Lost in Transition: The Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuäär Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience

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Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

I, Bichok Wan Kot, declare that the PhD thesis entitled ‘Lost in Transition: The Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuäär Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience’ is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature  Date: 5th June 2018.

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List of Abbreviations

MP	Male participant
FP	Female participant
MFG	Men's focus group
WFG	Women's focus group
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
CCDW	Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SHP	Special Humanitarian Programme
SERMRC	South East Region Migrant Resource Centre
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
Centrelink	The national welfare services agency, Department of Human Services, Australian Government.

Abstract

This study examines transitional patterns of family relationships in new cultural settings by focusing on the choices and challenges confronting a little known and vulnerable migrant group, the Nuäär of South Sudan and Ethiopia. It explores how the concepts of gender identification and gender roles, especially men's roles, have changed within Nuäär families as a result of migration and resettlement experiences.

The study uses a qualitative research strategy by applying a constructivist theoretical framework, which emphasises how knowledge is constructed through human experience and interaction. It also applies an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates perspectives from sociology, psychology, and refugee and forced migration studies to identify gaps in the literature and contribute new knowledge to understanding and debates about the Nuäär in particular and the migrant experience in general.

The methods employed to collect data included focus groups, participant observation, semi-structured interviews and document analysis. A total of 44 men and women ranging in age from 18 to 65 years participated in semi-structured interviews or focus group discussions between April and December 2014. Participant observations and home visits were also conducted to gain insight into how men, women and family groups interact and cope with adapting to their new environment, and the impacts of this on gender roles and practices. The data was analysed and interpreted intensively using constructivist grounded theory to show how Nuäär men and women experience and cope with the challenges of changing gender roles in a new country and social environment.

The thesis attempts to capture the dynamic and diverse nature of Australian Nuäär experiences during this community's periods of displacement, transition, refugee life and resettlement in Australia. The findings reveal profound ongoing changes in Nuäär cultural traditions and particularly in the renegotiation of how masculinities are defined and experienced through resettlement, which creates many problems within Nuäär

families. The research also shows the ways in which Nuäär men have been struggling with loss of the traditional status conferred by manhood, and their resistance to seeing their partners and their children depart from traditional Nuäär culture despite the transformations brought about by resettlement. The thesis also explores the significance of coping strategies used by Nuäär migrants in dealing with these resettlement challenges and the renegotiation of gender roles that this involves.

Acknowledgments

My journey through this PhD study would not have been possible without the support of mentors and my community. Though this thesis is a culmination of my own efforts, I would like to express my appreciation and acknowledgement of those who have contributed to this research through the course of its development.

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I appreciate the professional editing job on my final draft by Lee Miller of Editmode to ensure that my English complied with Victoria University guidelines.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

In academic life, social research is one of the most difficult tasks to undertake. To research and study the experiences of a new group that is integrating into a new culture and environment requires careful thinking and strong determination. This is all the more demanding when the researcher is himself or herself a member of the community undergoing these changes. This study was motivated and influenced by my experience and interactions with my own Nuäär (also commonly spelled Nuer) resettlement community in Melbourne, Australia. These interactions include my work as an interpreter in the Nuäär language dealing with various service providers such as the police, the courts, health agencies, education services, Vic Roads and family dispute mediators, and also my community participation as a Nuäär community leader in Melbourne.

The difficulties and challenges the Nuäär people face in adopting a new life - especially the way they are coping with the impact of changes in gender relations and gender roles, the behaviour of young people in the integration process, and how they understand and address these challenges - were the main issues that originally sparked my interest. As a former refugee who went through similar experiences created by war and instability in my home country of Ethiopia, which deprived me and others of easy access to opportunities for enhancing one's life, I was directly touched by these challenges and this motivated my interest in exploring these experiences through formal research.

My interest was also shaped by my prior study experience. This experience included my Master's degree course at RMIT University, where in 2010 I took the Research Strategies and Research Methods unit under Dr Sullen Murray, who has written on family violence. In this unit I gained interesting insights about how to undertake social research by beginning with a viable proposal. As part of the assessment for this subject I had to think carefully about choosing a research topic and writing a proposal. Coming up with a viable research topic is a really challenging task for many researchers. Often the first research decision is to determine what you want to study. You have to figure

out which issues, uncertainties, dilemmas, or paradoxes intrigue you (Bryman 2015). Your passion for your chosen topic will be a motivating factor throughout the various aspects of the research process, some of which are likely to be more intrinsically interesting than others.

The first thing that came to my mind was the challenges facing newly arrived communities and the issues they face through integration into the mainstream of Australian society. These challenges have always been in the forefront of my thinking about how life would unfold in the context of the difficult circumstances facing my community here in Australia. So I decided to do research specifically on the challenges facing African immigrant families as they integrate into their new Australian environment.

When I started to think about how to do it, I realised that the African experience of resettlement is both huge and complex, and that it would be better to consolidate my ideas and come up with a specific concrete topic, which would be easier to study. So to make it even more specific I narrowed my focus to look into the challenges facing my own community, the Nuäär, by exploring the impact of changes in gender roles within Nuäär families as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia. I also became interested in the Nuäär as they were the subjects of an important case study in the history of anthropology. They are well known because of the work of Evans-Pritchard, the first anthropologist to work in Africa using the now well-accepted research methods of long fieldwork and participant observation (Evans-Pritchard 1940a). His research provides in-depth ethnographic knowledge about the Nuäär in relation to identity formation, kinship and family life, including gender roles within the traditional Nuäär family.

Getting a supervisor for higher degree by research is not easy. It is the difficult first step in pursuing a research degree. I was lucky to get Professor Grossman and Dr Oke to supervise me in my research. They are enthusiastic about motivating and promoting

new research students, and in particular students from backgrounds similar to mine. With their support, I managed to develop a good proposal and successfully defended it before the panel that approved my PhD candidature on 24th May 2013.

During the candidature presentation, the panel made a few suggestions to help strengthen the way I was approaching my research. This allowed me to reframe the research topic to focus more explicitly on gender transitions brought on by the resettlement experience, and in particular on how men perceive these changes. I wanted to look in depth into questions such as: 'What does it mean to be a Nuäär 'man', 'husband', 'father' or 'lover'? What does it mean to be a Nuäär 'woman', 'wife', 'daughter' or 'mother in law'? What does it mean to be a Nuäär child in a changing family context? What changes in gender roles and in marriage and family formation have Nuäär families experienced since their arrival in Australia? In particular, how do men feel about these changes and what is their impact on Nuäär concepts and experiences of masculinity or manhood? And how can these changes be explained?

My focus in this thesis is therefore to investigate the challenges confronting Nuäär households, especially looking at the experiences and interests of Nuäär men as a result of the changes they have experienced in gender roles and gender identification as a result of adopting a new life in a new socio-cultural environment. My particular focus on Nuäär men is important because traditional understandings of Nuäär masculinities are undergoing profound change as a result of the resettlement process, and this is arguably creating many problems within Nuäär families. My research shows that despite these transformations many Nuäär men and some Nuäär women do not want to see their partners and their children depart from their traditional culture.

I have taken a qualitative, multi-disciplinary approach to framing and designing this research, drawing on sociology, gender studies, ethnography and migration studies. My choice in doing so is based on the need to elucidate and provide a comprehensive understanding of these experiences for the wider society, and also to inform policy makers with a view to improving service provision to the Nuäär in Australia. This

research question has not been explored by anyone before in Australia in relation to the Nuäär. The thesis attempts to capture the fluid and diverse nature of the experiences the Nuäär have shared during periods of displacement, transition, refugee life and resettlement in a new country. My study used qualitative methods of data collection by recruiting as participants Nuäär men and women aged 18 years and above to participate in semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

As stated above, the primary aim of this research project is to provide evidence based knowledge and insight on aspects of the Nuäär migrant experience and to understand the changes in gender roles within Nuäär families as a result of resettlement in Australia. It investigates the impact of these changes on Nuäär men and women, and their relationship to broader considerations of gender roles in transition.

To begin this discussion, in this chapter, I present the background of the study, which briefly describes the group and the nature of the problems they face in the resettlement process. I discuss how this thesis aligns with gender and migration studies by pointing out gaps in the understanding of transition in gender and masculinity in migrant and refugee contexts. I also show the potential contribution of this thesis to advancing knowledge of refugee settlement studies for the practice of policy makers working in the area of refugee resettlement programmes. Below, I offer an overview of the structure of the thesis and a summary of the context for discussion in each chapter.

Background on the Nuäär Community

The Nuäär are an ethno-linguistic group originating and still living in the overlapping border region of two countries in eastern Africa, South Sudan and Ethiopia. In South Sudan, the Nuäär population is estimated to be about one and half million (Gatkuoth 2010). In the 2007 national census in Ethiopia, the total Gambella Region population was 307,000, of which ethnic Nuäär were estimated to comprise 46.65% (Borchgrevink 2009), making them the largest ethnic community at the regional level (Feyissa 2011). In Ethiopia the Nuäär live on both sides of the Baro River and in the surrounding

swamplands. In South Sudan the Nuäär comprise the second largest ethno-linguistic community (Holtzman, 2008) after the Dinka. They live in the swamps and open savannah stretching out on both sides of the Nile south of its junction with Sobat and Bahr el-Gazal, and they also occupy both banks of these two tributaries. The Nuäär lands border the territories of such tribes as the Dinka, Shilluk, Anyuak, Opoo or Chay, and other small tribes. Culturally, the Nuäär are similar to the Dinka tribe; together these two tribes form a subdivision of the Nilotic group, which belongs to East African culture. They speak the Nuäär dialect or language in both Ethiopia and South Sudan (Evans-Pritchard 1940a).

Following the conflict in Sudan that began in 1983 and displaced many people from what is now (since 2011) South Sudan, the Nuäär, along with other groups from South Sudan, took refuge in neighbouring states like Ethiopia, living alongside the Ethiopian Nuäär. In 1991, as a result of regime change in Ethiopia, both South Sudanese and Ethiopian Nuäär were displaced again and some of them took refuge in Kenya and Uganda. Since 1984, with the support of humanitarian agencies, many Nuäär refugees have migrated to western countries, including Australia where the first arrivals were resettled in Melbourne. Though the exact number of Nuäär currently living in Australia is not known with any precision because data specifically on Nuäär migrants is not collected statistically in Australia, recent estimates suggest that there are about 1225 Nuäär speakers in Australia, settled in Melbourne, Ballarat, Colac, Adelaide, Perth and Sydney (Refugee Council of Australia 2014). However, the numbers have been reportedly increasing and, anecdotally, community participants in this research study estimate the current number to be around 4000 nationally.

The Nuäär who resettled in Australia have been facing various challenges. These challenges include problems in gaining housing and accommodation, learning the English language, learning to drive and obtaining driving licences, lack of education, lack of employment and, importantly, unanticipated changes in gender roles. As a result of these dynamics, the roles of Nuäär men as breadwinners, providers, heads of household, protectors and final decision makers have changed. These role changes

have threatened many Nuäär men's sense of masculinity and identity and have sometimes caused family tensions between men and women, and between parents and children. The objective of this research is to investigate the nature and extent of the impact of these experiences specifically for Nuäär men to see whether and how this has changed their understanding of Nuäär masculinity. The research also aims to suggest possible solutions to the challenges that arise from this, and areas needing future investigation.

Context of Migration and Resettlement in Australia

Australian migration and resettlement history since the Second World War has been largely shaped for many years by perceptions of Australia's need to build a strong labour force, develop its manufacturing and industrial sector and boost the general population (De Maio et al. 2014). This migration policy, driven largely by economic needs, has continued to shape the Australian migrant flow over several decades. In modern times, migration to other lands has been motivated for those seeking to relocate for a vast array of reasons, including seeking wealth and opportunity, freedom from persecution, escaping violence or natural disasters, discovering and expanding territories, pursuing adventures, resettling of refugees and reuniting family and friends.

Long before British colonists' arrival on Australian shores in the 18th century, the first people to populate the country were the Aboriginal people, who arrived in what is now Australia at least 60,000 years ago (Vrachnas et al. 2011). The first migrants to Australia from Europe were mainly convicts and colonisers from Great Britain, as well as significant but small numbers of non-Europeans, particularly the Chinese (Jupp 2001). Chinese people were originally brought to Australia to meet labour shortages in the economy's growing agricultural sector under what was called the 'credit ticket system', a form of immigration in which the brokers advanced the cost of the passage to workers and retained control over their service until they repaid their debts (Vrachnas et al. 2011). These economic principles informing early Australian migration policy continued to expand. During the Australian Gold Rush, beginning in 1851, both the

Chinese and other groups of non-Europeans came to Australia as gold fever continued to grow. In Australia's north, and particularly in Queensland, a relatively small number of Pacific Islanders were also imported under the 'blackbirding' system of forced cheap labour. These Islanders remained subservient employees (Vrachnas et al. 2011). Elsewhere Japanese pearl divers migrated to north-western Australia, especially around Broome, to participate in the pearling industry there. Other migrants followed from the Middle East, including Lebanese, Afghans and Indians and many others from Asian countries throughout the 19th century, but European post-convict 'free' settlers, primarily from Great Britain, remained dominant during this early wave of migration.

From 1920 to 1940, and again between 1947 and 1953, Australia accepted migrants and refugees from Eastern and Central European countries who were fleeing persecution by dictators and authoritarian communist regimes in that region. The Balkan states as well as Greece and Italy contributed large waves of migrants as part of Australian efforts to rebuild the country and economy, particularly through ambitious national road, water and other infrastructure projects, during the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s, a significant number of Vietnamese 'boat people' arrived as humanitarian refugees as a result of the conflicts and displacements following the Vietnam War, settling primarily in Melbourne and Sydney. This was followed by further waves of migrants and refugees from Latin America and Eastern Europe in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of political and military turmoil and the fall of the Soviet Union (Jupp 2001; Phillips 2015).

However, for decades Australian migration and resettlement was based on a restrictive immigration policy known as the 'White Australia' policy (1901-1975) which implemented racial discrimination against non-whites (Murray & Skull 2005). This policy was based on the argument that 'people migrating in large numbers who look different may contaminate the white population and culture and undermine the commonwealth political system' (Bottomley 1992; Vrachnas et al. 2011). The White Australia policy was initially directed at Chinese who were seen as undermining the wages and work

entitlements of white Australian workers, but it was later extended to exclude other racial and ethnic groups.

Along with this policy came the concept of assimilation, which required migrants to disown their country of birth and native language in order to become Australian nationals (Jayasuriya, Walker & Gothard 2003; Sharifian & Musgrave 2013). This generated considerable discrimination against both non-white and non-English speakers. The White Australia policy was officially abandoned in 1975 and the government replaced it with the policy framework of multiculturalism, which embraces multicultural practices and intercultural acceptance across Australian society (Boese & Phillips 2011). As a result of this policy shift, more resources were dedicated toward welfare for migrants and support for ethnic groups, and the government began to address settlement challenges with programs to assist migrants and refugees to resettle more easily in Australia.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, a significant number of humanitarian refugees began arriving from African and Middle Eastern countries as a result of the civil wars and political change that continue until today in these regions (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007). Amongst the many ethno-cultural and ethno-linguistic communities that have resettled in Australia for these reasons are the Nuäär of Sudan and Ethiopia. The main factors for the recent African and Middle Eastern wave of migration are political unrest and conflict in various countries, which have resulted in persecution and gross human rights abuses against civilians. The forced migration out of these conflict zones has in turn resulted in mass internal and external displacement, which continues to be a global problem for the international community and agencies such as the United Nations.

