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Community formation and collective resilience in refugee communities
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Abstract
Using a collaborative inquiry process, we explored collective resilience with refugees in Western Australia. In this study collective resilience refers to links between community and recovery from trauma. A Research Inquiry Group (RIG) was formed, comprising members of the Association for Services to Torture and Trauma Survivors (ASeTTS) Client Reference Group (United Voices) and selected members of refugee communities. The researchers facilitated a collaborative inquiry process through which members of the RIG explored the strategies which have helped them to survive their refugee experiences. Brain storming sessions with the RIG helped devise themes and procedures for focus groups, recruited by the RIG in their refugee communities. Fifty refugees (31 women and 19 men) from 12 source countries participated in 6 focus groups. Thematic analysis of the transcripts reveals both functional and emotional aspects of community before violence and trauma disrupted the refugees' lives (then and there) and in the process of resettling in Australia (here and now). The research highlights the benefits and strains of communities in the process of resettlement. Participants reflected on resilience at an individual and collective level and a shared understanding of collective resilience emerged. Refugees demonstrated that re-creating community structures generates collective resilience. Links with the host society are also necessary to generate added resources and long-term resilience.

Introduction
The bonds which hold us together as communities are often taken for granted until something happens to disrupt them, such as moving to a new place. This often makes us reflect on how things used to be and we often look back at community ties with nostalgia. It takes time and effort to re-establish ourselves in a new place, and the idea of connection becomes even more significant. This may be even more so when leaving home is forced and resettlement in a new place managed by others. What are the characteristics of people who survive these experiences?
What role does community play? What strength can people gain from community bonds?

This research project was funded by Lotterywest in order to investigate a social issue termed ‘collective resilience’. There are two aspects to this investigation: the nature of the issue under investigation and the approach used for the investigation.

**Nature of Issue**

This research concentrates on the collective psychosocial effects of trauma due to acts of violence and builds on the learning gained from those who have experienced it. Traumatic events are internalised as ongoing anxiety, and are often accompanied by unresolved grief and depression (van der Veer 1998; Minas and Silove 2001), both affected by — and affecting — social relationships. We are interested in collective or community resilience understood as the bonds and networks which hold communities together and provide support and protection for individuals, and also facilitate recovery in times of extreme stress. These social bonds are variously referred to as social networks, community facilities, community activities, active citizenship (Walzer 1996) or social capital (Cox 1995).

**Approach to the Investigation**

Our approach was informed by a number of factors: first, there is a dearth of literature relating to the effects of community on refugees’ recovery from trauma; second, there are no clear definitions of collective resilience, despite a growing body of literature on the issue; third, there are multiple uses of the term ‘community’ represented in the literature; fourth, research participants possess a wealth of untapped knowledge; and fifth, themes were sought from the information gathered. The aim of the research was to construct a shared understanding of collective resilience with refugee communities in Western Australia. In order to do this, we worked with resettling refugees, using theoretical and narrative sources.

We used a multi-stage participatory action research design (Kemmis 2000). First, a Research Inquiry Group (RIG) was formed, comprising volunteers from the client reference group of
the host organization (the Association for Services to Torture and Trauma Survivors — ASeTTS) and other volunteers from refugee communities. We facilitated a collaborative inquiry process (Heron & Reason 1997; Reason 1999), through which the RIG explored and discussed the actions, beliefs, and strategies that have helped them to survive their refugee experiences. The RIG consisted of ten members of refugee communities, six men and four women from five countries, who had been in Australia from two to ten years.

We ran a number of sessions with the RIG using a familiar format: first brainstorming, then mini lectures and group discussion on community, resilience, and social capital. Session notes were returned to the participants the following week for their consideration and reflection. Themes which emerged from the discussions with the RIG suggested that working with and for community were important. For example, when brainstorming ideas about resilience, the RIG identified the issues such as the manner of interpretation of problems and fitting into the community; the manner of identification and solving the needs of the community; the effort of the community to accept change; and being kind to yourself and others.

Participants drew links between attending to individual and community needs, and to acts of reciprocity, which create community bonds. Building on this information, we formulated three questions for the focus groups in order to learn what refugees think about community in the process of resettlement following trauma:

- What do you think holds community together?
- What causes strain for communities?
- How can community help or hinder resettlement and recovery?

