

Social Capital, Interculturalism and Resettlement amongst Young People of Refugee and
Migrant backgrounds in Adelaide, South Australia.

Carla Gaskin Charles



Supervised by Dr Clemence Due

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School of Psychology

University of Adelaide

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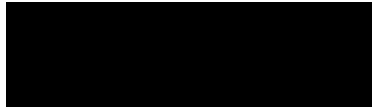
Abstract

This research explored perspectives of mentors from the Intercultural Futures program, a community initiative aimed to address a range of specific leadership skills, with the broader goals of improving social capital, interculturalism, resettlement and development of the young people who participate as emerging community leaders. Semi structured interviews were undertaken with mentors who were also primarily of refugee or migrant backgrounds. Interview data was analysed thematically to explore whether the program was considered successful in improving social capital, interculturalism and resettlement for the program participants and their communities. Consistent with the literature, the young people were characterised by mentors as highly competent in interaction across cultural divides, often acting as a bridge between their communities and wider society on account of their language and cultural fluency. The program was positioned as having aided the young people in forming networks between ethnic communities, increasing interpersonal skills, trust and confidence. Mentors highlighted the difficulty faced by ethnic communities in overcoming marginalisation within a social climate often characterised by discrimination and hostility, and the necessity of culturally fluent leadership for communities to assist in resettlement.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of diploma in any University, and, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published except where due reference is made. I give permission for the digital version of this thesis to be made available on the web, via the University of Adelaide's digital thesis repository, the Library Search and through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the School to restrict access for a period of time

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16 November 2020

Social Capital, Interculturalism and Resettlement amongst Young People of Refugee and Migrant backgrounds in Adelaide, South Australia.

Chapter one: Introduction

“There is an increasing sense that there are some intense periods of pain to come in Australia as the boundaries of cultural spaces shift, realign and grate against each other. Hope lies in observing how young people from diverse cultural backgrounds establish new spaces of community” (Butcher & Thomas, 2003a, p. 28).

1.1

Young people of refugee or migrant backgrounds are a unique and diverse group. As new arrivals or as members of ethnic communities, they may face challenges related to language acquisition, intergenerational tension, racism, marginalisation, discrimination and frequently disadvantage and poverty (A. Harris, 2015; Pittaway, Bartolomei, & Doney, 2016). Research suggests these young people show extraordinary resourcefulness and flexibility in their development and maintenance of intercultural social networks (A. Harris, 2015; Pittaway et al., 2016). Diverse communities often struggle to integrate and participate in society due to exclusionary or discriminatory attitudes within the host society and a lack of social capital (Ang, Brand, Noble, & Wilding, 2002; Nannestad, Lind Haase Svendsen, & Tinggaard Svendsen, 2008; Wali & Renzaho, 2018). In this context, young people often act as a bridge for their communities, as they tend to resettle more easily than the older generation (Foner & Kasinitz, 2007). Community leadership is an important resource in the generation of social capital and for the resettlement of marginalised groups, as leaders navigate pathways into the new society

through their cultural fluency and intercultural competence (Pittaway et al., 2016). Organised programs are of critical importance for refugee and migrant groups in the process of resettling, as they provide initial social connections, information and other resources necessary for resettlement (Bond et al., 2007; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Forrest-Bank, Held, & Jones, 2019; Pittaway et al., 2016; Whitley, Coble, & Jewell, 2016). Such programs can facilitate the development of youth from marginalised groups into intercultural leaders, thereby assisting with their ability to build bridges between communities, however their efficacy has not been clearly established in the Australian context (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2017; O'Sullivan & Olliff, 2006). In light of this, the aims of the current research are to examine whether a structured leadership program is able to increase social capital in participants and their communities, and in doing so, also provide benefits in terms of increased intercultural connections and the facilitation of resettlement.

1.2 Background and theoretical framework

1.2.1. Integration

Integration is a widely used yet contested term; ambiguity in definition has allowed conflicting policy positions, individualisation of structural issues and assimilationist undercurrents (de Anstiss, Savelsberg, & Ziaian, 2018). For the purposes of this thesis, integration will refer to a two-way, mutual accommodation fuelled by social contact, the end goal of which is a shared sense of belonging for newly arrived communities and established citizens alike. Such a definition is based upon the notion of integration without obligation to assimilate, as theorised by Ager and Strang (2002). Ager and Strang's framework for integration highlights the importance of social capital in the context of a network of interrelated service

provision, ensuring that resources essential to integration such as employment, housing, education and health care, are recognised as such and supported by governments within resettlement countries (Ager & Strang, 2008). Safety and stability are highlighted as particularly important within this framework, on account of the prevalence of poverty amongst and discrimination against refugee and migrant groups within Western societies (Ager & Strang, 2008).

1.2.2. Social capital

Social capital refers to the resources and opportunities made available by association, whereby status and legitimacy within society benefit the individual both socially and materially (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital exists within interactions, affiliations and networks cultivated between individuals or groups, which are based on reciprocity and mutual benefit (Bourdieu, 1986).

Although first theorised by Bourdieu, the concept of social capital has been developed into a wide field of research which has frequently been applied to refugee and migrant settlement in a new country (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & McMichael, 2015; Li, 2004; McMichael, Gifford, & Correa-Velez, 2010; McMichael & Manderson, 2004; Pittaway et al., 2016; Santoro & Wilkinson, 2015; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Wali & Renzaho, 2018). Low or lacking social capital is evidenced by social exclusion or isolation, while high social capital reflects a sense of social embeddedness, leading to increased involvement in social and financial initiatives (McMichael & Manderson, 2004; Pittaway et al., 2016; Wali & Renzaho, 2018).

Three distinct types of social capital have been theorised, known as bonding, bridging and linking capital (Aldrich, 2017). Bonding capital refers to norms within groups of trusting and

co-operative interaction and shared social identity within groups (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Processes supporting the maintenance of ethnic identity and community (social bonds) are thought to enhance integration into wider society by generating social resources and resilience for members of ethnic communities (Li, 2004). Bridging capital is evidenced by respect and mutuality between people who differ in some social demographic sense (eg. ethnicity, age, gender) and is indicated as the process of integration through intergroup contact (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Linking capital is defined by norms of respect between people who are interacting across explicit formal or institutionalised power and authority gradients within society (Li, 2004). Countries which are more egalitarian are generally higher in linking capital, as social distance through inequality leads to deteriorating mutual respect and a sense of injustice between those in need and those who design and deliver essential services (education, health care, social security etc.) (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Research shows that socio-political attitudes of hostility towards immigrant and refugee groups - as are prevalent in Australia - evidence diminished linking capital and lead to increased social exclusion and isolation, limiting chances of bridging capital and successful integration for marginalised groups (Pittaway et al., 2016; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

Building Social capital is one of the most urgent and difficult challenges facing refugee and migrant communities as they settle in to a new country (Holland, Reynolds, & Weller, 2007; Liddy, 2017; Nannestad et al., 2008; Pittaway et al., 2016; Santoro & Wilkinson, 2015; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Wali & Renzaho, 2018). Individuals of refugee and migrant background are frequently resourceful despite the isolating and traumatic experience of seeking refuge or migration, and it has been noted that they are generally well-equipped to form new bonds and bridges, given a socially inclusive environment (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2017; Forrest-

Bank et al., 2019; O’Sullivan & Olliff, 2006; Pittaway et al., 2016). Although bridging capital is an attractive solution in the terms of service provision during resettlement of marginalised groups, in societies such as Australia that prioritise conformity and associate diversity with issues of national security and threat, significant social and cultural barriers exist which make it unlikely that ethnic communities will develop ties with dominant groups (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Li, 2004; McMichael et al., 2010).