Australia has been one of those countries that try to resolve refugee crises by providing a protection and resettlement program under United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) initiatives. The Australian immigration policy on assisting refugees and asylum seekers has two parts. The first part is accepting new arrivals under the Humanitarian Program, which targets refugees and people who have faced serious

human rights abuses (Phillips 2015). It comprises an offshore resettlement program, which assists those with humanitarian needs for whom resettlement in another country is the only option. The second part is accepting new arrivals under the Special Humanitarian Program. The eligibility criteria for this visa mean that the 'person must be outside Australia, must have been identified as a refugee or person subject to persecution and cannot go back to his home country' (Department of Immigration & Citizenship 2011). Applicants overseas seeking humanitarian resettlement in Australia are considered after they are individually identified as genuine refugees and have met the criteria needed for resettlement according to the UNHCR. Many people from Africa and other parts of the world came to Australia on such visas. The average annual refugee intake by Australia under this scheme has been continuously adjusted according to Government policies in responding to refugees and humanitarian needs. However, from 2001 to 2005, a period when many Nuäär came to Australia, the annual humanitarian intake fluctuated between12,000 - 13,000 (Castles, Vasta & Ozkul 2012), and since 2010 it has remained around 13,750 (Phillips 2015, Department of Home Affairs 2017).

Besides the Special Humanitarian Program, Australia has also implemented a highly controversial and widely criticised offshore detention policy for those who arrive by boat seeking political or religious asylum. This policy was introduced in 1992 in accordance with Australia's Migration Act (1958) that requires all unlawful non-citizens to be detained regardless of the circumstances under which they arrived until they are granted a visa or leave the country, and it has been maintained by successive governments (Fleay & Briskman 2013). This policy characterises asylum seekers, especially those arriving by boat, as seeking to enter the country illegally. Many countries around the world do have a policy of detention for asylum seekers, but the Australian policy of mandatory indefinite detention has been seen as unique because of its psychological and physical impact on individuals and families, including children (Phillips & Spinks 2013; Silove, Austin & Steel 2007).

Research suggests that the mental health effects of either onshore or offshore detention may be prolonged and extend well beyond the point of release into the community (Murray & Skull 2005; Phillips & Spinks 2013; Steel et al. 2004). However, human rights advocacy NGOs and the UNHCR have been working hard to end Australia's detention policies, especially for children, and have urged the government of Australia to forge an alternative way that meets accepted humanitarian standards while addressing the problem of asylum seekers arriving by boat. However, the Nuäär group is not affected by this policy as such because they arrived through the UNHCR's Special Humanitarian Programme (SHP).

As the Nuäär arrived in Australia, they were faced with multiple challenges and the difficulties of learning about and adapting to a new environment and new social realities. The traditional concepts of Nuäär family life, including the relationship between wife, husband and children started to undergo significant transitions that posed challenges for both men and women. These challenges are discussed in detail later in this thesis.

Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of ten chapters. Each chapter explains and discusses themes identified in the data and provides analysis.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to this thesis. My informants in this study are Nuäär who have resettled in Australia and have lived in Australia for not less than six months. In Chapter 1 I have framed the research question and discussed thoroughly how this research came about and how it came to be logically organised to make a sound achievable research project for a PhD. Through my discussion I explain the factors that influenced my decision to pursue this study - my interest in exploring the challenges facing the Nuäär community in adopting a new life and in developing possible strategies that they may apply in the future to cope with their problems.

There is a particular focus on exploring the experiences and challenges that the participants of this group identify in response to the research questions on how gender

roles are changing as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia. This study used oral communication through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to create opportunities for Nuäär participants to narrate their stories and perspectives, which are relevant for exploring their family life experiences. Their views provide cultural knowledge about how migrant families, and especially men, experience these issues, and thus increase awareness and understanding among the host society. It is in this chapter that I also provide a brief background on the Nuäär, their migration to Australia and their settlement locations. The exact number of Nuäär in Australia is not known, but some of the research participants, based on their known settlement locations, estimated the number of Nuäär in Australia to be around 3500 – 4000. This estimate needs to be evidenced by further investigation.

So that my readers may better understand this group, in Chapter 2 I draw on the Nuäär ethnographic history previously detailed by classical anthropological scholars such as Edward Evans-Pritchard. I provide details from the research data of some of the important features and aspects that identify this group - their cultural traditions, their norms and values, and particularly the language they speak (Evans-Pritchard 1940a). This chapter also provides a broader discussion of the roles and duties that help to define the Nuäär man and the Nuäär woman, and looks at the ways they show respect to each other based on their gender and age. It also demonstrates the importance of Nuäär cultural values and the challenges that the Nuäär have been facing during the integration process with family life in a state of transition. These changes during the resettlement process have put men in a weaker position.

Chapter 3 discusses what has happened to the Nuäär, the issues, especially the civil wars, that caused disruption and their experiences in transit to resettlement. The war in South Sudan has had different stages and historically is one of the longest civil wars. It has been fought largely in the South Sudan, and on Nuäär land in particular, which has also destabilised the Nuäär in Western Ethiopia, making it the major factor in the forced migration of the Nuäär. Millions of people have been killed and millions more displaced both internally and to neighbouring countries (Johnson 2013; LeRiche & Arnold 2013).

This problem remains unresolved. There have been different dimensions to the conflict so that people are now being affected and displaced on an ethnic basis in that particular region. I specifically discuss the initial Nuäär experiences of gender transformation through this journey in the context of the views of participants. I also discuss other factors that contributed to the displacement of the Nuäär such as their pastoralist nomadic lifestyle that usually led to them moving during winter to new dry seasonal camps with their cattle for grazing and returning to their main villages when the rains start. The political instability disrupted their cultivation patterns which led to food shortages and poverty which in turn caused them to abandon their original settlement areas in the search for survival and a better life. These have all contributed to the displacement and forced migration of the Nuäär people.

By drawing on the views of participants and their stories of what they went through while living in asylum in different countries in Africa, I suggest that the changing nature of life in the refugee camps has contributed to the initial general transformation of Nuäär life. It is in this chapter that I further discuss the impact of their post-arrival experiences on Nuäär community members; how they started as a community in Australia and the challenges they have been facing in their initial resettlement. I emphasise that, as with most other immigrants, the Nuäär have faced challenges in the resettlement process relating to accommodation, employment, language and education, access to the legal system, to healthcare and to other services. Many of these challenges occurred immediately after arrival and were linked to their expectations of being in a new country. I argue that these challenges are linked to lack of information and the limited capabilities that refugees usually have when first arriving in Australia. These dynamics influenced the change and transformation of Nuäär culture, and this includes changes in gender roles.

In Chapter 4 I outline the concept of gender and gender roles theory. I put particular emphasis on Western theoretical frameworks of masculinity in contrast with the traditional Nuäär perception of masculinity. I draw on Connell's theory of how masculinity is constructed and the theoretical insights of others (Connell 2013, 2014b;

Lindsey 2015) to explain how this thesis contributes to knowledge in this area. I argue that in the context of research on the challenges arising from African migration, men's experiences were less explored (or not explored at all) and that this indicates a clear gap in the research on the challenges posed by changing gender roles through migration and resettlement.

In Chapter 5 I articulate how I conducted this research, outlining the research design, and the methods of data collection and analysis. By using a qualitative approach, I apply Charmaz's (2014) methodology of constructivist grounded theory as a research approach to attend to evidence and meanings generated by Nuäär community members themselves. This allows me to go further and uncover new knowledge and meanings to explain and generate themes. The reflexive use of grounded theory also allows me to position myself as a researcher with an explicit set of interests and biases.

In using semi-structured and focus group interviews, I interviewed a total of 44 men and women with ages ranging from 18 to 65 years. I also used participant observations and home visits to get insight into how my research participants' families interact and cope with adapting to their new environment and new gender roles in practice. The data collection took almost a year, from April to December 2014. The data was analysed and interpreted using the constant comparative method of grounded theory. In Chapter 5 I also discuss ethical considerations and some complications, particularly the impact of my role as an insider researcher. I further discuss the complexities posed by insider research, and the duty of care that is important for insider researcher relationships in the research process.

In Chapter 6 I discuss the dynamics of Nuäär family life, focusing on the impact of transitions in Nuäär family models and structures. I emphasise the importance of having family and note that family links contribute to the successful migration of this group to Australia. Many Nuäär came to Australia with the help of connections to family and friends. This chapter also discusses the issues of marriage, the dowry system and divorce. It becomes clear from the data that arranged and polygamous Nuäär

marriages are in decline, and the dowry system has changed from payment in kind (cattle) to money. I argue that the commitment to uphold the marriage union is also looser because of the influence of Western culture. In the Western marriage system, there is no dowry negotiation involving immediate and extended family, and Nuäär social life and interconnectedness has changed as a result. This is one of the factors that has created challenges for the Nuäär in Australia.

What follows in Chapter 7 is an extended examination of the changes first discussed in Chapter 6. In this chapter, I explore the impact of experiences of changing gender relationships and gender roles among the Nuäär in Australia. The Nuäär, like any other immigrants from Africa with refugee backgrounds, have been experiencing challenges in the process of transformation of gender relationships and adopting gender roles as a result of resettlement. In examining the data, it becomes apparent that the extent of the impact of changes in gender roles this group have been facing has affected Nuäär men in particular. Many of my informants (but men more than women) claim to have been affected more than women by changes in gender roles and family relationships in general, including performance of domestic chores, loss of social status and having the role of provider in the family. However, this change did not start in Australia: it has been a gradual process initially felt in displacement areas and in refugee camps in Africa. The data indicates that this transformation has been ongoing to the point that in Australia, Nuäär men are slowly becoming more willing to engage in domestic duties. Resistance to those changes lead to serious consequences, including family breakdown.

In Chapter 7 I also discuss other factors that have contributed to the changes in Nuäär gender roles, such as women's ability to access education and employment. I focus on men's threatened masculinities as a result of such access. I explore the impact of the assumption or the empowerment of women and disempowerment of men, including the implications and challenges the Nuäär people face in the process of integration. I argue that the Nuäär women and youth are quick to adopt the new ways of gender arrangement due to their better access to education and employment, while men show a poor attitude toward changes, although they also benefit from access to the same

opportunities. Unemployment causes some of the Nuäär men to lose their roles as family providers, and some participants blame the shifting gender roles in Nuäär family life. For many unemployed Nuäär men, this tends to create pressure on them as their status in the household slides away from their hierarchical and traditional authority in the family.

My informants, especially men, believe that Nuäär women are in a better position in the process of changing gender roles because of different supports made available to them by Australian service providers. Some men claim that they are neglected and have become victims of Australian gender arrangements, saying that the process of transformation undermines their manhood and limits or erodes their abilities and sense of masculinity. This is a view shared by some Nuäär women, who supported the concept that men are victims of change. However, most female participants in this research blame Nuäär men for resisting change and argued that men's resistance is because they want to maintain traditional Nuäär hierarchical gender domination.

In this chapter, I also touch upon parent-child relationships, which have been perceived as a problem by some Nuäär families. My participants did not favour the acquisition of certain attitudes, behaviours, and lifestyles their children are adopting because they see them as threats to Nuäär culture and traditional norms. The data reveals that in some of the Nuäär families where this occurs, it causes conflict and breakdown in family relationships. Nuäär married men want to be seen as heads of family regardless of who does what in the family. The consequences of all these complex situations involving changes in gender roles can thus become a factor in domestic violence in the Nuäär community.

This debate extends into Chapter 8, where I identify the resettlement challenges that result in men's frustration and contribute to family breakdowns. These challenges include the changes in gender roles and other difficulties of resettlement in Australia, such as the stresses of adapting to a new life in a new environment. I explore the extent of domestic violence in the Nuäär community and examine the causes and effects in the

Nuäär group. The causes of domestic violence are often associated with pre-resettlement trauma of forced migration and refugee experiences. The experiences of long periods spent in displaced persons' or refugee camps creates considerable stress, causing long term trauma to the Nuäär. There are also issues relating to post-settlement adjustment involving factors that enable smooth acculturation and integration into the host society, including proficiency in English, success in education, employability for economic independence, and an understanding of the legal and justice systems in Australia. The effects of these changes on men in particular results in a change of behaviour towards their partners, to which their responses to these problems appear to be aggressively applied, leading to family conflict. The changes in the wife-husband relationships and management of children in the new environment also contribute to such conflicts. In order to resolve these conflicts, women often turn to the police for help, seeking intervention.

However, in Nuäär culture when such problems occur members of the extended family intervene to resolve the problem. I critically examine the implications of authorities' interventions in domestic or family violence in the Nuäär community. The Nuäär men's views on such interventions are negative, as they perceive them to be always against their interests. They claim that they have little or no support in some of the resettlement challenges, for example when family conflicts are involved. My informants indicate that the authorities, through intervention, undermine the man's rights. However, it is important for Nuäär men, and especially fathers, to acknowledge that the differences in Australian culture affect the extent of the control the men have on their wives and daughters.

Chapter 9 further considers the coping strategies that Nuäär apply to post-resettlement gender challenges, both as individuals and collectively. These coping strategies identified in the data included: having an open dialogue in the household beween husbands and wives, parents and children; religious beliefs; social support; avoidance strategies and re-negotiation of gender relations and norms in order to align with the new society's expectations. I argue that negotiations are taking place regarding gender

norms. There is a significant shift in these norms, not so much because of conflict between couples but rather due to the gradual reduction of areas of conflict through the process of adapting to new social norms, as has happened in other migrant groups (Muñoz Boudet & Petesch 2013). The data reveals that there is a widespread tendency towards a greater acceptance of more equitable gender relations and modification of gender roles: almost all participants testified to these changes. Many also expressed that they want more cooperation and open discussions in the family: these are perceived to be effective coping strategies in the overall resettlement process.

Chapter 10 provides a final summary by bringing the data and debates of the previous chapters together to revisit the research question and its articulation. It summarises the extent of the impact of the changes in gender roles, how these affect Nuäär men, and the way these changes shape their thinking about their identity and traditional practices in their integration process. This chapter further discusses the prospects for readjustment and renegotiation by focusing on what a viable Nuäär community in Australia will look like when there is greater acceptance of changes in gender roles. It emphasises the role Nuäär men need to play to help them make this adjustment, and the role women need to play to help them achieve their goals around gender empowerment and equality, while still maintaining healthy and happy relationships with their men and within families as a whole.

