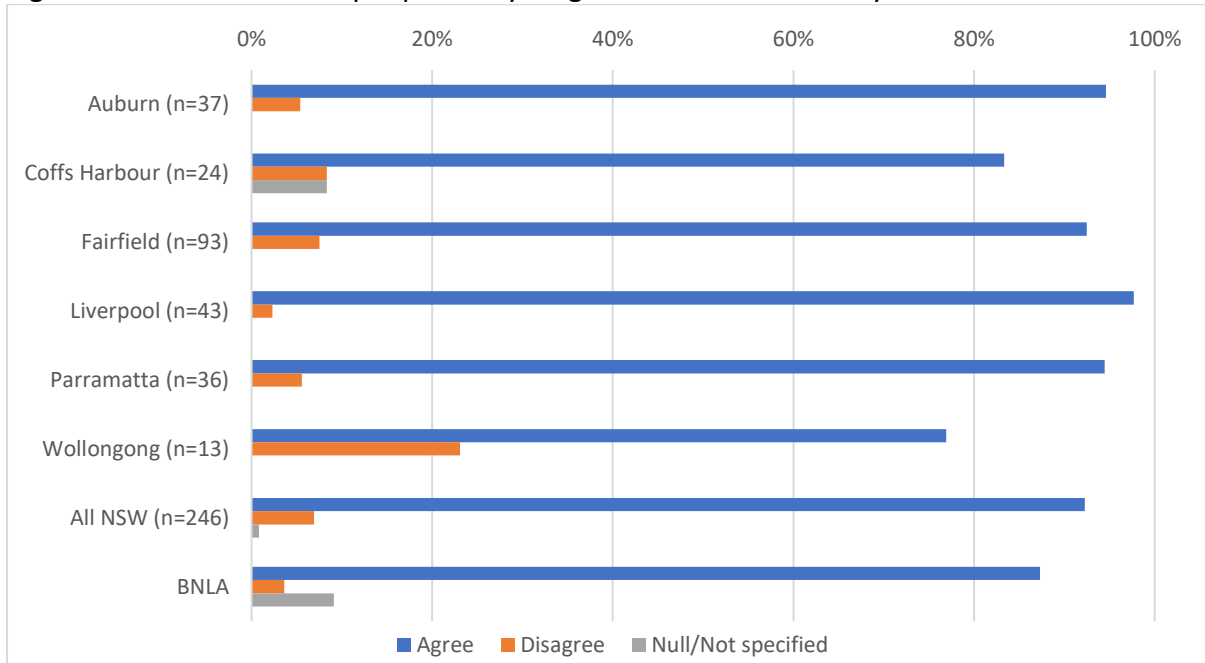
Yet, one of the key reasons that refugees come to Australia is to find a safe environment to bring up their families. And **like refugees in most other NSW locations, every one of the young family members, and almost all of the adult family members (98%) in Fairfield said that they felt safe living there (Figure 4).**

Figure 4: NSW adults: I feel safe in my neighbourhood



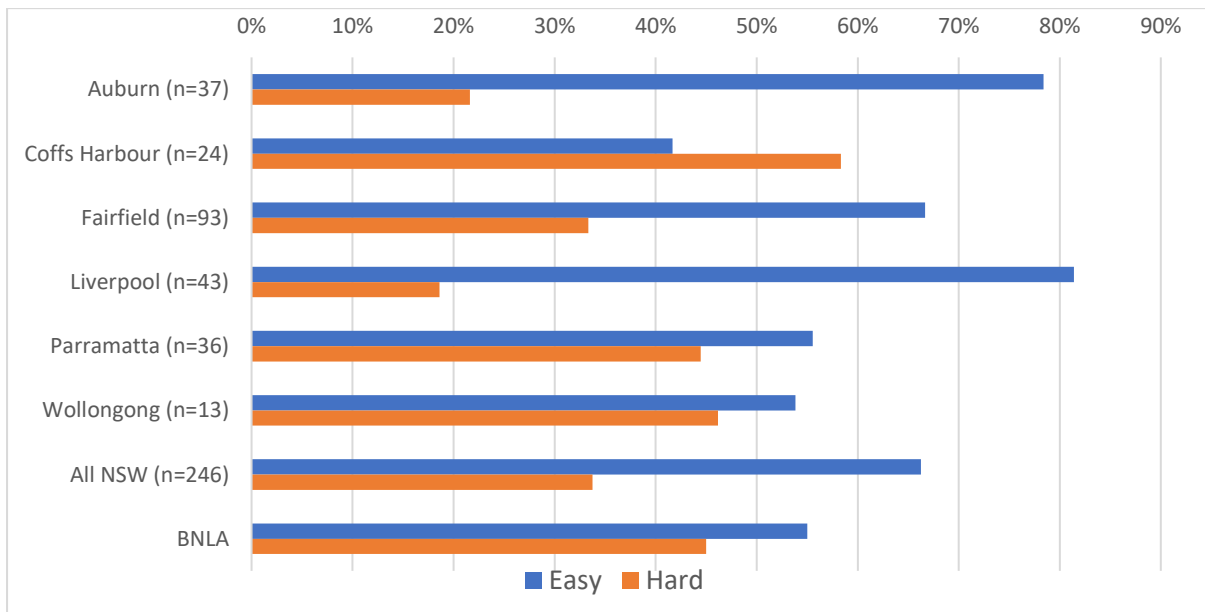
The adults interviewed in Fairfield felt safe in their neighbourhoods, where they said a diverse mixture of people lived. **Nine out of ten adults thought that their neighbours were friendly** (Figure 5).