Effective community leadership is instrumental to the formation of social capital and integration, as well as community and personal empowerment (Bourdieu, 1986; Gale, 2011; Pittaway et al., 2016). It has been found that if a group has strong leadership, bonding capital will be increased, encouragement and support will be offered to form bridging capital and positive channels of communication can be established to secure bridging and linking capital for the benefit of the community (Pittaway et al., 2016).

1.2.3. Interculturalism

Interculturalism pursues a balance between social cohesion and cultural distinctiveness within superdiverse modern societies by prioritising social contact between groups (Cantle, 2016; Levrau & Loobuyck, 2018; Zapata-Barrero, 2017). The term superdiversity refers to the proliferation of migration and the international movement of people that has occurred through globalisation and is now established after several generations of cultural mingling (Cantle, 2016). In the face of arguments that trust and social cohesion are declining on account of increasing diversity in modern western societies, research has shown that it is not diversity which causes distrust, but social segregation and inequality between groups (Uslaner, 2009). Dominant group members tend to avoid contact with marginalised groups, thereby sustaining status and

legitimacy differentials through segregation, while deficits in social capital lead to distrust (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; Uslaner, 2009). Positive and frequent intercultural contact has been shown to reduce prejudice through improving trust and mutual understanding, and reducing ignorance, anxiety and threat between groups (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Uslaner, 2009). In Australia, intercultural mixing is relatively common; however, it tends to occur between migrants and second-generation groups, with Anglo-Australians being significantly less engaged with diversity (Ang et al., 2002).

In contrast to the multicultural focus on preservation of cultural integrity, interculturalism acknowledges that in a superdiverse society, individuals have complex ethnic histories, resulting in multifaceted cultural identities (Cantle, 2016; Levrau & Loobuyck, 2018). Multifaceted intercultural identities are considered an antidote to discrimination and segregation, as barrier crossing and social contact lead to greater understanding between less clearly defined groups (Cantle, 2016). Harris reports that Australian young people routinely and frequently interact across cultural divides in their daily lives and that they derive a sense of confidence and belonging through the capacity to do so skillfully by managing cultural identities in a sophisticated manner across contexts (Harris, 2015).

1.3 Experiences of resettlement for young people of refugee or migrant backgrounds

Young people are the most culturally diverse group in Australia and also the group who most frequently and routinely interact across cultural divides (Ang, Brand, Noble, & Sternberg, 2006). As such, the process of integration and resettlement requires particular consideration with regards to young people as they learn English and encounter cultural difference through

institutions such as school, university, organised sport and other extracurricular activities (Liddy, 2017).

1.3.3. Resettlement experiences

Living in a new country includes such urgent considerations as language acquisition, the negotiation of unfamiliar employment and educational institutions and the understanding and balancing of cultural difference (V. Harris & Marlowe, 2011). Young people in particular are faced with the task of navigating changing family and community dynamics (as discussed below in 1.4) as well as the variations in role expectations for young people in different cultures (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2017). Trauma, stress and grief associated with the process of seeking refuge can also effect young people as they develop and settle in to the new country (Forrest-Bank et al., 2019; Liddy, 2017). Further challenges relate to the establishment of peer networks and social capital in the context of unfamiliar and often unwelcoming social systems, as well as bicultural or multicultural identity formation and management (Carlton, 2015; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Forrest-Bank et al., 2019; Liddy, 2017).

Experiences of racism, discrimination and marginalisation are common and weaken young people's self-confidence and ability to trust, limiting their success in building networks; this finding is prevalent throughout the literature (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; de Anstiss et al., 2018; McMichael et al., 2010; McMichael & Manderson, 2004; Pittaway et al., 2016; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). The experience of resettlement for young people is to a large extent dependent upon the socio-political climate of the welcoming community and the quality and availability of programs and services in place to assist them (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Earnest, Mansi, Bayati, Earnest, & Thompson, 2015; Pittaway et al., 2016; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

1.4. Young people and intergenerational issues

It is a well-documented phenomenon that during resettlement young people, through having more exposure to networks and the new language at school, tend to gain cultural fluency and embeddedness earlier than their parents (Earnest et al., 2015; Foner & Kasinitz, 2007). The role reversal inherent in the resettlement differential - where children and adolescents act as translator, mediator or interpreter for the older generation - can lead to a host of difficulties in family and community dynamics (de Anstiss et al., 2018; Earnest et al., 2015; Foner & Kasinitz, 2007; Gale, 2011; O'Sullivan & Olliff, 2006; Pittaway et al., 2016; Renzaho, Dhingra, & Georgeou, 2017). For example, data from the 'Good Starts' study, which followed 120 young people in Melbourne over the first three years of resettlement, has given some insight into the impact of generational differences and the effects of changing family dynamics upon young people during resettlement (McMichael et al., 2010). The researchers identified that changes in responsibility structures within the family were compounded by financial difficulties, under-employment, lack of affordable housing, language barriers, discrimination and racism (McMichael et al., 2010). These various stressors can lead to familial breakdown and a decline in support when it is most critically needed (McMichael et al., 2010). In this context, many young people have reported feeling unsupported during school and the transition into adulthood, whilst addressing the demands of resettlement and acting as cultural mediator for family members (de Anstiss et al., 2018; McMichael et al., 2010). The 'Good Starts' study showed that despite intergenerational and resettlement strains, most families are able to rebuild family life (McMichael et al., 2010). It also reflects findings from other research, illuminating the critical importance of families to resettling communities and showing that, depending on their coping

strategies for resettlement stressors, families can pose a risk or act as a protective factor for young people's wellbeing (Deng & Marlowe, 2013; Foner & Kasinitz, 2007; McMichael et al., 2010; O'Sullivan & Olliff, 2006; Renzaho et al., 2017).

1.5. Programs for resettlement

Programs, services and outreach from the wider host population have been found to be of critical importance in the resettlement of young people of refugee and migrant backgrounds (Bond et al., 2007; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Earnest et al., 2015). Newly arrived groups often have no other means of building social networks, so programs can be the sole point of connection for many people and can generate vibrant and nurturing communities (Pittaway et al., 2016).

Programs specifically for young people, although not as common as those for adults or for children in school, offer much needed support in developing confidence, networks, skills and situational knowledge to assist them in resettlement and the attainment of education and employment. For example, mastery and practice of skills in a group environment improved self-esteem and empowered young people towards positive group interaction and leadership in the context of sport based programs for refugee and migrant youth in the USA (Whitley et al., 2016). Involvement in volunteer groups has been shown to increase agency and the ability to contribute in individuals, leading to a sense of belonging amongst refugee and migrant young people in New Zealand (Carlton, 2015). Vocational programs in the US with Sudanese young people, as well as non-ethnic young people of disadvantaged and marginalised backgrounds, have been shown to increase leadership capacity and social capital through contact with adult mentors and vocational environments (Gale, 2011; Jarrett, Sullivan, & Watkins, 2005).

Aboriginal leadership retreats for youth in Canada have been successful in modelling an alternative to individualist, Western conceptualisations of leadership and interaction with wider society (Gartner-Manzon & Giles, 2018).

Overall, opportunities for maintenance and expansion of communities are fundamental to programs for refugee and migrant groups (Carlton, 2015; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Whitley et al., 2016). Programs are most successful when they are community oriented and inclusive and when relationship building, which is essential to resettlement and social capital generation, becomes a therapeutic process of settling in (Forrest-Bank et al., 2019).