Chapter 2 -The Nuäär People: Historical Background and Change

Introduction

In addressing my research question, I offer a brief description of the people who call themselves Naath or Nuäär, and identify their original geographical location before they came to Australia. I also provide an account of how the Nuäär define the Nuäär man, the Nuäär woman and the Nuäär child (son and daughter) in terms of their identity and discuss the way they are trying to negotiate a new form of identity as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia.

The chapter also touches on important cultural norms and traditions such as the transition from boyhood to manhood, and concludes with the respective roles men and women play in their homes.

My primary source is the data collected from the members of the Nuäär community in Australia. To complement this data-driven description and analysis my perspective is also informed by the historical and current literature on their broader cultural identity and transformation, mainly the anthropological work done on the Nuäär by various scholars (Evans-Pritchard 1940a; Evans-Pritchard 1951a; Feyissa 2011; Hutchinson 2001; Johnson 1981; Southall 1976). These studies provide detailed ethnographic description and analyses of the way of life and traditions of the Nuäär.

Who are the Nuäär or Naath?

Defining this group starts with controversy surrounding their name. What do they call themselves? How should their name be pronounced and written? How do they define themselves and their culture? The Nuäär, who call themselves ‘Naath’ in the plural, and ‘Ran’ in the singular, are an ethno-linguistic group in Africa. They comprise various groups such as Bul Nuäär, Jagei Nuäär, Leek Nuäär, Gawar Nuäär, Lou Nuäär and Jikany Nuäär. These major groups of Naath consider themselves as a single people

united for a long time by culture and language. Evans-Pritchard describes the Nuäär as a ‘tall, long-limbed, and narrow-headed people’ (Evans-Pritchard 1940a), while Stanley Hauerwas describes them as a ‘good and gentle people who have a strong sense of communal care for one another’ (Bouchard 1996).

The name ‘Naath’ is the original name used to identify this group and this is acknowledged by anthropologists such as Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard, for example, in his classic studies from the 1930s. Even those who have migrated to other parts of the world continue to identify themselves with that name. So the group in Australia, which is the subject of this research, identify their community as the Naath or Nuäär community and the members identify themselves as Nuäär. However in the wider world they are more commonly known as Nuer. The name ‘Nuer’ has been used throughout modern times, although it is not clear how or why the name shifted from Naath or Nuäär to the more widely used Nuer. The classical ethnographic scholars (Evans-Pritchard 1940b; Johnson 1981) identified this tribe as the Nuer which, according to Southall, was a name this group did not recognise but which Evans-Pritchard used because it was already hallowed by a century of use (Southall 1976). Southall wrote that ethnic groups around the world often become known in literature by names they do not themselves recognise. According to Southall the Dinka call them ‘Nuer’, just as the Nuer call the Dinka ‘Jaang’, while calling themselves ‘Naath’ or ‘Nuäär’ (Southall 1976). Southhall, however, has not provided a sufficient reason why the Dinka called the Naath/Nuäär ‘Nuer’. Instead, he explained why the Nuäär called the Dinka ‘Jaang’ as being obviously a cognate form of Jieng, which is what the Dinka called themselves. Jieng means ‘people’ in the Dinka language, just as Naath means ‘people’ in the Nuer language (Southall 1976). However, in the Nuer language ‘Jaang’ means servant or slave which is clearly different from the meaning of ‘Jieng’ in Dinka.

Some of the research participants thought that the name ‘Nuer’ had been wrongly applied to their ethnic group, perhaps because their people long ago were illiterate and when education came to their geographical areas through colonisation, people misspelt

the name of this cultural group. They assume that the influence was from Arabic, as explained by one of the research participants:

> I think there were lots of factors. I think the name was first written by an Arab or in Arabic, and this conflicted with Arabic or the Arabs found themselves in a conflict of interest or identity problem with the meaning. Because if they had written the name in Arabic it would be Nuäär, which means 'giver of light', and this would have intimidated them in so many ways. The Arabs might have changed to a word that suits their interests because there is a chance in Arabic grammar to change the word haa to yeh. They might have changed the word haa into yeh in Arabic to make the name Nuer, and when that is written it changes its meaning and loses the originality of the name Nuäär: it lost the true spelling; even the way of pronunciation was changed. I think from that point the English might have picked it up or copied the name and it remains Nuer as a name of this society which is not the real name of my people (MP8).

This participant also supported his claim that the real name is Nuäär by claiming that the name refers to their main food crop, sorghum. Sorghum is a tall plant grown by the Nuäär in Africa for food and as a cash crop, and it too is called 'Nuäär'.

Conversely this same participant also suggested that the real meaning of the more widely used term 'Nuer' is being in conflict or in trouble when you have done something bad. For example if you have mistakenly killed somebody, you have to stay far away from this person's extended family. You are not allowed to eat with them and only through necessity to drink with them because the relationship has been cut off. You should not come and meet these people unless through a cultural reconciliation, otherwise you would be accursed. The majority of the research participants agreed that this is what 'Nuer' means in the Nuäär language.

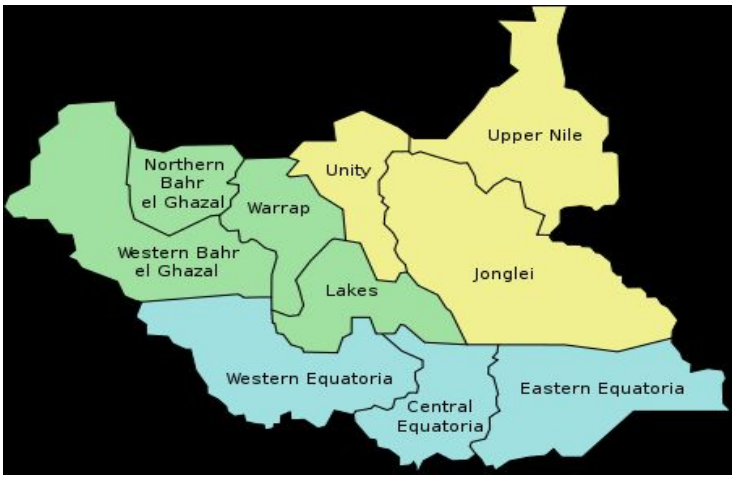
Likewise according to GatKuoth (2010) the word 'Nuer' is a taboo term used to prohibit or restrict a particular act when things have gone wrong within a clan. 'Nuer' indicates that people will die if they act wrongly again (Gatkuoth 2010). However, most of the

research participants in this group felt that, although the correct name of their tribe is Naath or Nuäär, using 'Nuer' has no negative effects since it has been in use for a long time. Despite this, for reasons of correctness and accuracy I am convinced that using the real name is the proper way which is why it is important to use 'Nuäär' or 'Naath' in this research.

Original Geographical Location of the Nuäär

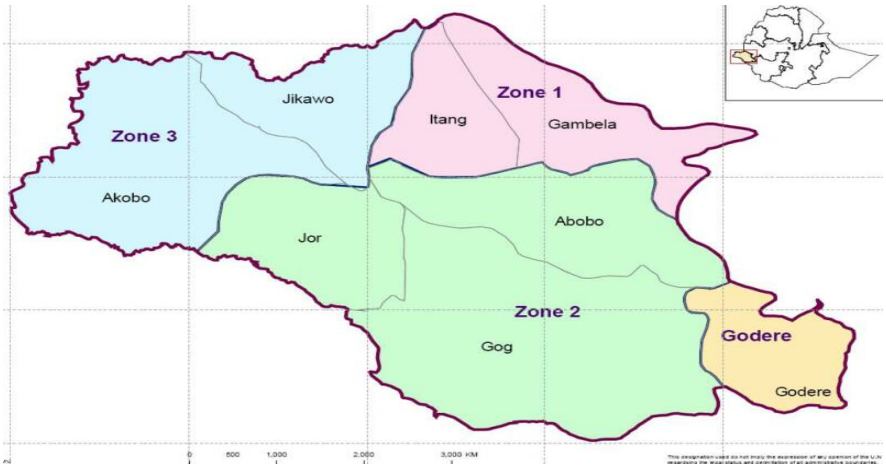
As stated in the introduction, the majority of Naath or Nuäär were originally located in the border region of two countries in Africa: South Sudan and Ethiopia. In South Sudan, the Nuäär are estimated to number about one and a half million people (Salman 2011) which makes them the second largest community in South Sudan (Holtzman, J 2008; Koltyk & Holtzman 2001). In Ethiopia, according to the 2007 Ethiopian national census, the Gambella Region's population was 306,916 of which the Nuäär was estimated to be 46.65% (Gebeyehu 2013; Hailemariam 2003), the largest ethnic community at the regional level (Feyissa 2011).

Figure 1: Nuäär Land in South Sudan (shown in yellow)



The Nuäär people are found in the Greater Upper Nile region (in yellow), which includes the states of Upper Nile, Jonglei and Unity. This region is also home to Shilluk and Murle people with a significant number of Dinka (Orville Boyd Jenkins 2018).

Figure 2: The Nuäär in the Gambella Region of Ethiopia



The blue area (Zone 3) is the Nuäär zone within Gambella, Ethiopia. The Nuäär are 46.66% of the population in the Gambella Region along with Anyuak 21.16% and Mezhenger 4%.
(Source: http://www.ocha-eth.org)

The Nuäär in both countries are pastoralists whose economic life is based on cattle and agricultural products. In South Sudan, Nuäär live in the swamps and open savannah that stretch on both sides of the Nile south of its junction with Sobat and Bahr el-Gazal, and on both banks of the two tributaries. In Ethiopia, Nuäär live on both sides of the Baro River and in its swamps. The Nuäär border such tribes as the Dinka, Shilluk, Anyuak, Opoo or Chay, and other small tribes.

Cultural Identity

The Nuäär are culturally similar to the Dinka tribe. Together they form a subdivision of the Nilotic group, which is part of the East African culture. The Nuäär are tall, brown people whose culture is constructed around cattle. The Nuäär are described as a good and gentle people 'who have a strong sense of communal care for one another' (Bouchard 1996).

Scholars of anthropology provide different perspectives for identifying the group known as the Nuäär. Evans-Pritchard's classic study, *The Nuer* (1940), defines the Nuäär (Naath) as based on patrilineal or agnatic descent, where the relationship reckoned through the father is emphasised as opposed to matrilineal descent where the relationship is reckoned through the mother. To Evans-Pritchard, the Nuäär are a Nilotic people who are divided into a number of tribal groups or clans, which are also divided into lineage, where a clan and lineage can cut across tribal and each others boundaries. According to him the Nuäär identity is largely based on kinship and family life, which includes gender roles within the tradition of the Nuäär family system. However, for the Nuäär who migrated to other parts of the world, including the group now in Australia, that segmentary system and identification based on territorial settlement are no longer relevant.

On the other hand, Dereje Feyissa provides a different perspective on Nuäär identity. He argues that the formation of Nuäär identity is based on a constructivist understanding of identity, as opposed to a primordialist concept. For Feyissa, Nuäär identity formation is based on performativity through structures and enactments of social and filial connection that make and remake social life, while the primordialist concept of identity naturalises and essentialises ethnic identity as a fixed concept understood as an extended form of kinship selection following the blood tie, which then generates particular social practices (Feyissa 2011). With this primordialist concept, identity is born, not made. According to Feyissa, the Lou tribes and the Dinka fall into this category. The social constructionist approach views ethnicity and nationhood as products of social process rather than culturally inherited They are made and remade rather than taken for granted, chosen depending on circumstances rather than ascribed through birth (Feyissa 2011). The Nuäär fall into this category.

When referring to a Nuäär identity based on constructivist theory, the ethnic identity is not ascribed but achieved, and being a Nuäär is based on cultural competence rather than on shared origins. What makes someone ‘Nuäär’ in their eyes is primarily how that

person behaves, their language skills, a love of cattle, community participation, co-residence and moral conformity. These are all central in ways that biological parentage is not (Hutchinson 2001).

The Nuäär believe that identity is made and achieved rather than set by blood ties. With this concept, the Nuäär ethnic make up has been transformed by incorporating others from different cultures into Nuäär and this also promotes integration and adoption of a new identity. The formation of Nuäär identity in Australia is not based on the traditional clan and lineage as emphasised in the Evans-Pritchard's classic study of the Nuäär. The Nuäär settlements in different locations in Australia, and their socialisation with different societies shape their reconstruction of their new identity. The constructivist approach better explains the Nuäär experience in Australia where through marriage they have absorbed members from different tribes and where they are adopting a new identity as a result of change. Those in Australia who identify themselves as Nuäär are connected by some cultural and traditional norms, especially the use of the same language, the food they eat and common cultural practices.

Here are some of the participant responses to the question of how they identify themselves and whether with one group or more:

> I identified myself first as Nuäär, secondly as a South Sudanese and thirdly as Australian. I fit in these three communities. I am a member of the South Sudanese community and I am also a member of Nuäär community by tribe; therefore I am identified with these two groups (MP7).

Among the participants some believe that their identity is only from being a Nuäär, culturally and traditionally. They identify themselves only with that group, as one participant explained:

> Yes, it is one group that I am identifying with and this group is known as 'Nuäär'. It is the group or tribe that I am from and culturally I am a part of, even though my wife is Dinka. But in Nuäär culture a woman follows or identifies with the culture of her husband, so my wife has to learn my culture and language, and do things

> according to Nuäär cultural way of life - marriage and other things, which are governed by the culture. And of course I am an Australian citizen (MP8).

Some hesitated to identify with one group but were forced to do so by the tribal divisions currently taking place in South Sudan. However, they acknowledge that their association with other cultures is important:

> Because of the tribal divisions in South Sudan, I am from the Nuäär tribe and I assume that is why you chose me as one of those people who would be identified because your research title appeared to be focusing on the Nuäär tribe. So, I am from the Nuäär tribe. However, I am more associated with a number of cultures within the South Sudanese tribes. So I speak a couple of languages and that really qualifies me and makes me confident enough to associate with a number of South Sudanese. Not only that I would even like to mention that I like mingling around with cultures and I think that it is something in me; that is an attitude I was born with (MP5).

The group strongly believes in Nuäär tradition and culture. They do recognise other inherited identities such as being South Sudanese and Australian, but they are very proud of being identified as Nuäär. They explained that cultural identity is the most important aspect in their lives, and losing that as a result of migration and resettlement could be considered as a loss of everything in life.

> My cultural identity is very important. I am a proud Nuäär and I am a proud African and I hang on to my cultural beliefs and my tradition. I can also say that I am very happy and blessed to be in country like Australia, which promotes diversity. I feel like my culture is being acknowledged here and I am allowed to practice whatever cultural values or norms I believe in. I am very happy with the way that things are at the moment (MP7).