Figure 5: NSW Adults: The people in my neighbourhood are friendly



Moreover, **after one to two years of settlement, seven out of ten of the adults (67%) surveyed in Fairfield said that they found it easy to make friends** (Figure 6).

Figure 6: NSW adults: how easy have you found it to make friends in Australia?



Yet many of the adults interviewed in Fairfield thought that there was **little interaction between neighbours**. What they missed the most in Australia was the different way of everyday life, the social interactions they used to have back home with their neighbours.

Many of the adults interviewed in Fairfield thought that **Australian society** does not encourage an active social life. One Iraqi male said that the only thing he found surprising about Australia was how much Australians keep to themselves, to their homes, and their families, and do not engage in larger social events. Another Iraqi male said that this creates a great distance between the refugees and the Australian communities. Others commented:

I can't get integrated and contact with neighbours because the nature of the society here is a little bit different from our society from Iraq. In Iraq we are more social than here. I am not very settled here. (Iraqi male, 2018)

The nature of society here, there is the relationships are sometimes cold, because nobody likes to get engaged with neighbors. While here in my neighbourhood, neighbours are from different backgrounds, Chinese, Italian. And it's very hard to integrate with them and to get engaged with them. It maybe needs a long time and patience. It was very easy in Iraq, comparing to the current one here, now. (Iraqi male, 2018)

It's good. It's not bad. If I don't talk with them, how can I know the bad or the good of my neighbours? ... Overseas, everyone who comes new – when we come to an area, we have to give food, do something, to invite him, 'Come here and eat something and drink something.' That's our culture overseas. That is not here. (Iraqi male, 2018)

When we were in Iraq, we could stay for late time after midnight, but here in Australia, 5 pm, everything closed. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Our son told us that the social life in Australia is different from Syria ... In general, the social life here is very limited. We just have some relationships with our neighbours. We have some visit but not too much and here everything, you need to plan it by phone before you come for visit and in Syria, we knock your door without any... Here in Australia, if your neighbour has an occasion you won't know that and if he dies you maybe know that later. That's a problem here (Syrian male, 2018)

To be honest, almost the social life here is nothing. Because all people have their own jobs and they are very busy with their jobs. In Syria, it was very different, because in Syria, after we finished our job, we go home, take a shower and we start to hang out with our friends and visiting and stay for a late time. It was a very, very beautiful social life, comparing to Australia. Here in Australia, we seek psychological settlement. I mean rather than hanging out with friends and visiting friends after finishing work, people here in Australia, they prefer to stay at home, to get rest and ... they don't engage with the neighbours. (Syrian female, 2018)

The Fairfield adults interviewed were surprised that the **differences in social behaviour in Australia even extended to their own family members and community**. One young Syrian female commented that they needed to make an appointment to see their family. Others commented:

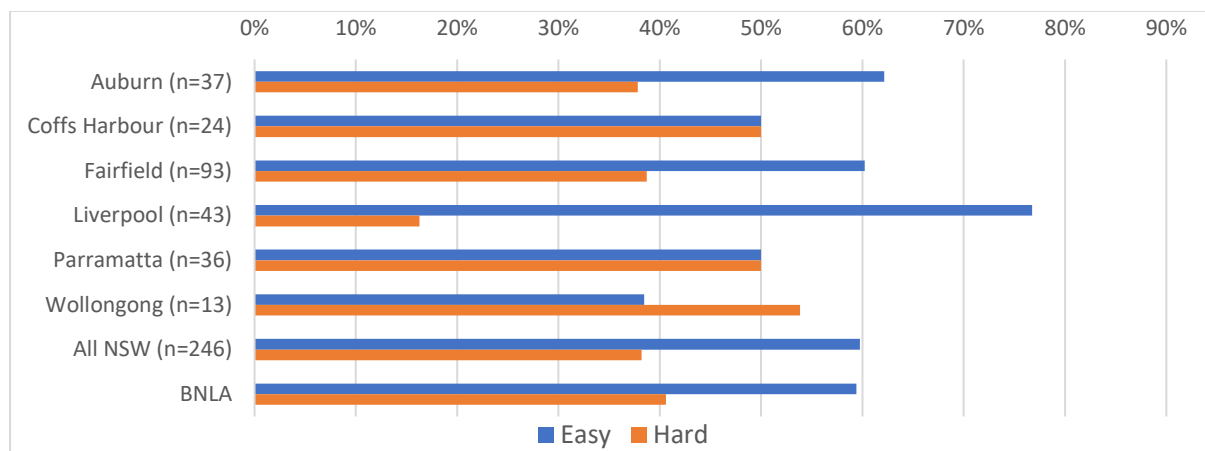
This country is very different, and this situation is very different. We had stronger connections with our social circle, and we had many friends. In Iraq, we lived in big families in one place in one big house or something like that. (Iraqi male, 2018)

I contact them but not so much because they are busy and they have their own business. Everybody is, you know, gets with their own family. They don't have much time. (Iraqi male, 2018)

My uncle, aunties and cousins have been here since the nineties and are about 20 years old... We don't see each other much because they are very busy. They don't live around here... They have their obligations. They go to school and they go to job providers. They are busy with their obligations. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Even though adults interviewed in Fairfield thought that social life in Australia was different to back home, **six out of ten said that they found it easy to understand the Australian way of life** (Figure 7).

Figure 7: NSW adults and understanding Australian ways



All refugees want their children to have a good future in Australia. Young people in school were the ones who found it most easy to adjust to Australian ways. All the children interviewed at Fairfield had found a diverse group of friends to hang out with at school:

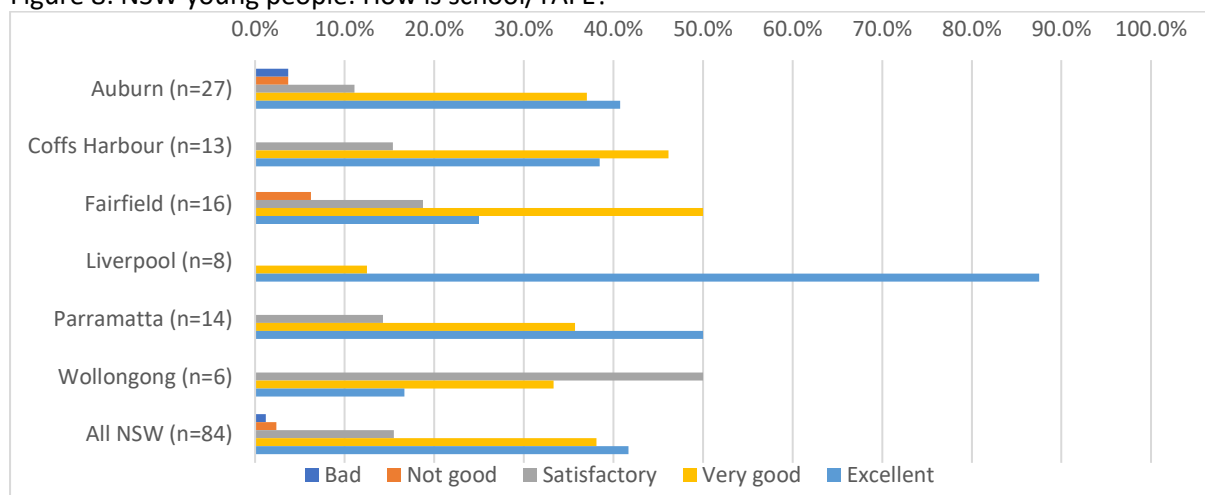
Like I have a lot of friends from my school, like from different religions. Like I got a lot of people. (Young Iraqi male, age 17, 2018)