Settlement specific services are offered in Australia under multicultural policy frameworks and are withdrawn after five years, at which point refugee and migrant communities are considered to be integrated (although this often is not the case) and become the responsibility of mainstream services (Spinks, 2009). Longitudinal research has indicated that support is still needed to generate networks and mediate the effects of discrimination and marginalisation eight to nine years after settlement (Correa-Velez et al., 2015). In Australia, it has often been found that settlement and language programs fail to meet the needs of young people during key transition periods, such as shifting from English language programs to mainstream schooling, then to higher education or employment after high school (Bond et al., 2007; Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2017; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; de Anstiss et al., 2018; Due & Riggs, 2016; Due, Riggs, & Mandara, 2015). The need for more organised programs for resettling communities than are currently available and the gaps in service provision at key transition points, as well as the need for resettlement support beyond five years, means many young people go unsupported or unprepared during the transition to adulthood and resettlement (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2017; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Spinks, 2009).

1.6. The current research

Young people of refugee and migrant backgrounds are uniquely positioned to create social bridges for themselves and their communities and generally show great resourcefulness in doing so, although there are considerable challenges facing them (de Anstiss et al., 2018; Foner & Kasinitz, 2007; A. Harris, 2015). Leadership has been identified as being of fundamental importance to the cohesion and integration of ethnic groups, and organised programs overseas have been successful in equipping young people with skills to lead their communities (Gale, 2011; Gartner-Manzon & Giles, 2018; Jarrett et al., 2005; Pittaway et al., 2016; Whitley et al., 2016). However, there has been no exploration of leadership programs for diverse youth in the Australian context.

This thesis presents the qualitative analysis of interview data from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) mentors from the Intercultural Futures (ICF) Program, a community-based leadership program for young people of refugee and migrant backgrounds in Adelaide, Australia.

In light of the body of literature outlined above, the aims of the current research are to explore whether a structured leadership program is able to increase social capital in participants, and in doing so, also provide benefits in terms of increased intercultural connections and facilitation of resettlement.

Chapter two: Method

2.1 Background to the program

The Intercultural Futures program was run by the non-profit organisation Welcoming Australia and included one weekend-long workshop per month over twelve months. The workshops covered such things as leadership strengths, self-reflection and evaluation, public speaking, working with media, team building and working, event development and management, fundraising, working with volunteers, Kaurua language and culture, and community engagement. Participants in the ICF program were of refugee or migrant backgrounds from a wide variety of ethnicities and countries of origin. The young people were between the ages of 20 and 30 and were selected for participation based on their leadership potential. The program included a mentorship component, whereby adults of refugee or migrant backgrounds who had attained positions of relative authority within Australian society worked with the young people to offer advice, support and social resources relating to their process of resettlement in Australia as well as the assignments related to the program.

2.2 Participants

Participants in the current research were 12 of the 13 mentors from the Intercultural Futures program. The majority (10) were of refugee or migrant background, while two participants identified as Anglo-Australian. Table 1. outlines participants' demographic

information. Pseudonyms have been used throughout this thesis. All participants were fluent English speakers and were over the age of 18. Six of the participants were male and six female.

Table 1.
Demographic Information of participants (n=12)

Participant	Gender	Cultural background
██████	M	United States of America
██████	M	Anglo-Australian
██████	F	Pakistan/United Arab Emirates
████	F	Greece
██████	M	Anglo-Australian
██████	F	Australian-Chinese
██████	F	Korea
██████	M	Pakistan
██████	F	Aboriginal/Chinese
██████	M	Iran
██████	M	Sierra Leone
██████	F	Italy

2.3 Procedure

The researcher's (CGC) supervisor (CD) was approached several years ago to conduct an evaluation of the first iteration of the ICF program. The research conducted for this thesis formed one component of this evaluation: namely interviews with mentors aimed at both evaluating the

program and considering issues of social capital and related resettlement experiences in the context of a structured leadership program. The evaluation also involved interviews with program participants, but these were outside the scope of this thesis, which aims to explore mentor perspectives on social capital, interculturalism and resettlement experiences amongst program participants.

Ethics approval for the entire evaluation, including this mentor component, was gained from the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee (18/79). Participant contact details were provided by coordinators of the Intercultural Futures Program and participants were contacted for recruitment via email. Participants were provided with a Participant Information Sheet and all provided either written or verbal consent. All interviews were conducted by the researcher (CGC) individually, either face to face ($N = 8$) or over the phone ($N = 4$), including a pilot interview (Julie) to determine the suitability of the interview questions. No changes were required and the pilot data was used in analysis.

Interviews were semi-structured, with open ended questions which allowed participants to govern the extent and direction of responses (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Interview questions were developed in accordance with existing literature relevant to the study aims. Specifically, questions addressed mentors' perspectives on the experiences of participants in the program with regards to social capital, interculturalism and resettlement experiences in Australia (Ager & Strang, 2008; Aldrich, 2017; Bourdieu, 1986; Cattle, 2016; Coleman, 1988; A. Harris, 2015; Levrau & Loobuyck, 2018; Pittaway et al., 2016). See Appendix 1 for interview questions. Interviews lasted from 35 to 67 minutes ($M = 48$ minutes) and were transcribed orthographically, eight by the researcher (CGC) and four by a professional transcription agency with resources from the broader evaluation. All interviews were anonymised at transcription. Interviewees were

provided a copy of their transcript and opportunity was given for correction and feedback. No changes were requested and all interview data was used in analysis.

A recursive approach was undertaken for data collection and analysis, allowing movement back and forth between stages to deepen and inform the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this way, interview questions were slightly changed throughout the data collection process as clearer and more nuanced ways of addressing the research aims became apparent. Interview question development, contextual details, markers of interesting content and research decisions were recorded in an audit trail, facilitating transparency and reflexivity (Tracy, 2010). The audit trail assisted in identifying researcher bias through self-reflection, which was achieved by note-taking directly after each interview's conclusion. The researcher (CGC) approached this study from a critical realist perspective and thereby acknowledges the inherent bias of her social and political perspective. With regards to the current study, the researcher's views align with the political left, prioritising human rights. These views will inevitably have had an effect on meaning making in interpretive analysis, as well as the theoretical frameworks underpinning this research. The researcher has endeavored to maintain earnestness and transparency with respect to her situatedness and political position through reflexivity.

2.4 Data analysis

The interview data were analysed thematically in accordance with the guidelines for Thematic Analysis (TA) set out by Braun and Clarke (2006). TA is a broad and flexible approach to qualitative research and was here employed from a critical realist epistemological position (Willig, 1999). A critical realist perspective holds that all knowledge is culturally, politically and linguistically influenced, and as such, it cannot fully or comprehensively account for the nature

of the outside world (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In the current research, a critical realist approach aided in researcher reflexivity and informed the researcher's analysis of the interview data by foregrounding that accounts within the data were of a subjective and socially situated nature (Willig, 1999).

A theory driven approach to data analysis was chosen rather than an inductive (or data driven) approach on the basis that the research questions were developed in the context of pre-existing theoretical frameworks of interculturalism, social capital and integration. Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step, recursive process of analysis was used; beginning with data immersion, through to generating initial codes and developing them into broader and more nuanced themes, and finally leading to an integrated report. A semantic approach was taken to theme generation, meaning that a detailed and nuanced account was given of a particular group of themes in accordance with theoretical research questions, rather than an overview of the data set as a whole (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

During analysis, the researcher looked beyond the semantic content of the data and generated latent themes to investigate underlying assumptions, systems of belief and meanings. Latent thematic analysis is an interpretive process, whereby the researcher makes meaning of the data in accordance with the theoretical context of the study, rather than simply through descriptive analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes were checked for credibility by supervisor CD (Tracy, 2010).