The cultural identity in Nuäär tradition is very important, and my research participants strongly indicated that it should be maintained in Australia under any circumstances. The participants think that maintaining their culture and tradition will make them keep their identity and that being one community with strong ties to their country of origin will

help them as they strive for a better future. I think the Nuäär value highly the way they identify themselves and who they are, and this is very important to them. However this doesn't mean that they are excluding others or just seeing their own traditions and the things they have grown up with as more important than anybody else's, but it does mean that they find it very important to be a male Nuäär tribal man with responsibility for feeding the family and protecting them, to show leadership in what it means to be a Nuäär, to be respectful since that is a cultural value for the Nuäär, and to be democratic by making sure that people are treated equally. The values of Nuäär identity and culture can thus be said to be very important to them: no matter what they do, they are proud to be Nuäär. In this regard, one could repeat the point made earlier as to how much the Nuäär express the importance for them of their identity. However the data does show that the impact of resettlement has softened this strong feeling of identity, especially in men. This will be further explored in later chapters.

Nuäär Tradition and Culture

Language

The Nuäär speak the Nuäär dialect or language (Thok Naath) both in Ethiopia and in South Sudan. It sits within the East Sudanic language group of the Nilo-Saharan language family. A second Nilotic subdivision includes the Shilluk, Anyuak, Lango, Luo, Acholi and other tribes, who speak similar languages. The Nuäär language or 'Thok Naath' is one of the features that identify the Nuäär. It is one of the most widely spoken languages in eastern and central Africa and is written using a modified Latin alphabet. The first description of 'Thok Naath' was published in 1912 by Diedrich Westermann (Westermann 1912) based on work done at Doleib Hill Mission and elsewhere. Work on orthography, grammar and a dictionary was further developed by the missionaries. The written language has been taught at primary level in a few schools in South Sudan, and been further developed and taught in primary and high schools in Gambella, Ethiopia. But the majority of Nuäär, especially the women who have not been exposed to the written form, only use the Nuäär language orally. Of the group who have settled in Australia only some can write in Nuäär, although they speak it at home. The language

then is one of the most significant factors in identifying the Nuäär, and the group in Australia is no exception. The Nuäär language, along with other cultural values such as respect, is very important to them.

> My cultural identity is important because we have cultural values based on Nuäär tradition. In terms of language, we speak Nuäär, we respect each other and I am proud to be a Nuäär. There are other cultural groups from South Sudan with whom we sometimes share some cultural values, like Dinka, Shiiluk and so on (MP2).

These values are important aspects of Nuäär culture. As part of maintaining their cultural identity the group is trying hard to maintain their language in Australia by encouraging families to speak the Nuäär language at home. It is also being taught through churches. However the children who are growing up in Australia and socialising with the main Australian society seldom use the Nuäär language, even at home. This is a cause of some concern among the Nuäär in Australia.

Nuäär Customs

Showing respect to elderly and mature people is one of the cultural norms in Nuäär tradition, as it is in many other societies. There is a clear understanding of the roles and duties for each age group and sex within the Nuäär tradition and the respect due to and from each of these groupings. Respect here is disciplined interaction between different age groups and sexes within society. As such respect is a universal value, but the Nuäär place especial importance on this value.

> My culture, I think, is a culture which a person should be proud of because it is a culture that draws lines between elderly people, men according to their ages, women according to their ages even though with women it is not very visible and strong but still a woman, a younger woman behaves in a way that gives respect and acknowledges those of older generations (MP1).

The young in Nuäär society have to respect older people and that is one of the criteria used to judge if a particular young man is ready to get married or to play a role in community leadership.

Communal or collective responsibility is also an important aspect of Nuäär custom. Those who are mature can supervise children and those who are younger, and can even discipline them without seeking consent from the younger person's parents. It is always considered culturally appropriate to direct children in the right direction. This is a custom that is still maintained by the Nuäär who came as adults from Africa to Australia. However the impact of resettlement has put this norm under threat among the younger groups who have grown up with influence from the host culture in Australia.

> In the Nuäär culture, for example, if my child has done something wrong, someone from the Nuäär would take responsibility without asking my consent or my permission. That is the Nuäär way. This is what we have been missing (FP11).

The Nuäär in Australia and elsewhere (Koltyk & Holtzman 2001) strongly hold on to the cultural values, norms and customs which bind them together as a society and also connect them with other communities. They therefore attempt to maintain these traditions in order to help them identify who they are. In other words, they try to resist change in order to keep their traditions. For example, as some participants explained:

> The Nuäär culture is very important in terms of custom and tradition. We still value our traditions and customs as Nuäär; we are not yet influenced by the Australian culture (MP4).

However change is seen to be gradually taking place, especially among young people and women, although some community members who came to Australia as parents try to encourage others to maintain their identity. This is because some parents are not happy with changes that work to alter the Nuäär identity and they try hard to advise parents to control their children and encourage them to follow the cultural practices.

> Well, changing identity: I would advise members of the Nuäär not to change their identity. Because that is who they are and that is what they are, too: it should not be changed. Although they have been living together with other emerging communities, they should maintain their identity as a people as long as it is not endangering other people (FP8).

The Nuäär Man

According to Nuäär tradition the definition of a Nuäär man starts from how boys and girls are socialised during their development. From birth whether the child is a boy or a girl has significance for their role in the family. A boy makes his parents happy because they think he will be the future of the house and may in time replace his father as head of family. Similarly if the baby is a girl the family believes that they will get wealth in the form of dowries when she grows and gets married, so she is regarded as representing the future livelihood of the family. However to become a man in Nuäär tradition encompasses the transitional cultural rituals known as initiation (*gar* in Nuäär). According to the literature (Evans-Pritchard 1951b; Johnson 1981), in Nuäär tradition, when the boys reach the age of 14 - 16 years they will be initiated to become men. Those initiations take place when there is sufficient number of boys within the same age range in a village. However, although initiation occupies an important place in identifying a Nuäär man, there are other important criteria, such as speaking Nuäär and the ability to perform cultural activities as a Nuäär.

> For me to be a Nuäär man I must speak Nuäär, I have the marks that categorise a Nuäär man and I dance as a Nuäär when I go to events. I have connections with the Nuäär community. And these are the things that identify me as a Nuäär man (MP4).

The initiation is a cultural mark, ritually practiced, and it is very important sign that identifies a Nuäär man. Initiation is done through a very painful experience - six cuts by a sharp knife on the face. The initiates endure that pain simply because they fear the reaction of their society, the social audience, which can label them as fearful and unfit to

be men, and if this happens it may result in them being shunned by the community (Roach Anleu 2006). This labelling would hurt them for the rest of their life. The boy has to endure that pain to show that he is qualified to be a man who can do hard things. One can feel the difficulty of the experience from those who have passed through this initiation ceremony.

> The initiation is always done with a sharp knife, a very, very sharp knife. Six lines will always be lined up in the forefront, and that is desperation: you don't cry, you don't move, you don't show a sign of fear; if you do so it will be a complete shame not only to yourself but also to your family, your extended family, to your village and to the tribe as well. And again it gives you strength, that at a time of difficulty you don't cry like a woman or like a child, it completely moves you to a different world of men or being a man, because if you do cry, it would be shameful (MP6).

Initiation signifies the formal entrance of a young man into the lineage and clan of his father, whereby a permanent bond is established between the individual and the agnatic group collectively (Hutchinson 1990). However, the Nuäär culture here in Australia has changed. Previously back in the Nuäär homelands if you were not initiated as evidenced by the six cuts on your face you could not be a man, you could not shake hands with a lady, you could not even go to war. In the past if you were not initiated you could not be killed intentionally because you were still considered as not a man. You could not marry and you could not play with the initiated men. Even your age group members who were initiated could treat you like a child.

Failure to initiate a boy in Nuäär society is to completely deny that boy access to resources within Nuäär society. If it happens that he is not initiated (which is very rare) he does not get to drink with Nuäär men, and he cannot enter a relationship with girls because he will be automatically be classified as a woman. The idea is that fear of being initiated means fear of being cut on the face, and that denies access to any legitimacy that Nuäär men actually hold in society. It is a badge of honour that cannot be hidden, unlike, for example, initiation by circumcision as performed in other cultures.

If a non-initiated person joins a fight with initiated men and is killed, there will be no compensation given to his family because they believe that it is not a man that has been killed: 'It is just a woman'. The exception is if the death is the result of an accident. And there is no respect. When men gather together; the uninitiated will be the one to be sent to do all dirty work that is not supposed to be done by a Nuäär man. So there is pressure on all young men to get initiated because of all the privileges within Nuäär society that will come with initiation in this way.

The initiation of the young men takes place on a village by village level at specified time periods within each village in the Nuäär lands. All the youth who have been initiated at the same time belong to one age set, known as *ric* in the Nuäär language, and there is a four year gap between the batches of initiates (Gatkuoth 2010). During this interval no initiation may be undertaken. The most obvious impact of the *ric* is the way it affects duties and privileges, and these reflect the transition from boyhood to manhood. By virtue of the role of the *ric* within the structure of Nuäär society, every Nuäär male has a defined status of both seniority and equality towards every other Nuäär man. In this way it is like manhood rituals generally in Africa which are geared to preparing the man for his responsibilities to the community's past, present and future (Gordon & Gordon 1992; Mungai & Pease 2009).

Following initiation, the youth becomes a mature man and his responsibilities in and to the family increase. A man in Nuäär society is responsible not just to himself but also to his family and the wider community. A responsible man in Nuäär tradition demonstrates his responsibility across the various aspects of Nuäär manhood. He provides for his family and his relatives, he participates in ensuring the security of the community and he takes part in communal rituals.

The Nuäär traditionally are pastoralists and they have a nomadic lifestyle within which the men look after the domestic animals, the cattle, goats and sheep. The cattle occupy a very important place in the society by providing milk, meat, hides and even dung,

which is used for fire to create smoke around the cattle and chase flies away. Cattle are owned principally within the family but cattle have a role in defining young people's personal identities. As the initiates heal, each will be presented with an ox from which they select their 'ox-names' or personal identity based upon the external characteristics of that ox, which include the colour, the distribution of its markings, the shape of its horns and other particulars (Hutchinson 2001). Each of these particulars has a significant link to a broader membership of the collective identity.

Once a boy reaches adolescence, he is responsible for the safety of the cattle and other domestic animals, looking after them during grazing and at home. Sometimes he milks cows and makes sure that calves stay close to the adult herd.

The initiation marks and working with cattle are the strongest signs of a male Nuäär identity. However one impact of displacement to refugee camps is that the Nuäär have been unable to carry out this initiation through tribal markings because it was not possible in those places and cultures. The absence of both the practice of initiation and of cattle herding here in Australia significantly changes the meaning and perception of a Nuäär man's identity. But in their place of origin it is still being practiced although the incidence has reduced because many people have now been to school and many educated groups and individuals have influenced young people in Nuäär society to change to modern practices.

So this type of cultural practice has been changing, not only as a result of migration and resettlement but also under the influence of general change in their cultural practices and the impact of physical displacement that has disrupted their life style and hence their capacity to hold on to the traditional ways.

The Nuäär in Australia no longer practice this initiation because of cultural change in the Nuäär community, and because scarification of a child under 18 is illegal in Australia (The Summary Offences Amendment (Tattooing and Body Piercing) Act, 2008). For example, as part of my research I asked participants if this cultural mark is one of the

areas that have been changing or if in Australia a Nuäär man might still try to put the six marks on the face of a young Nuäär boy. In response one participant said:

> Well, this is very interesting question. I attended court with a family who were summoned to court over a dispute as to who would have custody of a child. The woman was accusing the man, saying that he wanted to take the child to initiate him and put the six marks on his face. The judge did not know what to do. He thought that it was true, that it is something could happen here in Australia, which is not true. The initiation is something which cannot take place in Australia or even in other parts of Africa: it no longer exists any more (MP5).

But it has not completely stopped. In some places in South Sudan and Ethiopia, especially in the countryside, it is still being practiced.

According to Nuäär social practice in South Sudan, where the initiation of boys into manhood still takes place, an initiated man runs the risk of speaking or acting inappropriately with another man if they do not know what age group the other man is from or the time or year of their initiation. This brings respect and honour between the classes in men's society, and this also makes the whole society live in a respectful way.

The Nuäär believe that the man should be the ruler of the home and his wife should unquestioningly act according to his will. A Nuäär man is somebody who cares for himself with dignity, takes part in community activities and supports the younger members of the family and community. There is an expectation that respect in the Nuäär community is mutual and is such that a Nuäär man has the right to give orders to women and children within the family and in the community. In return the Nuäär man would be expected to provide for the extended family and to risk his life for the community by fighting enemy tribes or wild animals. These obligations put the Nuäär man in a position of power and control.

However, these manhood responsibilities have been changing as a result of migration. In past decades, Nuäär have been migrating from their original communities in Africa for

a number of reasons which include instability in the Nuäär region and the global influence of modernity. This migration has forced the Nuäär to gradually make changes in their culture, especially in the gender roles. As a result of resettlement in Australia, men are no longer the sole providers for the family and extended family, and not even solely responsible for their security. Due to different circumstances (lack of proper employment, for instance), the only income for families may be social security from Centrelink (the national welfare agency of the Department of Human Services, Australian Government, which manages services to people in need of social security payments in Australia), and most of the time this is paid through the mother as she is always the carer. The reduction of men's responsibilities has threatened their authority in decision-making and gives women the opportunity to challenge the traditional Nuäär male roles and status.

The Nuäär Woman

In Nuäär society the social status of women is similar to that in many other undeveloped societies in that it is very much subordinate to that of men. Their status basically stems from their role within Nuäär family life. As gender studies indicate, women in almost every society have been marginalised and isolated from various social aspects of life, including being barred from political and economic power (Bwakali 2001). They are often culturally and socially deprived of their rights to equality and dignity, and are excluded from the decision-making process. However, in Nuäär society the place of women within the family is very important. As the data for this research indicates, Nuäär women occupy an important place within the community and are very eager to be identified as Nuäär women. According to Nuäär tradition, a Nuäär woman respects her husband and her extended family members, and cares not only for her own family but also her husband's *ric* or age group. These women are proud of this role:

> I am so proud to be a Nuäär woman. When we call ourselves Nuäär it's got a big meaning. For me to become a Nuäär woman there is such a lot of things that I have to follow which make me proud to be part of Nuäär. In Nuäär culture

> especially, Nuäär women respect their elders in the community, women or men, their uncles, and their husband's relatives (FP10).
>
> I am happy to be Nuäär and I love the Nuäär culture. The Nuäär have a very respectful culture where a woman has to respect her husband and the relatives of her husband and the age mates of her husband. I know the cultures of many tribes in Sudan but I found that the Nuäär culture is the most important and valuable. So I am happy to be considered as a Nuäär woman (FP9).

Respect is an important value in Nuäär tradition, and Nuäär women see being respectful as an important value that they identify with, and that has not changed much in Australia. However interaction with the host culture and the influences of Western civilisation with the insights of Western feminists and the concept of individual rights mean that the traditional way of showing respect has been transformed and this transformation has reduced the level of respect. Men's expectations are lower but they are still complaining about reduced respect (see below). Most of the men (seven out of ten) in this group indicated that their relationships with their wives had been affected as a result of this transformation. They argue that men are looked down on and no longer respected by women.