Many of the young people interviewed in Fairfield had already finished school and had moved on to TAFE, which they found very interesting and useful, but they had not yet managed to make friends there. **Like the adults, these young adults spent most of their spare time at home with family members, and wanted more social life.** One young Syrian adult male explained that Fairfield is too busy to have a chance to have deeper friendships, and it is too expensive to actually go out and have a social life. A young Iraqi female commented:

Every day is routine. When I wake up in the morning, I eat breakfast and then I just play with my phone sometimes. I go shopping with my mum and then I come back. No, no social life. No, just with cousins only.

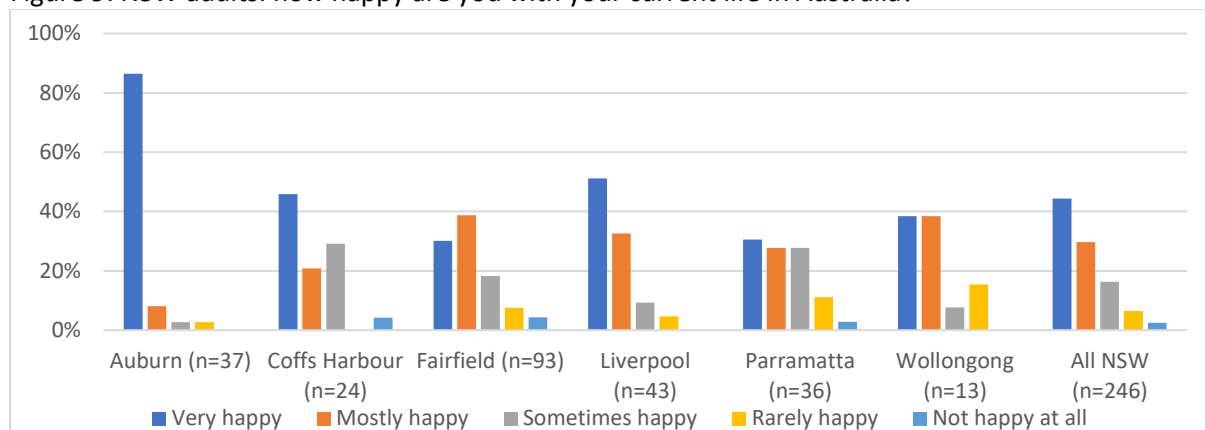
Nevertheless, **half of the young people in Fairfield who took part in the survey thought that school or TAFE was 'very good' and a further quarter of them thought it was 'excellent'** (Figure 8). One young Iraqi male loved school so much he thought that school holidays were boring. Favourite subjects were maths and science.

Figure 8: NSW young people: How is school/TAFE?



Moving your family to a new country is difficult, particularly when you are escaping war and conflict. Nevertheless, seven out of ten adults surveyed in Fairfield (69%) were ‘very’ or ‘mostly’ happy with their life now (Figure 9).

Figure 9: NSW adults: how happy are you with your current life in Australia?



Most of the hopes for the future surrounded family. Adults interviewed in Fairfield hoped to be in paid employment in the future, but other than that their hopes were to be reunited with loved ones scattered around the world, and for their children to flourish in their new home, Australia. Almost one quarter of the families had one or more family members still seeking asylum and wishing to join them. These family members occupied their thoughts:

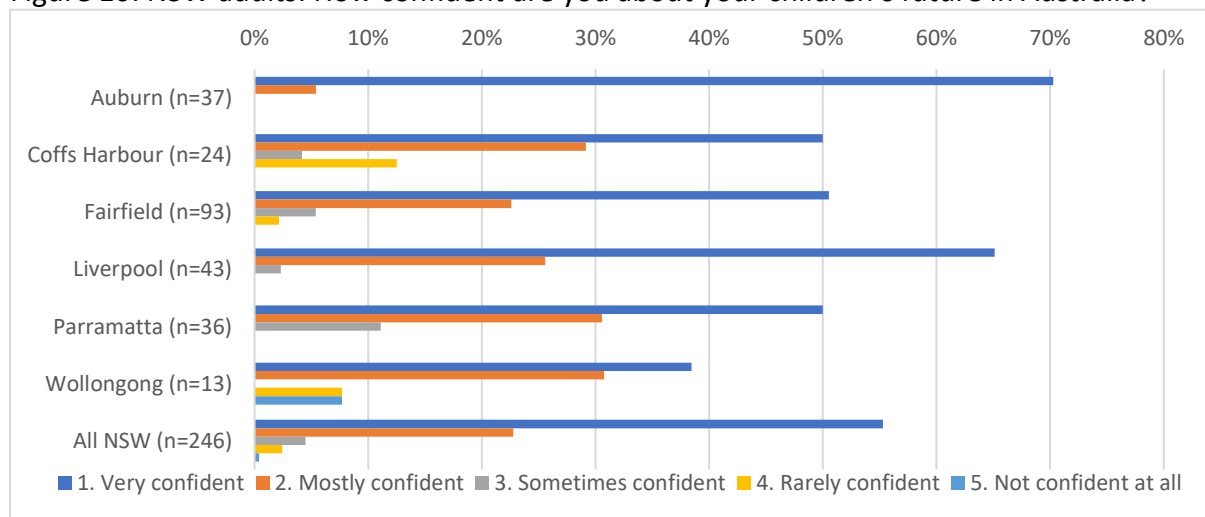
I'm happy in general in Australia but not very happy because my children are still outside Australia and if they could come to Australia, it would be perfect for me. (Iraqi female, 2018)

Parents wanted their children in Australia to have a good education and go on to lead productive lives. The children themselves had their dreams: one young Iraqi male to go to TAFE to become an electrician; others, most, to study at university in areas like IT, fashion design, business, pharmacy, and for one young Iraqi male, engineering, a *'combination of creative and computer stuff'*. Younger boys (both Iraqi) still dreamed of being professional soccer players. **Three out of four adults in Fairfield (74%) were ‘very’ or ‘mostly’ confident about their children’s future in Australia (Figure 10):**

How long can I live here? 10 years? No job, no work, no relations – it's difficult. I do my best with my daughters. My daughters love Australia. (Iraqi male, 2018)

We wish in the future for our children, not for ourselves – maybe the future is better for younger people. We will be happy if we see our children have a good chance of a good job. When we fled from Iraq and we left Syria for Australia, our only wishes were to ensure our children’s future. (Iraqi male, 2018)

Figure 10: NSW adults: How confident are you about your children’s future in Australia?



CONCLUSION

All of the newly arrived Iraqi and Syrian refugees in Fairfield were very thankful for the opportunity that Australia provided for them of a safe haven. They were very confident that Australia would provide a great future for their families, though they were worried about finding a job.

Families interviewed in Fairfield were very satisfied with the on-arrival services provided to them and their families by Settlement Services International and CORE Community Services. They were found accommodation, linked to welfare services and guided through the difficult first months of settlement in NSW. This was even though settlement services had more than double the normal number of refugee arrivals in 2017 when most of the families that we interviewed arrived. However, the majority of refugees interviewed in Fairfield were joining family members already living in Australia, many of whom acted as sponsors, and were able to help in finding accommodation and accessing services.

Many of the newly arrived refugees in Fairfield had jobs in Iraq and Syria before the conflict – one in five had tertiary qualifications; **their greatest concern is to find a job in Australia.** But more than half were aged over 50 and a considerable number suffered ill health and disability; these were grateful for government welfare payments. Most were very frustrated that they could not work and contribute to their new society. One frustration was that they could not use their qualifications to gain suitable employment. Another frustration was the pressure to get work before their individual needs could be met, particularly where poor health, age and carer responsibilities precluded them from the kinds of low-skill jobs that are available.

Some adult refugees in Fairfield had a good command of English while others did not. Most have attended the English language courses providing 510 hours of tuition, though those with children or other caring responsibilities could not always get to these classes. Attending English language classes provided them with an opportunity to make new friends in Australia. However, there was a concern that there was little opportunity to practice English language skills in the wider community.

We will visit these families again in 2019 and 2020 to trace their settlement journey in NSW.

We thank them for opening their doors and their hearts to us. We also thank SSI and CORE Community Services for all the help that they provided in this research project and for the bilingual refugees who assisted in this research project as bilingual research assistants.