Chapter three: Analysis and Discussion

Three distinct themes were developed from the interview data, with subthemes distinguished where appropriate. *Young people, leadership and bridgebuilding* includes subthemes *Young people are a bridge* and *Leadership is a good platform for bridge building*. The second theme is entitled *Intercultural community building and social capital generation are interrelated processes*. The third theme, *Social capital generated in the program helped the young people to resettle and succeed in Australia* includes subthemes *Mentors as transmitters of social capital*, *The Intercultural community increased participant's confidence to generate bridging capital* and *Social capital acted as a protective factor against discriminatory socio-political discourse*.

3.1 Young people, leadership and bridge building

3.1.1 Young people are a bridge

Participants generally characterised young people as being in a better position to form connections outside of their ethnic communities than their parents or the older generation. Those who arrived in Australia as adults were considered to be at a disadvantage in forming friendships and networks, due to factors associated with their stage in life. S██████, who immigrated from Korea, discussed her perceptions of the ICF participants in this regard:

they have more opportunities to mingle with their friends or peers from different communities. So you know, if they play soccer they have more chance to hang out with people from different culture you know, white Australians.

And more opportunity is available to them to mix with wider communities. And older people, I guess possibly there is more language barrier but also possibly they are time poor because they have kids and things like that. So definitely being younger makes it easier to bridge the gaps and then hopefully that helps, if their parents are here, it helps their parents to be integrated more.

(S██████, lines: 235-242)

It was widely commented that the young people act as a bridge or translator, assisting their families and communities to form connections and access services in the wider community. This pattern of integration is well documented in the literature whereby young people, through immersion in school and other activities, become embedded in the host culture, forming connections and cultural fluency and naturally taking on the role of mediator between the older generation and the new country (de Anstiss et al., 2018; Foner & Kasinitz, 2007; Gale, 2011; McMichael et al., 2010; Renzaho et al., 2017). With regards to the current study, Soon-Yi referred to this aptitude as *'something they've gained as kids just by having lived experience'*. The skills which are displayed by young people in interaction between cultures, allow them to generate social capital in the form of networks and connections (de Anstiss et al., 2018). Social capital is of vital importance for newly arrived and isolated communities, but for the younger generation to take on such a responsibility has been known to exacerbate intergenerational tensions (de Anstiss et al., 2018; Renzaho et al., 2017). Mediating distinct cultural groups as a young person was frequently characterised as a challenging task, with difficulties arising specifically around young people's lack of authority to make suggestions based on their cultural knowledge, ████████ discussed:

you know they're young and they have ideas and they want to implement those ideas and sometimes the older community members are a little resistant to that and I think sometimes with the language barriers with some of the older people, it's a little bit harder because they work as a real bridge between the new culture that they're living in and their mother culture. And I mean, I'm Italian background so I've seen this my whole life you know, I completely understand that, acting as a translator between two worlds.

(██████████ lines: 96-102)

Participants attributed the lack of authority afforded young people to a lack of understanding between generations. Intergenerational tensions tend to arise as youth and children resettle more rapidly than their parents and family dynamics and power structures inevitably change, sometimes eroding family or community cohesion (Renzaho et al., 2017). Participants frequently positioned young people as feeling unheard by community leaders, despite feeling that their unique perspectives and knowledge of Australian culture were of value to the community. This trend is mirrored in the literature, which shows that young leaders in resettling communities struggle to have their voices heard despite greater cultural fluency, as a result of strained or distant relationships between generations (Foner & Kasinitz, 2007; Gale, 2011). Perhaps stemming from this tension, a lack of confidence in articulation was cited as a barrier to young people having their voices heard. ██████████ who is a second-generation Greek woman, related difficulties that young people faced in terms of confidence:

You know some of them are on the youth committee of their community but they don't necessarily speak up at meetings. I remember someone was saying "oh I start talking but then I'll lose track of what I wanted to get across, and someone will ask a question and I just forget what I had to say and then the meeting ends and it's too late".

(████ lines: 453-457)

Participants characterised the young people as being caught between two roles; having the skills to interpret Australian culture for their communities, yet lacking the confidence and authority to have their say in community decisions. The contradictory nature of these roles for young people reflect intergenerational strain, as noted in the literature, which can erode bonding capital within families and communities (Pittaway et al., 2016; Renzaho et al., 2017). Research into social capital in refugee and migrant communities has shown that bonding capital is essential for the generation of bridging capital, so community cohesion and acceptance for young people is necessary (Pittaway et al., 2016). In this case, █████ went on to describe sharing skills and strategies with her mentee to improve her confidence and articulation at such meetings, so that she was better equipped to participate in a constructive and respectful manner.

3.1.2 Bridge building is a good platform for leadership

Participants frequently mentioned that good leadership holds particular importance for refugee and immigrant communities, due to a leader's role in interacting with wider society. For example, ██████i discussed leaders' roles in establishing social inclusion:

I know it's really important to have a strong leader because they can become a sort of bridge between the mainstream community who are in the mainstream culture and the migrant community.

(██████████, lines: 162-164)

The role of leaders in generating social capital in the form of bridges to wider society is mirrored in the literature (Bourdieu, 1986; Gale, 2011; Pittaway et al., 2016). Bourdieu discusses 'institutionalised delegates'; individuals who ensure the concentration of social capital by maintaining social cohesion within the group as well as maintaining representation of the group to wider society (Bourdieu, 1986). Institutionalised delegates participate in advocacy and bridge building and increase the legitimacy of the group as a whole by increasing social networks (Bourdieu, 1986). Pittaway and colleagues discussed leadership of refugee and migrant communities in Australia in similar terms, discussing their invaluable role in securing social capital for the community through strengthening community cohesion and connecting the community with wider society, and all that society has to offer (Pittaway et al., 2016). Participants in the current research tended to discuss leadership as being of particular importance in the context of newly arrived or resettling groups. ██████████ gave a good example:

I think because of all those challenges which come up with being in a new place, you need to have people that help the community navigate pathways through this world. So I think that having leaders, or people who are more ofay with how to do that and how to navigate this new world is incredibly important. So I think that's a big role for a leader in a migrant community is just to help to

establish social cohesion for that group in their new setting and look, without losing traditions and without losing their sense of identity of course.

(██████████ lines: 113-119)

Participants characterised culturally fluent leadership as essential for generating social capital to aid with integration. Ager and Strang have highlighted the importance of Social Capital in their framework for Integration, as it allows access to actual or potential resources through networks of connections and acquaintances across the domestic, professional and educational domains, as well as other civic areas (Ager & Strang, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986). It is in this way that social exclusion increases inequality between groups and acts as a barrier to integration (Pittaway et al., 2016; Uslander, 2009).

Participants in the current study commonly mentioned leadership as essential with regards to advocacy, social inclusion and navigating service provision. A lack of accessibility and cultural competence in essential service provision are posited by Ager and Strang as a barrier to integration, which should be a two way, mutually accommodating process (Ager & Strang, 2008). Accounts within the current study indicate that criteria around cultural competence in service provision have not been met in Australia. ██████████ an Australian woman of Aboriginal-Chinese ethnicity, here discusses the ways in which marginalised communities benefit from leadership as a means to overcoming such barriers as culturally inaccessible service provision through the generation of social linking capital.

You actually do need leadership in order to take advantage of resources, have an impact on the way systems work, to make a difference for your people. You do need people who are willing to do that because a lot of these systems aren't built for you, they're built for a general population which, yeah it makes it harder for you to access. So basically, having leadership is really important if you want to make a difference and actually inform some of those bigger systems.