According to Nuäär culture, when a woman marries a Nuäär man she takes her husband's identity and thus inherits his status as a Nuäär within a particular Nuäär section. These women identify themselves as Nuäär women although among them are some who were not originally born within a Nuäär tribe. The research data indicates that some of the women who participated in this research identified themselves as Nuäär based on their husband's identity.

> I am now identified as Nuäär because my husband is a Nuäär man but I was born in a different tribe - Anyuak. According to Nilotic culture, a woman takes the cultural identity of her husband and that is why I am now identified as a Nuäär woman (FP13).

From the anthropological studies the Nuäär are known for their segmentary or sectional political system, where the sections inter-marry. When a woman marries a Nuäär man she will also take her husband's sectional identity.

> I am identified as a Nuäär woman, and I am proud to be Nuäär. Nuäär society has sections (*thuk dueli* in the Nuäär language). I was born in the Lou Nuäär section and married a Nuäär man from the Gajaak Nuäär section. Therefore I am now a Nuäär woman from Gajaak Nuäär. Being Nuäär women we have to follow the background culture we come from. And we have to follow the Nuäär community standards, because back home the Nuäär help each other and live together, like now if my husband is not here and I have difficulties I can go to neighbouring Nuäär to get help (FP12).

This might not be unique because that occurs in other societies but it is important in Nuäär tradition because it strengthens the confidence and sense of belonging of that particular individual within society.

Nuäär Traditional Family Model

For a long time the concept of family in the West has been based on the nuclear model which refers to the family in biological and structural terms as a relationship between a man and a woman, but nowadays that concept has been extended to include single parents and same sex relationships. All these are different from the Nuäär understanding of family. The Nuäär traditionally are polygamous, and because of this the way the Nuäär present their perspective of family and how they define the family is different from the generally understood meaning within modern culture. So the focus of this section is what family means to the Nuäär, both traditionally back home and nowadays in Australia, the family structure they have brought with them to Australia and the ways in which family is important for the Nuäär.

Concept of Family in Nuäär

Sociologists and anthropologists have long referred to the evolution of human society with the family, which has always been present, being regarded as the origin of social institutions (Claster & Blair 2013). The purpose of the family from earliest times is seen as mates caring for one another and for reproduction, to have children and to lead a family lifestyle (Spence 1946). Although it can be difficult to define what a family is across multiple cultures, simply put it is a social institution, which is at the very core of human society, and its persistence clearly indicates its certainty and importance for human existence (Claster & Blair 2013). It is something that is influenced by traditional and mythical concepts. As sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann observed, 'reality' is socially defined.

> The definitions are always embodied, that is, concrete individuals and groups of individuals serve as definers of reality. To understand the state of the socially-constructed universe at any given time, or its change over time, one must understand the social organization that permits the definers to do their defining. Put a little crudely, it is essential to keep pushing questions about the historically available conceptualizations of reality from the abstract 'What' to the sociologically concrete 'Says who' (Berger & Luckmann 1991).

Thus although the concept of family varies in a general sense it can be understood in terms of its social construction and diversity (Settles & Steinmetz 2013). Therefore, defining family in this transformed social world becomes very complex.

For a long time the family in Australia referred to a nuclear family model, which defined the family in biological and structural terms as two persons related by marriage (Zimmerman 1995) together with their biological or adopted children. Up to the 1970s families were typically headed by male breadwinners. However in recent decades this conventional definition of family has been challenged for being too simplistic and grossly inadequate because it either excludes other family forms or holds one family type as superior (Cowan & Hetherington 2002). Further, although the nuclear family with a breadwinning male at its head continues to have normative appeal, there are now many

other forms of Australian families that are accepted. This includes single person and same-sex partner families (Haney & Pollard 2014), with dual income earning and single parents as heads of household families.

The Nuäär community works with a radically older family model in which marriage serves to unite two extended families for the purpose of reproduction and to support the needs of the family members. Accordingly, the idea of family (*gɔl* in Nuäär) includes a wide kinship network, the couple's kin, comprising those persons who are genealogically connected whether through the father or the mother. The family is also often polygamous with Nuäär men able to marry several wives. In this model, the polygamous family is also divided into a number of separate domestic groups within the larger family. Each wife has her own house (*duel*) and her own cooking fire (*mac*); in other words, house and kitchen (Evans-Pritchard 1951a). For many Nuäär, the polygamous family continues to define Nuäär family life (Holtzman 2015) and the Nuäär family model is still part of contemporary Nuäär tradition. This has not yet changed among many Nuäär in the west, including those in Australia (Renzaho, A et al. 2011).

Nuäär Family Life

The Nuäär family structure and model is based on a patriarchal system where the man is the head of family and the ultimate decision-maker within the family, although women may strongly influence any decision. This understanding still exists and continues to influence the Nuäär concept of family structure, especially for men, but it has been in transition as a result of changes in the status of all Nuäär family members – although again it is especially the men who are affected. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of the family in Nuäär cultural norms is for reproduction, which starts with marriage and socialisation, and the family is made up of husband, wife, children and extended family from both sides of the marriage. Family members in Nuäär tradition live together, they share many things such as happiness and grief, and, as in many other communities the family is the basic unit of Nuäär society. It is this type of family and these values that the Nuäär brought with them to Australia.

In Nuäär family life, home is one of the important basic necessities, just as in any other society's life. The idea of a home in Nuäär tradition combines both men and women and all the households to which other kin may be attached. It consists of a byre, *luak* in Nuäär, and its attendant hut or huts (Evans-Pritchard 1951a). Evans-Pritchard described the byre as a massive wattle-and-daub structure built by the man of the family as a sleeping place for the cattle at night while in daytime it is the sitting place for men and used as the guest room of the homestead. The byre is the material and moral centre of the Nuäär homestead. The wife has her hut beside the byre and in a Nuäär polygamous family each wife has her own hut where she and her own children sleep. The head of family has no hut; he sleeps in the huts of his wives turn by turn. The presence of the man as head of family is very important even today. As one of the research participants explains, 'Without a man there is no home, and without a woman there is no home' (FP11). In issues relating to home and public affairs, as mentioned earlier, women are consulted less in the decision-making, but the Nuäär women manage the household activities and make most decisions about caring for children. In Nuäär society, the gender role is a central element of the Nuäär home. The Nuäär traditional home is established in an open area within the general grouping of the village. The small huts belonging to the women of that family surround the *luak* described above. The physical layout of the Nuäär family home reflects the Nuäär family relationships, defining the gender roles and relationships between husbands and wives as well as between parents and children (Evans-Pritchard 1951a).

Summary

This chapter described the Nuäär by summarising their ethnographic history as previously recorded by the classical anthropological scholars, Edward Evans-Pritchard and others. It used the research data to highlight some of the important features and aspects that identify this group and their cultural tradition, norms and values. The Nuäär culture is characterised by two or three important traditions. One is the language that they speak (*Thok Naath*), and a second is the tribal mark that men get on their faces to

identify them as men (Evans-Pritchard 1940b). These are a part of their culture that the Nuäär see as distinctive. The dancing too that the Nuäär perform when they celebrate at weddings and other social events is something that from a cultural perspective identifies them as Nuäär. The broader roles women and men have help define the Nuäär man and Nuäär woman, and this includes the way they show respect to each other according to gender and age (amongst other rules). These identifiers demonstrate the importance of Nuäär cultural values. However, most of these values have changed as a result of migration and settlement, and the change in the ways they interact between themselves clearly indicates that the Nuäär in Australia are no longer upholding the Nuäär traditional culture. The data also shows family life in transition and the changes arising from settling into the new culture of a new country have put men in a weaker position. The last part in this chapter looks at definitions of traditional and modern family ways of life and compares them to the Nuäär concept of family. It analyses the challenges Nuäär families are facing in the integration process. The family, originally formed for the purpose of reproduction and mutual support, has been expanded to include single and same sex families in its definition (Settles & Steinmetz 2013). The household roles in such a family have also changed, while the Nuäär family model is still traditional with its hierarchical structure.

Chapter 3 - Nuäär Displacement and Forced Migration: War, Flight and Migration to Australia

Introduction

This chapter has three parts. Part One discusses the factors that disrupted the settlement of the Nuäär in their country of origin and eventually forced them to move from place to place and to become refugees in other countries. It focuses on the following questions, which are very important in understanding the overall research question because they lead to unpacking the initial cause of the transition.

1. What are the causes of contemporary Nuäär displacement and forced migration, and how have these led to the resettlement of Nuäär communities in Australia?
2. What transformations in gender roles have occurred as a result of these experiences of displacement and resettlement?

To answer these questions I shall explore the journey of the Nuäär within the context of the wider South Sudanese-Australian diaspora, tracing their lives in the Nuäär homelands, followed by their experiences of forced migration, the refugee journey and resettlement in Australia.

In the course of this discussion, I shall make reference to previous research which shows that the Nuäär have been on the move throughout history due to their pastoralist habits and seasonal nomadic lifestyle in a semi-arid environment (Evans-Pritchard 1940b; Hutchinson 2000; Losoncz 2011). The Nuäär usually move with their cattle during winter to dry season camps for grazing and return to their main villages when the rains commence. The Nuäär depend on agricultural products and when these activities are disrupted food becomes scarce, and so their search for food for survival becomes a factor in forced migration.

I shall also look into other factors such as the search for a better life that have influenced the Nuäär people's migration from the country to the towns. This was not a possibility in Sudan but one that they were able to benefit from, relatively speaking, in Ethiopia. Many Nuäär entered refugee camps in Ethiopia to get humanitarian assistance including access to education, medication and the other social services provided by the UN at refugee camps or by the local government in Ethiopia.

The main factor which caused the displacement and forced migration of the Nuäär and other neighbouring peoples in South Sudan and Ethiopia was the civil war in Sudan and the various conflicts within the Southern guerrilla movements. The war between the Anyanya movements (Anyanya means dangerous snake in the Madi languag: Madi is a tribe in South Sudan) and the South Sudanese first separatist rebel army during the First Sudan Civil War (1955 – 1972), was named 'Anyanya I', followed by 'Anyanya II' and later the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/A) that fought during the Second Sudan Civil War (1983 – 2005). There were also attempts to mobilise the civil population to become involved in the armed confrontation between the warring parties which further devastated the Nuäär nation. Douglas Johnson in his analysis of the causes of the Sudan Civil War called the conflicts and the wars fought within Nuäär land 'the Nuäär Civil War' (Johnson 2003). He argued that the Nuäär people were badly affected by these conflicts and have been forced to become refugees.

So in discussing the factors that influenced the forced migration and displacement of the Nuäär, I shall analyse the context of the international refugee situation and the impact of the Sudan civil wars on the Nuäär. I shall also discuss the experiences of the Nuäär before their arrival in Australia and their resettlement experiences after they obtained entry visas. In this part I intend to show how the changes of place and time have created challenges for the traditional hierarchical system and the powers of Nuäär men.

In Part Two I focus on the humanitarian migration process to Australia and the establishment of the Nuäär community in Australia, looking at their settlement locations

and post-arrival experiences. Part Three covers the challenges around resettlement. These include issues relating to accommodation and access to services (education, health and social welfare) and the consequent impact on gender roles, particularly for men. I argue that the modern Australian social services system has empowered Nuäär women through their access to and use of these services and that this challenges the power relationships and hierarchical system of Nuäär tradition by changing the men's role within Nuäär families as the breadwinner.

Part One: The International Refugee Problem

The history of the 20th and 21st centuries has been largely dominated by the global movement and forced migration of peoples. People around the globe have been displaced and become refugees as the result of war, famine, political oppression and economic marginalisation. These issues have fuelled the displacement of refugees on an unprecedented scale across national and regional borders. The experience of the Nuäär can be located within this broader history of the global refugee problem.

International law defines a refugee as someone who flees their country because of the perceived threat of persecution based on their ethnic group, political views or religious beliefs (Loescher et al. 2008). This definition distinguishes refugees from economic migrants or those who leave their countries due to economic hardship to seek a better life elsewhere. However the economic and social problems are often linked to political problems and therefore those who are officially defined as 'refugees' may have other reasons for fleeing, which may include economic motivations for seeking asylum or resettlement in another country. The 1951 United Nations definition of refugees has been conventionally used when dealing with the concept of refugees.

However some scholars, including Arboleda (1991) and Gunning (1989), have argued that the definitions of provided by the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1957 Protocols relating to Status of Refugees have proven inadequate in dealing with problems in the 1967 Protocol and suggest that the concept

be broadened, a call which was supported at that time by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). This was to include individuals who are forced to leave their country of origin owing to aggression by another state which then causes forced exile (Gunning 1989). The concept was further developed to include environmental refugees from climate change and natural disasters, economic refugees in the context of the 2008 global economic crisis and, most recently, the refugees and migrants coming illegally by boat to Australia (Arboleda 1991). Nonetheless the definition used in this paper is that used in the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and made more universal under the 1967 Protocol (Seymour 2009), which states that a refugee is:

> A person who is outside of his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group or political opinion; and is unable to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution.

The definition is important in this study because all the participants and the target subject group of this study's research have been humanitarian entrants from South Sudan and Ethiopia, thus legally classified as refugees under UNHCR auspices. They must have satisfied this definition in order to obtain refugee status and to qualify for resettlement to Australia.

Although some evidence indicates that the number of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the 21st Century has shown a decrease in some parts of the world (Estes 2014), it is clear that the number has been increasing in other parts of the world due to wars, natural disasters and economic crises. According to the Refugee Council of Australia Report (Refugee Council of Australia 2016), the global trends of forced displacement and refugees reached a 19 year high in 2013 with the number of displaced persons having rocketed since 1994. The current refugee situation in the

Middle East and forced migration from North Africa to Europe has raised the number of refugees and displaced persons to an extreme level.

The international figures show that the past decade has seen a substantial global increase in refugees and Internally Displaced Persons, forcibly displaced by persecution, conflicts, generalised violence or human rights violations, bringing the total to 68.5 million by the end of 2017 (UNHCR 2017). Among these, 25.4 million were classified as refugees, of whom 19.9 million were refugees under UNHCR mandate, while another 40.0 million were displaced within the borders of their own countries (Internally Displaced Persons) and 3.1 million were asylum seekers in other countries.

Of these 25.4 million refugees more than two thirds (68 per cent) come from the most devastated countries - Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo), Myanmar and Sudan (including South Sudan) - and 54 per cent of these are hosted by nine countries including Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda. The displacement has hit a record high since the Second World War (Estes 2014). The massive displacement in Africa is caused by conflicts, violence and human rights abuses and it is likely to continue to affect many countries and communities in the continent in the years to come. For example, the scale of displacement, both internal and to neighbouring countries, caused by the upheaval within the Republic of South Sudan remains very high due to continued violence.

Conflict in Sudan: 1955 to the present

The Sudanese Civil War between the northern and southern regions started immediately before Sudanese independence in 1955 and has been the main cause of the displacement of Southerners, including the Nuäär. The war was a result of religious segregation, economic marginalisation and cultural domination by the Muslim North-dominated governments over the African Christian South. It is possibly the longest ongoing war in the continent of Africa and has taken a huge and terrible human toll (Deng 2001).