Members of the RIG then recruited members of their communities, and nineteen men and thirty-one women from twelve source countries participated in six focus groups (Table 1). Participants had been in Australia between six months and ten years, and were aged between eighteen and sixty five years. The countries represented in the focus groups were similar to the source
countries of refugees to Australia over the past ten years. Five interpreters were used in the focus group sessions.

To address questions of validity, we maximised the representativeness of the research participants in terms of age, gender, culture, and length of residence in Australia; used thick description of the experiential material shared by the participants; and triangulated the data as recommended by Anfara et al. (2002). The stages of the research process followed the pattern of a meaning-making spiral (Minichiello 1995).

Table 1: Focus Groups Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Region of Origin</th>
<th>Years in Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>3 – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>0.5 – 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1 – 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-65</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Iran, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Sudan, Ethiopia</td>
<td>3 – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1 – 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Iraq, Bosnia, Colombia</td>
<td>3 – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introducing the Concepts

Community is difficult to define: it may refer to a particular place or to a group of people with similar interests or beliefs (Twelvetrees 2002); a group with common identity and solidarity (Kenny 1999); or an ongoing process of identity construction (Ife 2002). We are born into some communities (Kempers 2002). Sometimes community has a moral or political imperative (Etzioni 1993), or community may be an unachievable ideal (Bauman 2001); sometimes community is a distraction for class differences (Bryson & Mowbray 1981). Community is often a site for contestation about inclusion and exclusion (Hoggett 1997).

Resilience generally refers to protective factors which help individuals survive significant hardships and trauma. Sarason & Sarason (1995) linked resilience with social support, and Rutter (1987) linked resilience with self-esteem and self-efficacy. Much of the literature on resilience focuses on individual characteristics of inner strength and fortitude. In this research we were looking for links between community and recovery from trauma or strength
that could be drawn from community — what we term collective resilience.

Community resilience is a term which has come mainly from Canada, where research has focused on health promotion activities in dwindling rural communities (Kulig & Brown 1996/7); and developing a Community Resilience Manual to enhance rural economies. The Centre for Community Enterprise (CCE 2000) defines community resilience as a community's capacity to shape its own ways of life and work (www.cedworks.com). CCE (2000) outlines four dimensions necessary to enhance community resilience: people, organisations, resources and community processes. In rural Australia, Chenoweth & Stehlík (2001) highlight the importance of working with local service providers.

Results

Members of the RIG reflected on what meanings could be drawn from the literature and from personal experiences and members of the focus groups discussed the three questions about community and resettlement. Quotes from participants are referenced: thus (RIG) refers to a RIG discussion, and (1) refers to Focus Group number one.

What became clear in the analysis of the transcripts was a significant and persistent distinction between participants' thoughts about community before violence and trauma disrupted their lives and destroyed a taken-for-granted community ('community then and there') and ideas about community in Australia in the process of rebuilding lives and resettling in a new and foreign place ('community here and now').

Additionally, participants spoke on two levels. One level of discussion focused on the tasks of everyday living, even in extraordinary circumstances. These have been termed the functional aspects of community living. In every discussion, there were also reflections of an emotional nature: memories of how things were, comments about frustrations, fears, feelings of loss of connection with the past, and feelings of loss of status and role in a new cultural setting; feelings of joy at hearing, seeing or joining with someone else from home at a time when feelings of aloneness became overwhelming. These have been termed the emotional aspects of community.
These two features — rebuilding communities in a foreign place and the incorporation of emotional aspects of community — distinguish this research from previous work on community resilience, which focused on strengthening the economic functions of rural communities.