(██████ lines: 202-207)

The current study supports the literature with regards to the importance of cultural fluency in community leaders, which allows them to act as an intermediary or representative for their community in dealings with the structures of wider society (Pittaway et al., 2016). Young people tend to be culturally fluent, and as they are often well acquainted with the role of bridge builder, they are ideal candidates to become leaders for their communities. However, intergenerational disconnect caused by resettlement stressors can disrupt the transition of leadership between generations. For example ██████ an Anglo-Australian politician, discussed processes of leadership transition between generations:

Yes, I think that's going to be the challenge as well how they're able to communicate with the current leaders who, you know, are – well are older and probably settled in that particular role and how it is that that community

can embrace these rising, if you like, voices within their particular community.

I ... think that's going to be the challenge.

([REDACTED] lines: 365-370)

[REDACTED] characterised leadership as an area of contention, orienting toward intergenerational distance and communication as putting transitions under strain. Participants tended to advocate a shift in leadership from the older to the younger generation, and positioned themselves as supporting the young people to take on leadership roles for the benefit of their communities.

Young people were positioned by many participants as a valuable asset to their communities and as excellent candidates for future leadership on account of their integral and trusted position within their communities, as well as their competence in navigating the social and cultural landscape of Australia. [REDACTED] who emigrated from Pakistan ten years ago, highlighted the trust which young people have as central members of their communities:

the good thing is that if more young leadership come into, you know, picture, they can steer older generation and older generation will tend to, you know, trust them more because they are within the community

([REDACTED] lines: 408-411)

Young people's trusted position within communities can allow them to utilize the cultural fluency which they develop as a generational skill to steer their communities in the direction of social inclusion. In this way, the maintenance of bonding capital through social cohesion between generations allows the older generation to trust young people to generate bridging

capital using their cultural fluency for the benefit of the whole community. Pittaway and associates reported that good community leaders are able to maintain bonding capital between generations through shared social or cultural practices, allowing a strong social and cultural base from which to approach wider society (Pittaway et al., 2016). The mechanisms by which bonding and bridging capital are interrelated were demonstrated through participant's accounts of the fundamental importance of community cohesion, and support the literature in this regard (Pittaway et al., 2016).

3.2 Intercultural community building and social capital generation are interrelated processes

Intercultural competence was generally positioned as being essential for the young people and their communities in the generation of social capital. █████ who emigrated from Pakistan, described the way in which the communities involved with the ICF program enjoyed building connections across cultural divides that were mutually beneficial through the formation of a broad and diverse social network.

Now, whenever anything happens they invite everyone. I remember that we had an event we celebrate this cultural day every year and because I was fortunate to be part of this program and I invited people from this program, like a few people from African community, Nepalese community, Afghani community, they all came in this program and they were so happy to see the different cultures, different – so it is kind of a bridging the gap between the communities.

(██████ lines: 514-520)

██████ gives a good example of the way in which intercultural competence assists marginalised groups in the formation of social capital, particularly bridging capital. The propensity to trust groups and individuals who are different from one's self is more commonly observed in members of marginalised groups (Uslaner, 2009). Dominant group members tend to be less trusting of difference and avoid intercultural interaction (Uslaner, 2009). Participants' accounts indicated that the communities associated with the ICF program benefitted from the young people's intercultural competence in forming social bridges with other marginalised groups. This connection between interculturalism and bridging capital has been explored quantitatively, with regards to young people living within diverse student communities in Malaysia (Tamam, 2012). In this context, intercultural sensitivity was found to be a significant predictor of interethnic bridging capital, and intercultural sensitivity and interethnic bridging capital both increased with the extent to which participants engaged with and celebrated their own culturally diverse identities (Tamam, 2012).

Intercultural competence was also discussed in terms of identity, with some participants describing the ways in which they themselves have negotiated a bicultural life in Australia. ██████ who arrived from Sierra Leone as a refugee, put it most eloquently when discussing his 'cultural costumes':

*the cultural costumes its multipurpose; its identity, it's also
saying 'I am transformed' I am bringing my, I am blending my culture*

to Australia. If I wear my cultural costume and touch the wall a light comes on, I eat with a fork and knife, you understand? ... If I wear my cultural costume and think of back home saying 'Oh Africa I have not forgot you, I am far away from home but I am representing you'. Its representation, the cultural costume. It's also saying 'I am Australian but still I am African and I am representing Africa'.

([REDACTED] lines: 468-475)

[REDACTED] cultural costumes illustrate the patterns of behavior and adjustment which become routine in the successful navigation of Australian life for people with migrant or refugee backgrounds. Daniel positioned his intercultural competence in bicultural identity management as a skill which allowed him to feel at home in Australia and be proud of his African heritage. These sentiments relate to Tamam's research with diverse student populations in Malaysia, which found that the degree to which individuals engage with their own diverse identity and background increases the amount of interethnic bridging capital they tend to generate (Tamam, 2012). Echoing Cantle's conceptualization of 'plural identities', the flexible and sophisticated implementation of cultural practice and identity recounted by [REDACTED] reflect the complex business of life within superdiverse societies (Cantle, 2016). Daniel continued:

Yeah, blending, mixing you know. Picking and mixing you know. And it's like I used to have one but now I have two. Australian and African. So I'm going to wear this costume and I'm going to walk around here and I celebrate,

this is the way I celebrate my Australian-ness, by wearing my cultural costume...

(██████████ lines: 480-483)

By “blending, mixing” the two cultural identities, ██████████ positioned himself as better able to relate to his Australian citizenship, feeling that it accommodated both aspects of his cultural identity. Harris relates similar tendencies in her work with CALD young people in Australia; that they identify being an Australian citizen with their ability to navigate bicultural identities, and to interact skillfully in the context of cultural difference (A. Harris, 2015).

While diverse individuals appear to have extraordinary skill in relating across cultural divides to generate social capital, there is a limit to the success they are able to achieve if dominant group members will not engage (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; Uslander, 2009). It was widely agreed amongst participants that the ICF program generated diverse and supportive interethnic networks. With regards to the involvement of members of wider society however, participants’ accounts varied. Discrepancies were noted with regards to the way that participants characterised attendance at Walk Together, as well as other events put on by the ICF participants. The Walk Together is a public demonstration followed by a cultural celebration which occurs annually as part of National Unity Week and was organised in Adelaide by the ICF participants. ██████████ who immigrated to Australia from the USA, stated:

The Walk Together, for example it was almost exclusively non-Australian, which I think there's quite a lot of value in getting the Cambodian refugee or immigrant community to speak with the Pakistani and the Nigerian, or whatever. I think that's quite valuable but like I think one of the principal goals of this was to engage with the [wider society].

([REDACTED] lines: 366-371)

While a number of participants agreed with [REDACTED] that wider society had not been significantly engaged by the program's events, some participants took a more optimistic view. [REDACTED] who emigrated from Pakistan, stated that the program had facilitated "a lot of connection, I would say" with wider society, and characterised the event in a positive light:

I think it was a great opportunity and the response was amazing from the general public, definitely.

([REDACTED] lines: 155-157)

Similarly, [REDACTED] an Iranian man who arrived in Australia as a refugee, described the Walk Together:

all together have fun, no stress as I said, no fear you know. White and black talking to each other, laughing to each other in peace.

([REDACTED] lines: 466-467)

This discrepancy in accounts was somewhat resolved by comments from [REDACTED] an Australian woman with Chinese and Aboriginal heritage, who had noticed that those groups from wider society who did attend the event were in fact regular attendees of such events, and that new connections therefore were not formed.