The northern Sudan population is generally Muslim and Arabic-speaking and their identity is inseparable from Islamic culture while the Southerners are more indigenously African in race, culture and religion, and their dialects and identities are more African with Christian influence and western orientation (Deng 2001). Deng argues that strict Islam was introduced after Sudanese independence in order to Arabise and Islamise the southern region by restricting the activities of Christians, but this exacerbated the problem and led the Southerners - armed men, politicians and students - to rebel and form Anyanya, a guerrilla movement, in 1962. Anyanya fought the First Sudanese Civil War which lasted 17 years, causing the deaths of more than half a million people and displacing many more internally and externally (Johnson 2003). This war ended with the Addis Ababa Agreement signed in 1972. This short-lived agreement granted regional autonomous status to the south. Southerners did not enjoy the intended results of this agreement because there was no development and no improvement in political, social and economic spheres for the south. That led to dissatisfaction among Southerners which in 1983 ignited the latest civil war.

The Southerners fought the Second Sudanese Civil War under the leadership of the SPLA. The South was the main theatre of war, especially the Nuäär land where the impact on the Nuäär people and their properties was unprecedented. Over two million people died, about five million people were displaced and half a million more have been forced to leave their country of origin and become refugees in neighbouring countries. Tens of thousands, most of them women and children, have been abducted and enslaved (Deng 2001).

The war continued until 2005 and ended with a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that led to a referendum from 9th – 15th January 2011, in which 99 percent of southerners voted for the independence of South Sudan from the north (LeRiche & Arnold 2013). Those voting included displaced people living in the north of Sudan and in other African countries as well as those who had migrated to the West (including to

Australia). As a result of the referendum South Sudan became an independent country on 9 July 2011 and the 193rd member of the United Nations on 14 July 2011.

Impact of the Conflict

The conflict in Sudan has displaced many people in South Sudan since 1983. The Nuäär tribe was one of the groups that was most severely affected, with many displaced and forced to engage in difficult journeys to survive as refugees. As Losoncz has pointed out, the Dinka and the Nuäär were the two largest tribes which, due to their leading roles in the fight against the North, comprise the majority of Sudanese in exile and are often the face of the South Sudanese diaspora around the world (Losoncz 2011).

The Nuäär, along with other people from South Sudan, took refuge in neighbouring states like Ethiopia, where they lived alongside the Ethiopian Nuäär. The journey to neighbouring countries was not pleasant but was a run for survival in which many, particularly women and children, lost their lives. Some young men were forced to be child soldiers. One participant, a minor at the time, describes this:

> I must admit that I was young enough to travel in a war situation. I think it took us about seven months to travel from Bentiu and then all the way to Nasir and from Nasir to Itang and spent a bit of time in Itang which was a refugee camp. From Itang to Pinyudo refugee camp it took quite a while; painful, starvation, lot of challenges, thirst where there was no water, different things, altogether a very, very painful journey (MP5).

In 1991, however, as a result of the fall of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, both South Sudanese and Ethiopian Nuäär were displaced again and some of them took refuge in Kenya and Uganda. The following narratives from participants in this study give an indication of the desperate flight undertaken by Nuäär refugees and their difficult journey between neighbouring countries.

> I came through Kenya, I lived in a refugee camp in Kenya, but before that I lived in Ethiopia and walked on foot to Kenya, a difficult journey (MP3).
>
> You would be aware of all the civil wars that happened in South Sudan. I was separated from my family in 1993 and then in 1994 I made my way and in 1995 I came to Ethiopia. I was in a refugee camp in Ethiopia from 1995 till the end of 2002 when I left for the first time for Australia (MP1).

Travelling between countries was illegal because these people had just run for their lives without proper documents and visas. For example, in going to Kenya the Nuäär normally went on foot through mountainous terrain in the border areas until they reached refugee camps in Walda, Dadaab and Kakuma. Sometimes on the way they were caught by Kenyan police and arrested and some were killed by the tribes along the border. It was the most difficult journey in their lives. However with the relatively peaceful environment that prevailed after the 1995 election in Ethiopia, life in the refugee camps became more settled, with greater safety and food security, while the situation in South Sudan remained unstable even though the war had stopped as a result of the peace agreement. There was no real improvement in their livelihood. There was poor access to services, no education, no food and no proper shelter. This situation led to further forced migration and made many Nuäär return to their previous refugee camps in Ethiopia.

Furthermore, although the refugees' situation improved a little during the period of the CPA (Comprehensive Peace Agreement) from 2005 until South Sudanese independence in 2011, there is now a new ongoing conflict being fought in Nuäär land which has again displaced the Nuäär and forced them to return in huge numbers to the refugee camps at Terkidi, Kole, Pinyudo, Dimma and Lietchuor in Ethiopia.

The cause of this new conflict was along ethnic lines. The South Sudanese government claimed there was a coup planned by a former Vice President, Dr Riek Machar, who is a

Nuäär by tribe. As a result the government army became angry and massacred thousands of Nuäär civilians in Juba from 15 -18 December 2013 (African Union 2015). However many believe the cause was a misunderstanding within the ruling party of SPLM. This conflict quickly spread to other parts of the country, mainly areas occupied by the Nuäär, causing more deaths and displacing more than a million people, the majority of whom are Nuäär. That caused many Nuäär to return to the refugee camps in the Gambella region of Ethiopia and also forced many more to seek shelter at UN protection bases inside South Sudan. According to the latest UNHCR records, before the 15th December 2015 conflict in South Sudan the number of refugees was 54,833 in both Itang and Pingyudo but this number has since risen to 236,950 South Sudanese, mostly Nuäär. Of those affected by the conflict in South Sudan 67 per cent are children (African Union Report 2016, Schweitzer et al. 2006).

Although the civil wars were the main factors in displacement and forced migration, they were not the only factors, as the nature of the Nuäär lifestyle also contributed. Traditionally the Nuäär people have been migrating pastoralists whose livelihood until recently involved seasonal migration from village to cattle camps. This changed in the 1980s when trade and migration to take work were added to the main livelihood strategies (Hutchinson 1990). The Nuäär settlements are affected by the weather patterns through the year. In the rainy season, floods force them to seek narrow strips of land above the flood lines. During this period the Nuäär women engage in the cultivation of millet and maize while the men pasture their large herds nearby. As Evans-Pritchard explained:

> Nuäär are forced into villages for protection against floods and mosquitoes and to engage in horticulture, and are forced out of villages into camps by drought and bareness of vegetation and to engage in fishing (Evans-Pritchard 1940a).

When the dry season comes, the Nuäär men move their herds away from elevated ridges and the Nuäär population is most dispersed at this time. The Nuäär live in separate cattle camps in their agnatic groups. In the dry season the cattle camp shelters

are made from local grass and men and women live in separate huts. The men sleep in wind shelters, the women in beehive huts (Evans-Pritchard 1940a).

The research participants acknowledged that in the 20th and 21st centuries the nature of this lifestyle made the Nuäär more vulnerable to displacement and inclined them to become refugees in neighbouring countries. Settlement in refugee camps is relatively stable and permanent compared to the Nuäär's nomadic lifestyle. Through this process, it is clear that some of the traditional family roles have been changing contemporaneously with changes in life in the traditional Nuäär homeland. Thus the civil war in South Sudan has brought significant change to the Nuäär family, and to gender roles within the household. How and why these changes developed will be discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

The Refugee Camp Experience

Most of the Nuäär community members who participated in this research were in refugee camps before coming to Australia. Many of them, especially the women and children, were in Itang, Pinyudo and Dimma refugee camps in Ethiopia. Later many Nuäär were forced to move to Kenya and lived in the Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps, while a few went to Uganda (Bishop 2011). Lack of communications hindered their efforts to locate surviving relatives and friends and many have spent years not knowing whether they were alive or not.

From the literature (Khawaja et al. 2008; Marlowe 2010; Peisker & Tilbury 2003) it is clear that the refugee experience is difficult. People are exposed to a number of highly distressing and life-threatening situations and are witnesses to serious violence, torture, sickness and death. Marlowe (2010) in particular, in his work on the South Sudanese diaspora in Australia, explores how men conceptualise and respond to trauma. Marlowe's work highlights the difficult situations refugees have experienced in their journey and in the camps, and argues that there is no one 'refugee experience' or

journey that encompasses the multitude of experiences and pathways that people traverse when forcibly displaced.

Life in refugee camps brought many challenges to Nuäär family life and to its gender structure and roles. The settings of these camps totally contradict the traditional setting of Nuäär villages where the lifestyle is characterised by seasonal movement. In the camps the lifestyle is fixed without seasonal movement. This will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7.

The temporary shelters in all of these camps are tents. However after a long stay people build huts with grass and mud although these structures are prone to collapse during the rainy season, putting the poor refugee back to square one (Losoncz 2011). In the dry season whirlwinds often hit the camps taking the refugees' belongings. In the Kakuma and Dadaab camps in Kenya, the temperature is never below the high thirties. At Kakuma the refugees clash with the surrounding Turkana tribe, while at Dadaab the South Sudanese clash with Somalis because they have no similarity either in culture or religion which might encourage them to live peaceably together. The type of dwelling in all these camps is similar. The whole household - husband, wife or wives and children - lives together in one room and eats together. This differs from the lifestyle in the Nuäär homelands, where the sexes live separately. There the husband sleeps in his own hut and has social activities with other men (Evans-Pritchard 1951a).

Again the proximity of men and women within one living space has meant sharing activities in the household, which has undermined men's authority at certain levels. More importantly men have been forced to face the challenges of refugee life and start doing the household work because there has been no other option for them as some were separated from their family and found themselves alone in refugee camps.

> When we began to be on our own, no woman could cook for us. We had to cook, we had to collect firewood, we had to fetch water, we had to clean our own flat when we finished eating, we had to do a lot of women’s activities, and that was a

> sudden shock, that things began to change and the fact that those activities used to be seen as a taboo (MPFG).

This research data indicates that many from the Nuäär group found that their situation and experiences in refugee camps as the result of being alone or within a group forced them to adopt a new way of life that encouraged men to do the work of women, although most were not happy with that outcome.

> When we travelled from South Sudan to Ethiopia, we went to a refugee camp and I began doing things for myself - cooking, collecting water and firewood and going to school as well, just entirely being on my own. I was not sure but there was no option; it was forced on me by the situation and it became a practice that even continues for me here in Australia (MP2).

Moreover life in refugee camps was full of other challenges, as participants revealed. Besides the general instability due to the war, their difficulties were exacerbated by violent conflicts among rival ethnic groups in camps because of food shortages (Losoncz 2011). Losoncz found that armed fights were common between refugees and the local people who often live under worse conditions than those inside the camps, and who were naturally resistant to the refugee claims on land and resources. In the camps in Ethiopia, Nuäär fought with other Nuäär sections and with other tribes, while in Kenya the Nuäär fought with Dinka in Kakuma and with Somalis in Dadaab. All these conflicts came about as a result of food shortages, lack of basic necessities and the influence of other social and political issues.

In addition domestic violence was common among the refugees in these camps. Many Nuäär in refugee camps in Africa, especially the women and children, experienced violence inflicted upon them by members of their own family and community (Grabska 2014). For example the participants acknowledged that young girls were forced into marriage and that there were other types of domestic abuse in the refugee camps. This was refugee life for the Nuäär. With an understanding of some of these changes, it is

possible that the changes in Nuäär family life and their significant impact on male breadwinners started right back in their homeland and in the refugee camps even before the Nuäär came to Australia.

Forced migration and displacement always inspire dramatic gender and generational change both for the migrants and for those who stay behind. Grabska examined the experience of gender emplacement in Nuäär women returning from displacement camps following the recent civil wars. She found that through the diverse actions of transformation some women contested and reconfigured their gender identity, while others reinforced unequal power relationships within their households (Grabska 2014). One of the participants reflects on his experience:

> Since we came here we saw that things have changed since we moved to the refugee camp because women are not going any more to collect firewood as they used to. Now men are cleaning and cooking which is not a man's job back home. That means things have been changing. And this change started when we moved to a refugee camp (MP6).

The Nuäär and other refugees have experienced chronic violence and insecurity in their lives while in the refugee camps. But the research participants acknowledged that the refugees had tried to create some sense of normality while in the camps, by attending schools provided by the UNHCR for instance or undertaking vocational courses provided by other NGOs.

Furthermore being part and parcel of Ethiopian society did help the Nuäär youth to pursue education and some refugees did have access to employment in the camps through the UNHCR and NGOs, which allowed them to help their communities. However living in refugee camps is not a permanent solution for those who have been traumatised by war and conflict and by the experiences they have been through. Finding a permanent solution to refugee problems in general is a concern to the

UNHCR and the international community who both prefer and support any one of the following three longterm solutions:

1. Voluntary repatriation to the home country;
2. An appropriate permanent integration in the country of asylum; or
3. Resettlement to a third country.

Voluntary repatriation is the preferred option but due to lack of stability, abuse of human rights and the lack of access to social services in home countries like South Sudan, it is often not the best solution. The second option is more complex. The only realistic solution for traumatised groups such as the Nuäär is the third option through which they might find permanent safety and build a better life. For them to qualify for this resettlement solution, they have to pass through the process of seeking and obtaining refugee status from the UNHCR. Those who came through Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda had already passed through the difficulties of seeking asylum in a neighbouring country, and had lived there for many years in refugee camps. Many of them, including many Nuäär, had already been granted legal protection as refugees by the UNHCR. This recognition of their status would then help them with opportunities for resettlement in Western countries such as Australia.

The UNHCR and the Kenyan Government conducted the identification of those who qualified for refugee status in accordance with the United Nations definition of a refugee (discussed above). This happened, for example, in the 1990s when some of the Nuäär arrived in the Kenyan refugee camps. As participants explained, they were interviewed against the criteria that define a refugee:

> I was asked whether I was subjected to persecution and could not go back. They asked what I did. They also asked if I was a member of a political party and the position I held. After the interview, I was given a UNHCR Protection Letter, which shows me as having refugee status for Kenya. That means I had met the necessary criteria and was granted refugee status (MP7).

This Protection Letter allows refugees to work and to do business within countries that offer asylum and to seek resettlement to a third country. The Protection Letter is also the main document required for the resettlement process. Australia and other Western countries become involved only after the UNHCR and the host governments have done their screening to determine status.

Part Two: Humanitarian Migration to Australia

Australia is one of the countries (along with the USA, Canada and other Western nations) that supports the UNHCR resettlement program by offering resettlement places. Australia also tries to find a permanent solution to the refugee and displaced persons problem. Between 2000 and 2013 Australia accepted about 6,000 refugees a year referred by UNHCR and this number was increased to 12,000 refugees in 2012-13 by the Gillard government. In 2014 Australia accepted 14,350 refugees for resettlement and this was claimed to be the biggest resettlement program in the world per capita (Kenny & Davis 2015; Department of Immigration & Citizenship 2011; Phillips 2015). Australia fulfils this commitment through its humanitarian program, which responds to the international humanitarian situation through the resettlement of people to Australia and the protection of people who have arrived in Australia legally. Peisker and Tilbury (2003) define resettlement as a process in which a refugee, having arrived in a place of permanent asylum, gradually re-establishes a feeling of control over his/her life and develops a sense that life is back to normal. Although normality and a sense of control may mean different things to different people, normality here means a state of stability and peaceful life that is different from that which was experienced before migration to Australia.