**Thematic Analysis**

**Community ‘Then and There’**

Life at home, prior to war or civil unrest, revolved around family, neighbours, friends, predictable patterns and routines. In one focus group, participants described it as:

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A community is a group of people that connect to their land; they have strong links to their land; ... their culture and history (1).
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Community is about family relationships with other families. They connect with each other by religion, by language and by love (1).
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In another focus group, participants explained what they meant by community then and there and what they expected of living in community:

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Community is about neighbours watching for each other. This creates awareness, stability, care for one another. Your door is always open to your neighbours. Community is about ‘when you put someone in your shoe’ (4).
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The memories of how community was include connections to place and other families as well as ideas of social obligation and care for neighbours and other members of the community. The phrase ‘put someone in your shoe’ holds double meaning: both to share what you have with someone who needs it, and also to see things from the other’s perspective. Participants often shared idyllic or idealised memories of community then and there.

In each of the focus groups, talking about community then and there elicited feelings of nostalgia, sadness, loss, grief and bewilderment. An interpreter in one focus group summed up the group’s discussion of feelings like this:
She said the main thing that has really touched their heart is that she knows about the people in Iraq, and that they are very helpful people. If somebody needs help, anyone is ready and happy to help without hesitation. She said this was in the past and we feel very sorry because we miss that a lot. She misses all these kinds of connections (1).

Things changed dramatically as violence tore communities apart. Participants commented that divisions in those communities were caused, deepened, manipulated or forced by government or rebels:

When the country was stable people were happy, but all of a sudden the government changed and people started hating each other only because of what their leaders said (1).

I think most of the conflict was religious; but ... there was also some tribal conflict. Those that are in power ... they don't send their people to the front line. They take the people from minority groups (5).

As conditions forced people to flee from their neighbourhoods and eventually their country, they encountered new experiences of community. Immediate shared interests and needs drew people together. Participants described situational community: an arrangement which was temporary, and apparently harmonious, but it did not take long for class tensions to re-emerge. These experiences of community in flight reflect a functional aspect of community, a community of purpose to meet a shared need. This sense of community was with people who would not have had anything to do with each other before the exodus, as this quote illustrates:

People who were escaping across the border came together, but when you looked around it was like goats and sheep (RIG).

Not all experiences or memories of community were the same. Reflecting on who may not have been part of community,
participants mentioned other tribes, other religious groups, other political groups and other social classes.

**Community ‘Here and Now’**

In discussing the difference between community there and then and community here and now, participants in one focus group emphasised the following contrast:

*Here we have all come together as one, but back home each one would stick to her own tribe (5).*

Both functional and emotional aspects of community here and now were revealed. Participants spoke of the importance of seeking familiar language, culture, values and food. They described in detail efforts to form community; to organise community as they struggle with the task of resettlement and rebuilding lives for themselves, their families and their community. Both functional and emotional reasons were given for the maintenance of culture, for information sharing, for learning new cultural competencies, for seeking friendships and for forming connections with the past and the future. Participants in one focus group summed it up like this:

*Your experience of community has often been with people who might otherwise have been strangers (1).*

*Since I remember I’ve never been a part of a community, a certain type of community. But ... since I arrived in Australia, I felt community exists, which I feel is good ... and so now I feel community exists for me (1).*

For young people, women, men and elders, every cultural role has been disrupted by social breakdown and dislocation. Added to this, outsiders make their own assumptions, and significant tribal, religious or cultural differences are not recognised. People may be cast into one community by others; participants reflected that the outcome of this was mixed. In one focus group, participants spoke of the tensions and despair created by different role expectations, as the following extracts illustrate.
In all communities, they have old people; but they also have young people like me, of course. They don’t take the young people’s ideas. They think we are just kids ... but sometimes we have a serious problem and sometimes they ignore them, because they feel... the young don’t know. They need to take young people’s problems seriously, because if they can’t go to the community, then where can they go? (5).

There is suspicion in the community, because there are some people who have never been in the community before, but now they go to meetings like they represent us. In most cases, a man is representing the women (5).

In Australia, you could be seen as Sudanese or South Sudanese, but that is not enough, because inside there you have got other smaller communities according to our backgrounds, like the tribes. In this room, we have four different ethnic communities, but otherwise, the umbrella is the South Sudanese community. Even though we are from different backgrounds, we should not be like we were there. The divisions were based on tribal differences, so it is better to look for what is similar than to look for what is different (5).

These comments reflect some aspects of community, which were described in the literature (Kenny 1999; Bryson & Mowbray 1981; Twelvetrees 2002). Community is always under construction (Ife 2002).