It's sort of appealing to a certain group of people, so it didn't attract a wider audience of people let's say. It was obvious that they were already on this side and doing this kind of thing, because I met a few of them and knew them, so I thought 'oh ok, these guys already come to this stuff' or whatever. So I think having impact of a broader nature is harder.

([REDACTED] lines: 77-81)

[REDACTED] observation resonates with research finding that of the dominant culture who are willing to interact with ethnic groups are generally those who are already trusting of difference, otherwise members of the dominant group tend to avoid interaction with marginalised groups (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; Uslaner, 2009). [REDACTED] views add weight to the literature in this regard, and she later referred to “white allies” who are an exception to the norm in their prolonged involvement with and advocacy for marginalised groups.

A number of participants accounted for the low attendance at ICF events by highlighting the limited social capital available to ICF participants. It was mentioned that without established networks and relationships with wider society members, attendance was more or less limited to members of the participants' own communities. [REDACTED], who immigrated to Australia from Korea, discussed the ways in which limited social networks affected attendance.

It was really well organised, but the number wasn't great and they created lots of really nice flyers with lots of different language but I think that what makes people come is if they know someone who does it. I think that by sending out a flyer, it's not going to be convincing enough to give up your Saturday morning.

(Soon-Yi, lines: 348-355)

█ here highlighted the difficulty arising from a deficit in welcoming communities and services. In line with the literature, it was agreed amongst participants that the responsibility to form connections with wider society tends to fall upon the marginalised group (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; de Anstiss et al., 2018; Pittaway et al., 2016). Ager and Strang state the vital importance of outreach from the dominant population for integration since marginalised groups do not necessarily have the social resources to form bridges to wider society for themselves (Ager & Strang, 2008).

3.3 Social capital generated through the program helped the young people resettle and succeed in Australia

3.3.1 Mentors are transmitters of social capital

It has been widely commented in the literature that individuals of refugee and migrant backgrounds struggle for lack of social capital, and that without the social capital available to majority group members, refugee and migrant groups have fewer opportunities to increase their position in society (Nannestad et al., 2008; Pittaway et al., 2016; Santoro & Wilkinson, 2015; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Wali & Renzaho, 2018). A number of participants described

instances where they recognized that their mentees were lacking networks and social resources due to their diverse backgrounds and that as a result, the young people were disadvantaged with regards to career or professional pursuits. [REDACTED] a second-generation Italian woman, discussed:

Creating their networks is a big issue, you know I've seen that this year; they are professional and yet they don't have that network of professionals that you have when you grow up in a place and you go to university and you, you know, go to school with people so creating all of that is, you know they're coming from a blank slate.

([REDACTED] lines: 21-24)

The deficit in social capital experienced by many migrant communities demonstrates considerable disadvantage which is often sustained across generations, as parents' social networks have a direct impact upon young people's development of social capital (Coleman, 1988). Relatedly, participants noted that young people in the ICF program, many of whom are second-generation arrivals to Australia, are now beginning the process of social capital generation on behalf of their families and communities. [REDACTED] discussed the difference in capacity for social capital generation between generations:

I think that often the first generation they just occupy their struggle with just making their life in Australia.

I found that quite a lot of them (ICF participants) are second generation, but it made me think 'probably that's the only

way that they can run this program' and they are very important in terms of bridging the gaps between their communities.'

(████████ lines: 315-324)

████████ positions the first generation as being primarily occupied with the business of getting by in the new country, indicating that it is the second generation who have the capacity to begin the process of social capital generation for their communities. The first generation's lack of social capital has been attributed throughout the literature to a lack of adequate welcoming communities and programs; it is this shortcoming on the part of host nations which allows the burden of isolation, and the responsibility of its alleviation to fall on the children and young people who make up the second generation (Ager & Strang, 2008; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Pittaway et al., 2016; Uslaner, 2009).

The ICF program connected young people with adult mentors of refugee and migrant backgrounds who have attained relatively high-status positions within society, as a method of transferring social capital to the young people involved in the program. All mentors interviewed gave examples of offering their mentees social resources in the hopes of improving their social and professional networks, as well as offering information, support and advice around navigating Australian society. It was widely commented by participants that the young people lacked knowledge regarding avenues of access to services, or procedures and skills for negotiating their position in Australia. For example ██████████ an Australian woman with Chinese heritage, stated:

you forget how different our structure can be and how difficult it is to navigate for people that have no idea about, you know, superannuation, tax, enrolment into schools, zoning like all those things ...

(████ lines: 333-335)

In response to these needs, Julie reported giving practical and targeted information and advice, thereby offering her mentee the social capital she required in order to participate more directly in Australian society. █████ continued:

So, she needed some assistance with a housing matter; I was able to help with that. Her husband had been looking for a job and perhaps needed some guidance from people within that industry so I've managed to help with that. She came to me with an issue from her community; they were thinking of setting up either an exhibition or a gallery or setting up an incorporated association; I've been able to help with that.

(████ lines: 313-319)

The mentors appear to have gone some way towards filling the social capital deficit for these young people as well as their communities, through the transmission of information, advice and support.

As well as increasing social capital, relationships with the mentors may have assisted with the formation of positive ethnic identities amongst the young people. Adolescence and early adulthood are key points for the realization of ethnic identity, which has been found to be

an essential predictor of wellbeing over time for refugee and migrant young people (Carlton, 2015; Correa-Velez et al., 2015). Below, ██████ describes the way that mentors were able to model positive examples of ethnic identity formation and integration:

I think that that was actually really important for the participants to see that you can be culturally diverse and, you know, make your way in this world and still be ok. So you can have these various forms of what it means, you know, of what Australian is. And I think it's important for them to sort of, see examples of that and see role models of that as they form their identity in this new place.

(██████ lines: 178-182)

Negotiating a cultural identity in the context of superdiverse nations is also discussed in the literature around interculturalism. ██████ comments above correspond to Harris' research, which states that young people of refugee and migrant backgrounds often define good citizenship as the capacity to be competent in the context of diversity, and that their sense of belonging relates to their capacity to maintain diverse identities (A. Harris, 2015).

3.3.2 The intercultural community increased young people's confidence to generate bridging capital

ICF participants were frequently described as lacking confidence as a result of resettlement strains. ██████ who emigrated from Pakistan, discussed fear of failure amongst the

young people, positioning it as being fueled by a lack of supportive platforms for learning and making mistakes:

There's a fear of failure, you know, that lack of confidence that always hold us back because they think that 'oh if we say something, maybe it's wrong or it's right, how the person will proceed'. So a lot of leadership and confidence issues, mostly confidence and then a lack of proper platform because ... I've never seen it in the past ten years I've been in Adelaide. So I think confidence most important, where they know that there's somebody for us or somebody we're going to talk okay and ... they will listen to us. Doesn't matter whatever we say they will listen to us and they will correct if needed. So I think that kind of help, when you know that there's always help available for you, you – already you're getting the confidence.

(Fahad, lines: 79-91)

The ICF community was often characterised as having offered the young people a supportive environment for learning, with the advice and attention of mentors and facilitators being highlighted as a valuable asset in the development of the young people's skills and confidence. Pittaway and associates, in their exploration of experiences of social capital amongst refugee and migrant groups in Australia, emphasize the importance of 'social capital enablers' and such individual capacities as cultural fluency and competence in interpersonal communication (Pittaway et al., 2016). Similarly, Bourdieu discussed the necessity of social competencies, and the disposition to maintain and acquire such competencies, as fundamental to

the business of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). [REDACTED] a woman of Pakistani and United Arab Emirates background, stated that the program had developed social competence in the young people, increasing their capacity to generate social capital.