The humanitarian resettlement programme in Australia began in 1947 with the resettlement of people who had been displaced by World War II (Neumann 2015). Since then Australia has welcomed more than 80,000 people from different countries including Lebanese in the 1960s and Asians in the 1970s. Australia also welcomed about 60,000

African refugees in the 1990s (Peisker & Tilbury 2003). The Australian humanitarian programme provides resettlement for people needing humanitarian assistance who do not have any other long term solution available to them.

The programme has two components. The offshore components are the refugee category for UNHCR approved refugees (Refugee Visa) for whom resettlement in another country is the only option (a significant proportion of these are currently African), and the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) category (Refugee Council of Australia 2016). Amongst the eligibility criteria for this latter visa,

> the person must be outside Australia, must have been identified as a refugee or person subject to persecution and cannot go back to his home country (McAdam 2014).

For inclusion in this programme, one needs to be proposed by somebody who is an Australian citizen, a permanent resident or an organisation operating in Australia. The supporting papers for such an application are submitted to the Immigration Department in Australia or to an Australian High Commission. An Immigration Agent at the Australian Embassy or High Commission will then interview the applicant. This visa category helps to unite refugees and people who are in refugee-like situations overseas with their families in Australia. Each year the Australian government sets the number of visas that may be granted under this programme. For the 10 years up to 2014 the intake was 13,750 places a year, made up of 11,000 places for offshore applicants and about 1200 for women at risk (Refugee Council of Australia 2016).

Africa has been one of the regions that the Australian Government focuses on through its Special Humanitarian Programme (SHP). For example in the 2012 – 2013 intake year, the number of Humanitarian visas was increased to 20,000 and during this intake some of these SHP visas were issued to refugees from Africa (Harte 2013; Refugee Council of Australia 2014). The Nuäär were among the refugees from Africa tribes granted these visas. However since the global distribution of refugees always influences

the focus for resettlement programmes, the conflicts in the Middle East have induced a shift in Australian Government policy. However despite the shift in geographical focus from Africa to the Middle East due to ongoing civil war in Syria and instability in Afghanistan, Africa still remains a key area of focus for the Australian Government's Humanitarian Programme.

Nuäär Arrival in Australia

Since 1984, with the support of humanitarian agencies, many Nuäär refugees have migrated to Australia and other Western countries. Many of them arrived in Australia between 2000 and 2005 while others arrived in Australia in the 1990s. Still earlier arrivals to Australia were just three Nuäär and one Shilluk in 1984, all of whom were resettled in Melbourne.

These four people, with assistance from the Australian government, have managed to bring many additional Nuäär and other Sudanese families to Australia. Although the exact number of Nuäär is not known, the research participants in the men's focus group estimated that there are between 3000 to 4000 Nuäär in Australia. However, ABS surveys put the number of those who speak Nuäär at home at about 685 for the 2006 census and 295 in the 2011 census (Department of Immigration & Citizenship 2011; Lucas, Jamali & Edgar 2011). Since the 2011 census, the number of English speaking Nuäär has continued to grow as a result of education and resettlement language programs, as well as increases in the number of Australian-born Nuäär.

The Nuäär have settled in Melbourne, Ballarat, Colac, Adelaide, Perth and Sydney (Refugee Council of Australia 2016). The majority of the Nuäär came to Australia through the Refugee programme but Australian residents, even those themselves still recent migrants dependent on refugee assistance, also sponsored some.

> I came to Australia with the Special Humanitarian Programme. An Australian citizen proposed me. I made contact with my nephew who came to Australia in

> 1996 and became an Australian citizen two years later. He sent a form to my family in the refugee camp in Kenya, which they filled in and submitted to the Australian High Commission. At the interview, however, I was found to be a legitimate refugee because I had a Protection Letter from the UNHCR. Therefore, my case was processed through the UNHCR (MP6).

One benefit of being granted refugee status is that all expenses for processing and travel are the responsibility of the Australian government. For those who have no refugee status, even though they may be eligible for it, their expenses are their own responsibility. There are many who waited desperately for a long time in the camps after their processing had been completed because their sponsors or proposers were not able to pay for their tickets. Sometimes the proposers borrowed money to pay for the tickets and left themselves in severe debt, to a degree which affected their economic stability (Refugee Council of Australia 2011). The person who made the comment above was fortunate because his case was transferred from a SHP visa to a Refugee visa, meaning the Australian Government covered his expenses.

Most of the visa interviews were conducted at refugee camps, but in some situations, especially for SHP visas, they were conducted at the Australian High Commission. The issues covered at the interview included refugee status, criminal checks, transmittable diseases, disabilities, level of education, and how people left their native country: in other words, the criteria listed in the Australian resettlement processing policy. After all these processes are complete, the visa applicant is called for a medical check. According to Australian resettlement policy, refugees with diseases such as HIV, TB, and even malaria are not allowed to immigrate to Australia (Mares 2001; Phillips 2015). The research participants confirmed that they have some relatives and friends who had actually not been allowed to come to Australia because of medical problems.

The Australian government also conducts a cultural orientation for refugees before they leave for Australia. This covers information about the Australian people, heritage, and the provision of social services. The aim is to familiarise refugees with Australian

culture. However, after the Nuäär arrive Australia, they realise that there is no uniquely Australian culture as such because Australia is a multicultural society. Of course, refugees need to know about this multiculturalism, which in itself is a cultural disposition shaping both public and everyday life in Australia.

Moreover the orientation is one-sided in that it targets only the refugees so that they have some understanding of Australian culture. Australian community and social workers should also know refugees' experiences and culture so that they can serve them effectively, but they are not included in this pre-arrival orientation. It would be important to have a second post arrival orientation which include all those involve in assisting these arrivals.

Therefore, the group of Nuäär who participated in this study feels that the reason for resettlement challenges, including the impact of changes in gender roles that affects mostly the interests of men within families and is a cause of domestic violence, is because information about their culture is not properly given to the local service providers. This suggests that there is a gap in the provision of orientation. They think that if the orientation (especially after entering Australia) was made to be two way information, it would be more successful. I think this is a sound argument. The orientation should be developed to educate the broader community as well as social workers and service providers so that they have greater knowledge about the culture of the new migrants. The content of the orientation should be relevant to their location, covering topics such as weather, health, education, language, transport, the care available for trauma victims and the legal system in Australia. These would actually enlighten refugees better in pursuit of their new life.

Getting Started in Australia

For almost all the Nuäär migrants, their early life in Australia was strange, but many found it largely positive. They were happy to be in a place where the problems that had been facing them daily in the refugee camps no longer existed. They had food available,

which had been their worst problem, they had access to healthcare, to clean water, to education and most significantly, there was an absence of war.

Successful settlement is the key objective of a range of services provided by the government to assist refugees in their first years of arrival in Australia under the humanitarian refugee program. The refugees are assisted through the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS), which provides initial settlement support and orientation to newly arrived humanitarian entrants for six months (Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Schweitzer et al. 2006).

On their arrival, the Nuäär migrants had someone to provide them with some minimal assistance in getting started. For the majority who entered through refugee visas, a range of NGOs, including the Migrant Resource Centres (MRCs), churches and other agencies dealing with migrants, assist them under the IHSS to get started in Australia. The MRCs and other services providers meet them at the airport, bring them to some type of temporary accommodation and try to help them in the adjustment process.

For those whose relatives were already in Australia, the relatives would be there to meet them at the airport, provide temporary housing and supply some basic knowledge of how to function in Australia. If they were sponsored then their sponsors helped them get started in Australia. Some have indicated that they were confused from the start. How to operate the kitchen stove, how to go shopping which they had never attempted before, let alone to drive or even to travel by car, how to withdraw money from a bank - these were very difficult experiences for many. It was also difficult to communicate in English and to interact with the surrounding community members in their host country.

Pittaway, Muli and Shteir who have examined the resettlement and integration experiences of refugees from the Horn of Africa, argued that while refugees have enormous potential to integrate successfully, and many do, there are obstacles which persist. These include trauma, separation of family members, lack of adequate information on arrival and support, difficulties with language acquisition, lack of access

to affordable housing, lack of education support, discrimination in the workplace, racism and violence against women (Pittaway et al. 2009).

However, though the adjustment was difficult, most Nuäär have adopted fairly quickly to the everyday challenges of life in Australia. Their experiences in refugee camps in Africa with instability and movement from one country to another seem to have taught them to adapt to change quickly. But in the interviews with participants in this study some reflected on their expectations of what would life be like and on the roles within the family at home in Australia. The men in particular face pressure and stress in maintaining traditional Nuäär cultural roles while meeting the demands of a new society.

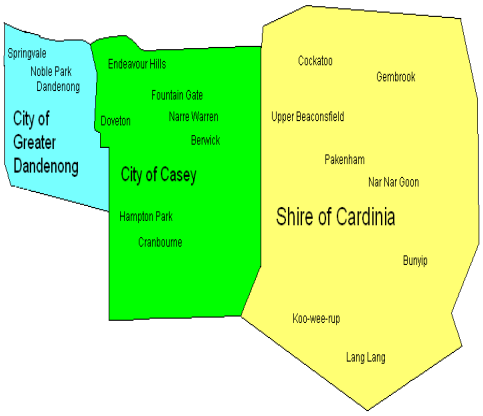
The Nuäär Community in Australia

As mentioned earlier, the Nuäär are scattered throughout Australia although most now live in Melbourne, Victoria. Where they initially settled was not under their control or choice. Those who arrived through sponsorship by a friend or relative joined their sponsors in the community. For the others who arrived with refugee visas, their placement was selected by resettlement agencies based on the criteria of the resettlement policy of the State in which they were being relocated, and these criteria were not made known to the refugees themselves. However the new migration scenario has in some circumstances taken on a dynamic of its own.

The Nuäär are used to looking out for opportunities that can better their life, and they have been accustomed to moving from place to place to improve their livelihood. Furthermore, refugees who come from the same area, even if they are dispersed on arrival, have a tendency after initial resettlement to come together (Holtzman 2008). Since refugees are legal immigrants who have received permanent residency status immediately on arrival, they have the right to move freely from place to place, just like any other Australian citizen. So a few months after their initial settlement, many Nuäär who were originally allocated to places out of Melbourne moved to join friends, relatives and their ethnic community in Melbourne. Most have settled in the south eastern

suburbs in the city of Greater Dandenong, City of Casey and Shire of Cardinia as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Map of South Eastern Suburbs of Melbourne (Source: SERMRC 2007)



The reason for their relocation to this part of Melbourne was also influenced by availability of opportunities for employment and housing in this region (Migrant Information Centre 2012; Milos 2011a; Sharifian & Musgrave 2013). Sharifian and Musgrave argue that social and cultural adaptation should lead to a successful labour market adaptation. They define adaptation as securing a job opportunity based on a person's qualifications and experience. The Nuäär has found areas such as Dandenong, Casey, and Monash suitable for their adaptation and thus for securing employment. Greater Dandenong is an area with many factories that are in frequent need of manpower and that can employ new migrants with minimal qualifications or skills (City of Greater Dandenong 2015). Given their educational backgrounds, many Nuäär have managed to secure their first Australian jobs there, working in areas such as factory cleaning, food processing, aged care and translation.

Furthermore settlement in small numbers was isolating and difficult while being together as a community may help to a degree with factors such as the language barrier. The current demographics of the Nuäär community are not known and their precise number is difficult to gauge, so the community leadership is proposing a community census within each council.

The Nuäär community was established according to the Nuäär traditional system of lineage and kinship. The lineage system is a composite structure of cognate branches and attachments in which the Nuäär value of agnation is the integrating principle, ie the group of persons living together and the lineage structure which contains them (Kelly 1985). The Nuäär community in Australia follows this structure of tribal clan and sub-clans.

There is an overarching community organisation, the Nuer Community in Victoria Inc., which was established in June 2001 with its centre based in Noble Park, a suburb of Greater Dandenong. It conducts its meetings and activities in the Sobat Training Centre which is owned by a Nuäär woman as a business centre/office. This Nuäär community organisation also has four sub-groups, which are organised based on the traditional clans and sections:

1. Jikany Nuäär Community of Victoria Inc., which itself has sub-sections: Gajaak Community Association in Victoria Inc., Nasir Community Association in Victoria, and Ulang Communities Associations in Victoria Inc.
2. Lou Nuäär Community Association in Victoria Inc.
3. Liech Nuäär Community Association in Australia Inc.
4. Fangak Nuäär Community Association in Victoria Inc.

There is also the Gambella Community of Australia Inc. whose members are Nuäär and other tribes from Gambella in Ethiopia. The Nuäär community organisation also has branches in other cities and states - Sydney, Perth, Adelaide and Queensland - but the largest number of Nuäär in Australia is in Melbourne, Victoria, with some in other parts

of Victoria including Gippsland (Morwell), Geelong, Colac and Ballarat. Their exact numbers in each of these places are still unknown. The community leadership organises social events and activities that bring them together. It also helps them to connect with service providers and offers general support as they adapt to a new way of life. There are also separate Nuäär youth and women's groups. In community activities such as meetings, church and community gatherings there is a clear gender divide. At events the women sit separately and do only women's work. Even the topics of conversation are gender-divided. Sometimes the men say that the women's groups are where they talk about men and the ways they can show men that they are now free in this new world.

Part Three: Challenges of Resettlement

Even after arrival in Australia there are still challenges and problems for many migrants. These include language, employment, accommodation, and understanding the Australian legal system. As mentioned earlier, many of the research participants expressed their concerns regarding the usefulness of the services provided to support their integration.

English Language

Immediately on their arrival, the refugees are provided with an opportunity to attend classes to improve their English. For the participants I interviewed, the Migrant Resource Centre and the Adult Migrant English Service (AMES) provided them with 510 class hours of English classes under the Adult Migrant English Program funded by the Australian Federal Government (Ho & Alcorso 2004; Moyer & Rojo 2007). However there have been a range of concerns about this program (Refugee Council of Australia 2016). Since refugees come to Australia with different levels of English, 510 hours may be enough for those who come with better understanding of English, but it is insufficient for those who arrive not only knowing little English but also never having gone to school or experienced literacy.

Most Nuäär women are part of this second group. They cannot learn enough in 510 hours to be able to interact confidently with the Australian public, which limits their opportunities for employment and broader community engagement. While many public institutions and services provide translation and interpreter support, this places people in a condition of chronic dependency on such translation services.

On the other hand for those who come having good English, this allowance of 510 hours is a waste of time and resources. Many Nuäär members have gone through this process and based on their experience they suggest that there is a need for a longer-term English language program in a community-based setting. Access to education is also linked to many things, including social security payments, and it is very challenging if migrants arrive with a different mindset and expectations based on their former roles.