Policy makers and service providers are trying to learn about new communities’ needs and in the process are at risk of consulting with inappropriate people. The challenge of creating a community of people who would never have mixed before they arrived in Australia as refugees is double-edged. It starts with outsiders’ assumptions, and then insiders consider the opportunities. Again, community is under construction, different tribes and different ethnic groups trying to work together because of their circumstances. Questions of inclusion and exclusion need to be considered (Hoggett 1997; Powell & Geoghegan 2004).
Participants described and discussed a range of experiences of community, including a taken-for-granted community, which was destroyed by civil war or government-backed violence and a variety of temporary alliances under refugee conditions, as well as more recent Australian experiences of community.

In every meeting, participants emphasised the importance of feelings such as: love (1, 2, 4), honesty (2, 4, 5), humour (3), sincerity (2), tolerance (4), hopes (1, 2, 3), dreams (1), respect (1, 2), frankness (2), forgiveness (2) and the necessity of these feelings for a supportive community. In contrast, participants commented on a number of emotional attributes, which caused strain in the community, for example selfishness (2), jealousy (3), suspicion (5), cynicism (1) and hatred (5).

In all the discussions, participants talked about the importance of community to the task of resettlement in both practical and emotional sense. Each group discussion provided evidence of what was required to make community work. The benefits of working and living in community, such as feeling valued (1, 2) and feeling united (1, 2) were balanced with the challenges, such as hard work (1, 2, 4, 6) and sacrifice (2, 4) as well as the difficulties such as unwillingness to work together (2) and discrimination (1, 2, 5).

Benefits, Strains and Complexities of Community

In this section the themes which emerged from the transcripts of the discussions have been analysed further as benefits, strains and complexities, to illustrate what refugees say is important about community and the sorts of challenges, which are present when working in or with community.

Benefits of Community

The discussions reflected the current task of resettling in a new country and how refugees find settlement support in community through sharing knowledge and skills. Participants emphasised the need to remain connected through common language, customs and traditions and the desire to keep and share the good things and memories, as the following selection of quotes demonstrates:
They are connected by family interactions and relationships with other families. They connect to each other by religion, by language, by friendship, and by love … they share love as well (1).

If you try to deal with things alone, they may be too big. Talking to the community gives you hope and courage. There are some things you don’t want to tackle alone, like functions and ceremonies. With these, help from the community can boost you up. Hope keeps you going (RIG).

This last quote illustrates the value placed on community as a source of strength. When you feel things are ‘too big’ to handle alone you can find support from community. This is a strong indicator of garnering collective resilience through community bonds.

**Negative Aspects of Community**

One of the themes that emerged from the focus groups was community competition. This competition was sometimes focused on leadership issues, such as some people not wanting to follow others’ leadership (RIG, 2); some people taking on leadership roles and abusing the privileges they gained (3, 4, 5); and people not telling others what they have learned about the system until they have reached their goal:

I guess some people tend not to say out loud what their achievements have been. For example, this man might know who can help him to get his family here; but then he knows that if he shares that out, the person that he shares it with might go behind his back and start saying something that might not be true, that might give a different idea of what he is trying to do. So we tend to keep everything to ourselves, until you have achieved it (3).

The community strain also appears when community members put others down:
Gossiping... not just the lies. It might also be something that is true, but people like talking about each other and making it worse. Some people think they are better than you. So some people if they see you going higher, they get jealous. Some people like to put you down by saying things that won't help you (3).

Gaining collective strength through community is restricted when suspicion and jealousy prevail, yet this is a likely outcome when resources are scarce, difficult to access and the environment is unfamiliar and competitive.

Complexities of Community

While there were significant benefits to be gained from community in the process of recovery from trauma and resettlement in a new country, it was acknowledged that it required considerable effort to organise community. The following quote expresses this:

A time comes when people have to get together in good times. Being here makes it a little bit harder, because everyone is busy. People are doing different things and at the same time trying to work, trying to earn money and trying to keep the family going. So it is hard to get people of the community to meet together and have a good time (3).

We found we needed to ask what people are willing to give to the community. Can you give up an individual focus? Can you give it up for community focus? (RIG).