They are much more clear ok, so they don't feel themselves low in front of an adult or particularly an adult in an authoritative position. They know why they are talking to the person, with what purpose and what they want to get out of them. Whether it's a particular knowledge, a particular aim or a thing whatever it is. It's just general thing you know, making connections introducing themselves or you know, whatever it is. They have gained a lot of bright and positive confidence in dealing with those in authoritative positions.

([REDACTED] lines: 329-335)

Through the program's tutelage, the young people were positioned as having realised the legitimacy of their social actions, and as having come to better understand the social conditions within which they hope to generate connections. Bourdieu theorized that the legitimacy of a social actor is derived from their knowledge of existing social conditions and relationships, and the skill with which they navigate such an environment (Bourdieu, 1986). It was highlighted in Pittaway and associates' research that such skills and dispositions (for example the capacity for reciprocity, trust and interpersonal communication) are often degraded by the experience of immigration or seeking refuge and resettlement, and require a sense of safety, security and confidence as their precondition (Pittaway et al., 2016). The ICF program was characterized as improving social capital enablers such as confidence, trust, communication and reciprocity

through the formation of a supportive intercultural community. [REDACTED] gives an example in his description of the ICF community:

This program helps you to break barriers. Because they are Nepalese, they are Australian and all the times they talk there is always laughter. No, everyone is laughing, the program is going, people are learning to solve problems together people are bringing ideas, mentors are mixing with young adults. So we break barriers, we do things you know?

([REDACTED] lines: 442-445)

The ICF program was described in such a way as to constitute what intercultural theorists have described as a shared sense of belonging together, arising from celebration of diversity and inclusivity (Cantle, 2016; Levrau & Loobuyck, 2018; Zapata-Barrero, 2017). In the case of the ICF program, the sense of community was positioned as being beneficial to participants' confidence, allowing them to form bridging capital, strengthen and extend their networks. Below, [REDACTED] links the formation of the ICF community to the young people's enhanced confidence.

I can see the young people you know, from migrant communities just coming together and you know, breeding more confidence and connecting with others from different community you know.

(Soon-Yi, lines: 108-110)

Further, [REDACTED] described the process whereby the intercultural community gave young people the confidence to generate social bridges with their peers.

I think that creating this sense of community and cohesion has sort of made the participants feel less alone and made them able to sort of call on each other a little bit more to kind of work through issues they might be dealing with

([REDACTED] lines: 86-89)

In contrast to bonding capital, which allows marginalised groups to ‘get by’ through community cohesion, social bridges such as those which were built up around the ICF program have been shown both socially and materially to improve the situation of communities through the extension of networks and resources (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). [REDACTED] described the way in which bridging capital was generated through a friendship with his mentee:

I have made lifelong friendships because you stick with them for one year, a really long time, and the friendship and the connections [I have made] being a mentor, I’m saying that I’m very close to that fellow and I’ve never been to the Nepalese communities much before but now I know this community more. My background is from Pakistani community living in Australia for ten years but I never got a chance but since my mentee’s from [Nepalese] community he tell me about himself and community and I tell him about myself and my community and we two invite each other to different events which is, I think, a really success of this, you know, program.

([REDACTED] lines: 303-313)

With this anecdote, ██████ illustrates the process whereby an Intercultural community generated bridging capital, increasing the networks available to all parties. Bridging capital is most strongly associated with the process of integration, whereby networks are enriched and widened, increasing the actual and potential resources available to all group members (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

3.3.3 Social capital acted as a protective factor against discriminatory socio-political discourse

Discriminatory discourse instigated by government figures and sustained and disseminated through media to the wider population of a nation has been shown repeatedly to have negative effects on the wellbeing and social inclusion outcomes for refugee and migrant groups (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; de Anstiss et al., 2018; Pittaway et al., 2016). ██████ an Anglo-Australian man, offered his insights from a career in social inclusion, on the structural processes of marginalization affecting the young people:

...that idea of being different. The assumptions which go with that, stereotypes and the issues – which face First Nations people as well – such as systemic racism ... they lead on to the result of making participation in society far more difficult ... And we've seen it down through the years, that people who are not like us - whatever the dominant culture may be – end up, if they can participate in the workforce its usually in lower paid jobs.

(██████ lines: 25-30)

█ has here captured the way in which socio-political discourse is translated into material disadvantage through stigma decreasing social capital, here relating to employment. The refusal of dominant group members to engage across cultural divides leads to a deficit in social capital for marginalized groups, which severely reduces their chance for improvement of their situation, thereby maintaining the unequal dynamic (Li, 2004; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Uslaner, 2009).

In the context of the 2019 federal election, refugee and migrant entrants to Australia were highly politicized, with prejudiced and discriminatory discourse becoming heightened in the context of the conservative and refugee-hostile Government's return to power. The distress experienced by the ICF community in response to this antagonistic socio-political environment was discussed by participants on a number of occasions. However, it was also highlighted that the community formed around the ICF program operated in a protective capacity against such discourse:

When it's their background, religion or culture that's put in the spotlight, and negativity surrounds them I think being part of the program and being with people from different communities that are also going through the same thing, it sort of put a positive light on all the good things about cultural diversity and when something like that happens in the media and they're all talking about it and they're all upset it kind of shows that, yeah it's great that Australia's so multicultural but, we're kind of not.

(█ lines: 110-117)

■■■■ a second-generation Greek woman, here positions the group as offering a sense of legitimacy to the young people. Through sharing the experience of discrimination, they were able to cast discriminatory discourse as unfair and unjustified. This acknowledgement of widespread prejudice in Australia was reported to highlight the need for social change. The young people were generally characterized as having gained enormously from the program in areas such as confidence and interpersonal skills; however, they came up against marginalization and discrimination as structural, societal issues which they are not yet able to address, as described by ■■■■

I think for my student I've seen a big change in her self-confidence.

Like she used to be quite quietly spoken. I think that she speaks out a little bit more now but I think she's also experiencing that frustration where 'I have a voice but people may not always listen to me' which is also a learning experience.

(■■■■ lines: 130-134)

Participants have broadly characterised the ICF program as a success in terms of generating networks for the young people and in offering them the skills and confidence to act as leaders and bridgebuilders for their communities. Undeniably however, these young people will face hostile and discriminatory attitudes from authority figures and the general public throughout their lives on account of their diversity. Hopefully this program will see them better equipped to face such challenges.

Chapter four: Conclusion

This study addressed a gap in the literature relating to leadership programs for young people of refugee and migrant backgrounds in Australia. The results offer insights into young people's experience of three distinct but related constructs within the literature – social capital, interculturalism and integration – and the ways in which they interact in the context of an organised leadership program in Australia, an area of research that is unexplored. Three key findings were established within the current study. Firstly, the young people initially possessed limited social capital because of their marginalised position within society. Targeted advice, social and professional connections, and support from CALD mentors improved their confidence, increasing social and material resources. The young people were described as skilled in intercultural interaction by virtue of having lived experience and by growing up as translators for their communities. The study showed that these skills allowed the young people to naturally form bridging capital between cultural groups, thereby engaging with and celebrating cultural diversity. Secondly, the ICF program generated inclusive and vibrant interethnic alliances, which widened participants' networks and increased the social resources available to them. It was reported that the diverse ICF community acted in a protective capacity against the effects of exclusionary and discriminatory socio-political environments, as the young people's engagement with the community allowed them to interpret such discourses as unwarranted and inappropriate. Thirdly, dominant group Australians were not significantly engaged with the program. This supports the findings of previous studies that show that segregation is maintained by dominant group members' avoidance of contact with marginalised group members (Li, 2004; Uslander, 2009). These findings highlight the importance of encouraging two-way integration, as refugee

and migrant communities lack the social capital necessary to form initial connections with wider society, which are essential to improving their position and resettlement (Ager & Strang, 2008). Interethnic networks and increased social capital have been highly beneficial to the young people's lives. However, without further engagement with dominant group Australians, refugee and migrant communities will remain marginalised and disadvantaged, as segregation has been found to degrade trust (Uslaner, 2009).

4.1 Limitations and Strengths

The qualitative methodology chosen for this study allowed for in-depth, exploratory analysis of interview data, resulting in rich and nuanced descriptions of the interplay of related constructs, as well as a critical evaluation of participants' accounts and positioning. The opportunity to be involved with the ICF program offered a number of strengths to the research. Access to the unique and diverse group of participants offered invaluable insights about individuals who have successfully navigated the challenges of integration, social capital generation and interculturalism. Participants' perspectives were richer, as they had personal experiences of many of the challenges faced by the young people and were readily able to recognize and articulate them. Research is currently being conducted which examines the experiences of the young people involved in the ICF program, and will offer an important addition to the literature.

Weaknesses in the current study include its narrow focus. This thesis can only speak for the efficacy of a single program and might not be representative of other programs. The nature of the ICF program means that both mentors and mentees were selected for their relative accomplishment or ambition in the areas of social capital, intercultural competence and

integration. In the context of the current study, these perspectives may offer a more positive representation of resettlement than is realistic, whilst failing to address the perspectives of those who are less fortunate. It is likely that those who are most in need of increased social capital, intercultural competence and assistance to integration were not involved in the ICF program and have not been represented here. However, leadership, if undertaken correctly, is a resource that improves the position of an entire community, and the development of young leaders is essential to the wellbeing of a community's most vulnerable members. Future research with young people who are experiencing greater difficulties in resettlement will no doubt illuminate how programs can assist in these areas. In light of this, future research should address wider society to investigate ways to encourage social inclusion and improve two-way integration.

4.2 Implications

The findings from this study have a number of implications, both in terms of supporting refugee and migrant groups to resettlement, and in terms of offering new insights into the theoretical literature

4.2.1 Practical Implications

CALD mentors have proven to be excellent transmitters of social capital for young people. The fact that mentors come from refugee and migrant backgrounds themselves and have nonetheless attained high status positions within mainstream Australian society appears to be particularly beneficial for the young people, as it offers them role models for positive ethnic identity formation. Ethnic identity was outside the scope of this thesis, but the literature shows that realisation and confidence in ethnic identity are beneficial to wellbeing and resettlement outcomes for young people of refugee and migrant backgrounds (Carlton, 2015; Correa-Velez et

al., 2015). Furthermore, having lived experience of many of the difficulties faced by the young people in the ICF program meant the mentors could offer appropriate and specific assistance and advice. This research supports the literature by showing that although targeted programs for refugee and migrant groups are highly beneficial, dominant group members should be encouraged to be socially inclusive, particularly in socio-political discourses, if they are to avoid marginalizing and segregating migrant and refugee groups (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2015; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; de Anstiss et al., 2018).

4.2.2 Theoretical Implications

Social Capital

The literature on leadership as a means to social capital generation for refugee and migrant groups has been supported by this study's findings (Bourdieu, 1986; Pittaway et al., 2016). The study also offers new insights into leadership amongst young people, demonstrating they have the requisite intercultural competence to excel at the bridge-building aspects of leadership. Intergenerational strain has been identified as a potential barrier to young people taking on leadership positions within their communities. Given the importance of community cohesion in the context of leadership and social capital, this issue must be addressed.

Interculturalism

This study also supports the literature around interculturalism, and offers further insights into intercultural experiences amongst young people. The results demonstrate that competence and ease in intercultural interaction – which tends to be more prevalent amongst CALD individuals and communities, especially young people within those communities – is of significant benefit in the construction and maintenance of social capital. These findings

particularly relate to Harris' research, which highlights young people's sophisticated means of navigating cultural difference and bicultural identity to generate a sense of belonging in difference (A. Harris, 2015).

Integration

The results show how social capital can assist refugee and migrant groups overcome barriers to integration that arise from inadequate outreach and service provision by the host nation. For example, leaders of ethnic groups were characterized as generating linking capital through their negotiation of service provision, advocating for their communities and assisting community members to have their needs met despite inadequate or culturally incompetent structures. This study has highlighted a number of ways in which Australian society is failing to meet the standard for two-way integration, as set out by Ager and Strang (Ager & Strang, 2008). The lack of social capital experienced by the young people was reported to limit attendance at ICF events almost exclusively to ethnic communities, which means that bridging capital to wider society was not generated by these events. Bridging capital with dominant groups is fundamental to integration, as it increases trust and mutual understanding between groups and offers ethnic communities' legitimacy within the host society, increasing their access to resources and opportunities otherwise unavailable to them (de Anstiss et al., 2018; Li, 2004; Pittaway et al., 2016).

4.3 Conclusion

Diverse young people are known to possess fluency and sophistication in intercultural interaction, which the current research has shown to be of great benefit to them in breaking cultural barriers and constructing social bridges. The increased confidence associated with the

program was said to greatly increase young people's capacity for leadership in social capital generation, highlighting the need for safe, supportive and inclusive environments and communities.

In this thesis, the interplay of processes related to social capital, integration and interculturalism have been explored in order to demonstrate how those marginalised by dominant groups are unable to access the resources which would allow them to succeed as integrated members of host nations. Although the generation of social capital for marginalised groups is an attractive option in terms of service provision, the current research supports the already established literature, which shows that members of higher status groups tend to avoid such unions, withholding their social status and resources (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; de Anstiss et al., 2018; Li, 2004; Uslaner, 2009). Segregation of this nature is maintained by socio-political discourses that frame refugee and migrant communities as a threat or an imposition (Correa-Velez et al., 2015; de Anstiss et al., 2018; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Without addressing these broader issues, the generation of social capital through leadership programs remains a useful but only partial solution to the difficulties facing migrant and refugee communities in resettlement.

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Appendix 1. Interview questions

1. Tell me a bit about your involvement in the program – for example, how did you come to be involved, what have you done as part of your role in the program?
2. What is your understanding about the aims of the program?
3. What do you think are the key issues facing young migrants and refugee young people in relation to resettlement?
4. How have you found the program?
 - i. For example (ask later on after they have responded a bit)
 - ii. do you think the program has been effective (with regards to the aims)
 - iii. Have you seen the program benefit the participants in any particular ways?
Examples?
 - a. IF NEED TO PROMPT (ie if participant doesn't bring it up themselves)
 - b. Do you think the program has made a difference in relation to:
 - c. Mental health
 - d. Intergenerational issues
 - e. Helping to form connections (particularly across cultural divides)
 - f.and if so, how?
5. How have you found the mentor aspect of the program?

Do you think the mentor aspect of the program has been effective?

What difference do you think it has made (if any) in the lives of the young people?

- a. IF NEED TO PROMPT (ie if participant doesn't bring it up themselves)
- b. Do you think the program has made a difference in relation to:
 - Mental health
 - Intergenerational issues

- Helping to form connections (particularly across cultural divides)
 - ...and if so, how?
 - c. Do you feel that you have been able to offer your participant any particular social resources, connections or opportunities?
6. What could be improved for the next round in general?
 7. What could be improved for the next round in relation to the mentor component?