This quote clearly highlights the need to contribute to the formation of community. It reflects the importance of working with and for community as part of the reconstruction of one’s life as a refugee. Refugees can gain strength and support from their community, but the community needs to be rebuilt in a new set of circumstances. The acts of leadership to rebuild community are voluntary. These tasks are taking place while individuals, families and groups are also busy with the tasks of resettlement. It is clearly a heavy
burden for these volunteers, who recognise the value of having a community focus for re-establishing lives in a new place.

Collective resilience is played out as a two-way process: building community organisation so that more people may gain support from the community. Disagreements in the process are not rare, and community organisation is likely to change during formation stages.

**Appropriate Use of Community**

The discussions also highlighted the 'appropriate use' of community. Although community can provide support and security there may be situations when other ways of problem solving could lead to better outcomes:

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**When you take a small issue to the community, it can make it worse, because it will become a much bigger problem. You must deal with small issues either by yourself or with a friend. On this, we all agree. On the other hand, if you take your problem to the community, and if they do not help, you feel you cannot trust them and you withdraw (RIG).**

**You need to feel secure in the community. Sometimes the police have come to the community with a small problem. It would be better to deal with it on a small scale. Having police involved makes it bigger than it needs to be, it makes it worse (RIG).**

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**Strains of Resettlement**

Resettlement difficulties were also mentioned in all the discussions. A selection of quotes and discussion points are presented below to illustrate a number of emergent themes. The realisation of what it meant socially and economically to be a refugee was highlighted by many participants, particularly the loss of status and social networks. Participants spoke of feeling lonely and isolated and their desire to find people from home:
We had status and recognition in our own country and a neighbouring country, and a good network with international organisations. When war broke out, all previous connections disappeared. Suddenly, there was no work, no recognition, loss of status and opportunities. As refugees, we had opportunities to use our skills, but still low status (RIG).

You hear that language and you just have to say to hello and you find out when they came because that’s all you want to know, and where they have been before (3).

Participants also discovered their skills and qualifications were not recognised in Australia. Men told us they had driven a wide variety of vehicles in difficult terrain, and they were frustrated because of the testing procedures and associated prohibitive costs of getting a driver’s licence in Australia (3). People who worked in professional positions, but whose qualifications were not recognised in Australia, had to choose between enrolling in courses to upgrade their qualifications or working in unskilled jobs (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). They felt the effects of exclusion and discrimination when employers told them that they did not have local experience necessary for unskilled work (2, 3, 4).

Support from host community

Refugee communities do not have the resources to provide all the necessary information or support for resettlement. Links with the host community are necessary for ‘learning the ropes’, gaining access to employment or training and learning how to sponsor family members who want to migrate to Australia.

The more you assimilate with the white community, the more you can get to know how you can bring your family here faster and who can help you and those kinds of things (3).

The following quote expresses feelings of surprise and delight at acts of friendship and support from new neighbours.
Where I lived, I had good neighbours. They welcomed me into their house. When my TV was broken, they gave me a TV. When my children came, they were happy for me. They visited me (1).

Reflections on Resilience

Understandings of resilience were gathered during the RIG meetings in which both individual and collective experiences of resilience resonated with the group members. The collective aspects of resilience are associated with positive effort by the individual on behalf of the community, and feature attributes such as humility, strength and kindness. Although individual resilience is a more common concept, participants had no difficulty engaging with the concept of collective resilience. As the group commented:

The community can strengthen values (RIG).

Collective resilience requires a sense of humour (RIG).

The comment about a sense of humour was echoed poignantly in one focus group, in which members spoke of feeling helpless, because they could not meet the expectations of others. Participants talked of trying to gain strength by sharing the problems with a sense of humour and so an idea of looking for collective resilience as a way of managing debilitating feelings began to emerge.

The following quote demonstrates the importance of having support from other people who share similar experiences:

Our close friends all have the same problem, so they can’t help you really. They start talking ‘I know it’s very hard. I’m going through the same thing’. So it’s just like you are hitting a brick wall. You call a friend and they are facing the same thing, so you just try and make fun out of it, and try not to get too stressed about it; but then the minute you put the phone down you have to start thinking about it again (3).
The words ‘hitting a brick wall’ indicate just how difficult these experiences are. Being able to share the feelings helps to ease the burden, even if only temporarily.

The following quotes illustrate how ideas about resilience evolved as participants spoke of the importance of being in community. Although these quotes are from different focus groups, this representation shows it could be one conversation. The ideas build naturally to highlight what participants hold to be important about community, and how these features contribute to resilience:

I think what holds communities together is acceptance (1).

The main thing is to accept everyone else as equal; and then they will be able to do that with respect and tolerance (1).

When the community respects her, from their hearts, it means they respect and love and support her. This encourages her to go there and become part of that community (1).

I think what holds community together is a commitment that each person will give to the community; and then the support for one another’s interests. And though we cannot get rid of selfishness, we need to put selfishness aside and have love for one another, and forgiveness; love and unity (2).

Community is a sort of society in which you have common beliefs; and with those beliefs you can live together and grow — that’s resilience. The society will go forward (2).

Where there is love in the community there is appreciation for one another’s efforts. […] It takes time and hard work and commitment to make community (2).

Participants demonstrate that community is not something that naturally occurs or something that exists without practical and emotional effort: an idea of collective resilience emerges as
individuals gain strength from being in community, from being open and accepting of each other, and from providing support to each other. The points raised in the focus groups illustrate the benefits and challenges of community.

A number of participants referred to the ways in which the past intruded on their present. It is impossible to forget the past traumas and losses. Yet many people mentioned how in the process of reconciling with their trauma through counselling and other means, they realised that these catastrophic experiences had made them stronger. Refugee experiences, such as a loss of status, networks, opportunities and ‘recognising a dark side to ourselves’ pose particular challenges for collective resilience.

Refugees try to re-establish resilience in an unfamiliar environment following traumatic experiences. People have lost their standing in a taken-for-granted environment. They must rebuild their lives among strangers who have offered refuge and seem to have everything. They have experienced human rights abuses, and learned that neither citizenship nor the obligations of government necessarily protect you.

The issue of learning the difference between law and culture is played out repeatedly as leaders, parents, workers, and adolescents have to work out how to manage their lives now. Those who were wise in the ‘old ways’ may have no knowledge of laws in a new country.

In discussing what was important for collective resilience, members of the RIG mentioned the following:

- Contribution from members
- Looking for people from the same country or people with similar values
- Respect for each other
- Looking for empathy and sympathy of local people
- Community members talking, negotiating, discussing and balancing their needs and views

In terms of the four dimensions of community resilience listed by the Centre for Community Enterprise (2000), this list incorporates people and organisation, recognises the need for additional resources and suggests the requirement of community processes. Collective resilience is an important feature in the successful resettlement of refugees and it requires additional resources from
the host society in its early stages and support to develop processes which fit into the new local ways of doing things.

Conclusion
This paper discusses the benefits and strains of communities in the process of refugee resettlement. Reflections on resilience at an individual and collective level highlight refugee experiences, which pose challenges for collective resilience in a new environment and culture. By the time refugees arrive in a country of resettlement, such as Australia, they will probably have experienced community formation and change in different and difficult circumstances a number of times.

Formation of community has been a type of rapid response to major societal disruption. Forming and re-forming communities is an important task in recovery from organised violence. Communities have the potential to provide support, strength and safety in perilous or unfamiliar territory. Participants did not underplay the challenges and dramas which are part of community. The process of re-creating community structures and resources generates collective resilience, which in turn enhances individual resilience.

Collective resilience derives from both functional and emotional aspects of community, taking into account the benefits and strains of community. Members draw from community the strength to survive, to learn and adapt, to retain important links with the past and to take up the challenges of integrating and functioning in a new society. Members also form and maintain community bonds necessary for these activities.

The host society, which has offered refuge, can also offer to create new social and economic links to assist in successful resettlement. To conclude with the words of a refugee interviewed for the local newspaper:

*We know it is a huge challenge for the Australian community to receive us and we are grateful for the privilege, but if time will be given to us, within five to ten years from now, the Australian people will never regret to have accommodated us here (Aisbett 2006).*
References