> An adult Nuäär man who has grown up with the skills he was taught - how to protect the village, how to fight the best, how to herd the cattle, how to be a farmer in the local style - not even farming with fertiliser in the modern way - and abandoning all those living skills that have been there, and being forced to go to school here – because if you don't go to school Centrelink will actually suspend your benefits - it is difficult, it is extremely difficult for men to cope here (MP8).

However, the problem is that most of the time women have come with less English skills than men, and this leads to men being in charge of everything on their arrival. As time goes by and the women learn and improve their English language skills, they assume all the responsibilities within the household and they are supported in this by the social services system. This challenges the power and status of men and poses another threat to their authority within the family.

Employment Problems

Another important challenge that affects refugees is the lack of employment (McKay 2008). Employment allows people to rebuild their lives in a new country, helps them to

fulfil obligations to help family members still trapped in refugee camps overseas and to provide for the family. However, the participants in this study report that the system here does not recognise the work skills and qualifications they have brought with them. As a result, many have struggled to get jobs that can sustain them. Furthermore the participants report that the Nuäär, like many other migrants, face discrimination in the employment market because of their lack of 'Australian' or 'local' work experience (McKay 2008). This means that they have no income to support their family and the men are unable to maintain their status as provider for the family. The following articulates the feelings and frustrations of this group around finding employment.

> There are many people with degree qualifications and they don't find any jobs; they are sitting at home. But back in South Sudan with a degree you have your own office and run your own business. That is why I said there are many issues facing Nuäär men here like changes in gender roles, family issues and more importantly difficulty of finding jobs. Even factory and cleaning jobs are not available and this disappoints people (MP3).

A further barrier to securing employment is the perception that people who have spent years in refugee camps overseas come with traumatic experiences (McKay 2008). Marlowe et al. found that the refugee experience is often represented in the media and political commentaries through a trauma-focused lens. This representation allows the Nuäär community to be seen as being traumatised, and this perception limits recognition of their ability and experience when they come to find jobs in labor market (Marlowe, Harris & Lyons 2013). It is therefore important to acknowledge the skills and range of ability refugees may have brought with them. Even though the Nuäär may have had pre-arrival experiences of hardship, loss, trauma and torture which contribute to their unemployment in the process of resettlement, these experiences do not remove their potential for employment and for playing an active role in building the Australian economy. Nuäär men are typically hard-working and are always interested in finding something to do. However the discipline of the Australian workplace and the work environment is different for them and many have difficulty adjusting to it.

Obtaining a driving licence or even just learning to drive is also a profound challenge for new migrant communities. Because many Nuäär in South Sudan had not driven - in fact did not even have access to a car - most of them have found it difficult when they needed to start driving in Australia. This too was another problem which further complicated their access to employment. Nowadays driving is no longer such a big problem because many Nuäär, including women, have obtained their driving licences, but there are still other obstacles to employment.

Accommodation

Accommodation in the early years of resettlement was also a challenge for humanitarian entrants. Research has identified the problems faced in attempting to secure affordable and stable accommodation as one of the challenges for people settling in Australia through the refugee and humanitarian programs (Spinney & Nethery 2013). The Australian government at various levels has been attempting to address this housing problem for the disadvantaged and those living in poverty, but the shortage of resources to build more affordable housing for everyone has made it harder for the government to provide a permanent solution (Refugee Council of Australia 2016).

Among the various factors that made it difficult for the Nuäär to obtain affordable housing is the size of their families. Many refugee families have more children than is normal in Australia and it is very stressful trying to find suitable accommodation with four or five bedrooms. The Nuäär is one African group which is traditionally known for polygamous marriages with lots of children. Thus the temporary accommodation allocated to them on arrival often did not suit the size of their families.

Again it is important to note that property owners are not willing to rent their properties to families with many children for fear that their properties will be damaged by the children. This makes it difficult for Nuäär families with many children to find rental accommodation. As a result, many Nuäär families, particularly during the initial years of

resettlement, were forced to live in high-rise Housing Commission apartments that are not ideal for raising children.

Financial hardship is another factor that makes it difficult for refugees and humanitarian entrants to obtain proper accommodation. The literature (Marlowe 2010; Spinney & Nethery 2013) reveals that refugees and humanitarian entrants arrive in Australia with few or no financial resources. Refugees who have lost everything find it difficult to get suitable accommodation. Their only income on arrival are the social security payments that the Australian government provides them through Centrelink, and that is not enough to cover their debts and settlement expenses (Deng 2011; Forrest et al. 2012). In addition, like many other refugees and humanitarian entrants, the Nuäär have a traditional obligation to send money overseas to their family members still suffering in refugee camps and those in dire need in their country of origin.

These factors affect the capacity of many Nuäär families to meet private rental costs, which means that they end up living in poverty in crowded accommodation. This crowded living environment forces households to overlap in their family roles and thus adds to the tensions between genders.

Health and Legal Challenges

Health issues for refugees and migrants are one of the factors that influence the initial migration screening process. In refugee camps, people have inadequate health services, although the UN does attempt to provide primary health care. There was no proper access to doctors and other health services such as mental health services. Therefore new migrants like the Nuäär come to Australia with hope for a better life in terms of health and safety. Some of them were made aware of the availability of appropriate health services during their orientation and they were appreciative of those services (Murray & Skull 2005; Refugee Council of Australia 2014).

On the other hand some participants in this survey reported that it was difficult to get proper health service assistance when and how they needed it. Some reported that there were long waiting times even at emergency centres, complicated by the lack of interpreter services. It has been found that the lack of sufficient health services and treatments that cater directly to the needs of refugees inhibits and challenges their integration and resettlement process (Pittaway et al. 2009). Similarly, Murray & Skull (2005) found that the issues affecting access to improved health care include language barriers, financial difficulties, cultural differences, and legal barriers.

The lack of sufficient health services and the other factors that hinder better access to these services have made it harder for the Nuäär to easily achieve better outcomes during their resettlement. However the participants in the survey seemed to fear discussing health matters in public. They generally pointed out that they have some concerns but most felt satisfied that there had been an improvement in their wellbeing and health in Australia.

Similarly, access to legal services and lack of appropriate information about the Australian legal system has been an important factor that posed challenges for the Nuäär group. The justice system in Australia is fair and simple, but affordability and access are challenging. Graycar (2012), in the Community Law and Safety Report, made the criticism that for many Australians the legal system is failing on access, affordability and fairness because the cost of legal services is high and many find it difficult to pay for lawyers. However there are legal aid and community legal centres that provide legal services to low-income families and migrants.

The Nuäär, like many other groups, have been benefiting from these services. However, their assistance is restricted due to shortages in funding. The participants indicated that there are Nuäär youth in prison, families who have separated, children snatched from homes by child welfare or marched out of their homes: all these problems are there but there is no legal assistance for the community to help address these issues. The lack of

support networks within the community and across to the wider society is also contributing to the problem.

Service Provision

The Nuäär had high expectations of support during resettlement from service provider agencies controlled by Nuäär community members and from social links or networks with the host society. That is because new migrants have to establish social ties and networks within the host society in order to establish their lives in a new country. Local organisations and small businesses too were expected to provide support in all the areas of challenge in adapting to a new life and to give appropriate information to the Nuäär community.

In fact, there are a few social networks, which provide minimal support. This support includes childcare and family day care, which is a booming business nowadays and one area where some of the Nuäär have established their own business. Other Nuäär provide their community with meeting places, as for example the Sobat Training Centre in Noble Park. Although these are a great help, the community's social networks with the authorities and the wider Australian community are poor, so that the Nuäär community is to some extent isolated from these services.

Summary

This chapter has examined and discussed some of background to the Nuäär arriving in Australia, notably the Sudanese Civil Wars, the disruption to life in their homeland and their experiences in transit to resettlement.

Part One focused on the causes of the displacement of the Nuäär in their country of origin which eventually led to their forced migration to become refugees in other countries. I have discussed the issues that arose, starting from their displacement until they resettled in Australia. I have particularly discussed their initial gender

transformation experiences through this journey as reflected in the views of the participants.

In that regard, the problem of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is an issue of concern internationally. According to the literature and research on refugees and IDPs, by 2013 the number of refugees and IDPs internationally had reached 51.2 million people, and this number again increased substantially to 59.5 million by the end of 2014. These are people who have been forcibly displaced by persecution, conflicts, generalised violence or human rights violations. Among the 19.5 million classified as refugees were the Nuäär who were displaced by the civil wars in Sudan. The Sudanese Civil War has passed through a number of different stages making it one of the longest civil wars in history. This war has been fought largely in the South Sudan, on Nuäär land in particular, making it the major factor for the forced migration that resulted in the Nuäär becoming refugees. Millions of people have been killed and millions more displaced both internally and to neighbouring countries.

Other factors in the Nuäär's displacement include the ecological and environmental situation and the Nuäär's pastoralist nomadic lifestyle that usually sees them move during winter to new dry season camps for grazing their cattle and then back to the main villages when the rains start. The political instability disrupted their cultivation patterns which led to food shortages and poverty which in turn caused them to abandon their original settlement areas in the search for survival and a better life. These have all contributed to the displacement and forced migration of the Nuäär people.

I have documented the views of the participants and their stories of what they went through while living in asylum in different countries in Africa. I have suggested that the changing nature of life in the refugee camps has contributed to the initial general transformation of Nuäär life. However the participants in this study acknowledged that they had nevertheless strongly maintained the traditional hierarchal system where the man is the most important in the household, and they had come with this tradition to Australia. But it is important to note that the change from the traditional to a more

modern culture, exemplified in the changing gender roles in Nuäär family life, started right from the start of displacement back in Africa and continues to progress here in Australia.

In Part Two of the chapter I have focused on the humanitarian migration and on the post-arrival experiences of the Nuäär community, in other words, how their community started in Australia, while Part Three looks into the challenges they have been facing during their initial resettlement. Most of the Nuäär have arrived in Australia legally through humanitarian programs. They are among the refugees that the Australian government has assisted for resettlement, where resettlement is defined as a process of building a better, normal life in a new country.

The Nuäär people have been arriving in Australia since 1984 but most arrived between 1991 and 2005. They first settled in different places but the majority have since settled or resettled in Melbourne. The main centre of the Nuäär community is now in Greater Dandenong in Melbourne. The Nuäär community has sub-communities according to their tradition of kinships. These sub-communities are the organs of the Nuäär, which attempt to assist their members in their resettlement and try to help maintain their traditions. Like most other migrants, the Nuäär have faced challenges during the resettlement process around accommodation, employment, language and education, access to the legal system, healthcare and to other services. Many of these challenges occurred immediately after arrival and were linked to their expectations in a new country.

It is in these sections that I have argued that these challenges are linked to lack of information and the limited capabilities (financial or otherwise) that refugees usually come with to Australia. These dynamics influence the change and transformation of Nuäär culture, and this includes changes in gender roles. Further this change affects different parts of the Nuäär differently, women and children on one side and men on the other. Despite these challenges, however, the Nuäär community is working hard to support their members' smooth integration into the Australian way of life.

Chapter 4 - Locating the Thesis in Gender & Masculinity Studies

Introduction

In Chapter 3 I discussed the factors that displaced the Nuäär from their country of origin to their long stay in refugee camps and eventually to settlement in Australia. These are sometimes called 'push and pull' factors, and deal with both what drives people to leave their homelands ('push') and also what attracts them to new settings ('pull') (Foner et al. 2000; Peisker & Tilbury 2003). Migration is generally depicted as a search for a better life, a desire to escape civil wars, poverty or low socio-economic status in the country of origin (Lejukole 2009) by relocating to new countries that can offer greater security, stability, wellbeing and opportunity.

I also discussed the Nuäär experience of initial resettlement in Australia and elsewhere, and the challenges this group has experienced as a result of this transition. Chapter 3 thus covered some of the historical and empirical background to the Nuäär experience of resettlement and the issues this may raise for transitions in gender roles. This process of displacement has created many social issues, one of which is a new tension of roles within gender relations.

In this chapter I shall discuss the theoretical and conceptual lens that I apply in exploring and discussing the changing nature of Nuäär gender relations and gender roles. I shall also try to locate this thesis within various subfields of sociology, within gender and masculinity studies as well as forced migration and refugee studies. I shall discuss gender theories of identity, masculinity and efficacy and examine how these theories relate to Nuäär concepts, frameworks and experiences of gender roles and gender relations. In examining the concept of masculinity in particular, I draw on Connell's work and other related literature to explore how the Nuäär interpret their understanding of changing masculinity as well as the shifts in gender roles and changes in cultural practice following their settlement in Australia.

Gender and Gender Role Theory

Globally, societies are structured around generally stable patterns that establish the way social interactions can occur. One of the important social structures that organises these social interactions is social status, which is the category or social position a person occupies in a given social formation. Status is an important determinant that defines a person and how he or she is treated in social interactions (Antonopoulos 2014; Lindsey 2015). Lindsey argues that human beings acquire social status in various ways: by achievement, by ascription, through birth, or through aspiration. These statuses are sometimes referred to as 'status sets', which might, for example, combine family role, employment, gender, race, and ethnicity. The most important ascribed statuses are gender, race and social class, which are social positions within a society (Lindsey 2015). These are the status sets that often immediately and pervasively impact every aspect of our lives.

Gender is therefore bound up with the question of status and power in social structures and formations. Contemporary research has shown that there are various understandings of how gender has been conceptualised. Bradley and Healy have conceptualised gender as 'the varied and complex arrangements between men and women, encompassing the organisation of reproduction, the sexual divisions of labour and cultural definitions of femininity and masculinity' (Bradley & Healy 2008). Connell, in her important work *The Men and the Boys* (2000), observes three prominent gender theories that are very influential in the understanding of gender and masculinities. These are the theory of sex roles (biological essentialism), the theory of social constructivism which has informed many recent debates within post-structuralist and materialist thinking (Connell 2000, 2014a), and the theory of performativity. The different analyses that each of these brings to the literature on the theorisation of gender and masculinity are articulated in the sections below.

Theory of sex roles

The theory of sex roles explains gender patterns by appealing to the social expectations that define 'proper behaviour' for women and men based on a binary system that recognises two genders, male and female. According to this framework, sex refers to the biological and reproductive classification of an organism – male or female (Bradley 2013; Franklin 2012). In this way, our gender roles and everything we do, including our physical development as males and females, are developed through and shaped by biologically determined aspects of sex-based categorisation. This resonates closely with how the Nuäär have historically conceptualised gender roles. As with many other societies in different periods and places, the Nuäär traditionally believe that gender roles are the products of capacities biologically determined by sex. They believe that being male and female is a God-given identity, with fixed and unchanging gender norms, values and expectations ascribed on the basis of sex. The Nuäär are very strict in such categorisations, with clear roles and expectations ascribed to 'male' and 'female'. Challenging or changing these is considered a social error. This view is also similar to the theory of essentialism in relation to gender. Essentialism treats women and men as pre-formed categories (Connell 2000, 2014a). Essentialists claim that biological differences between men and women make their gender roles inevitable and also immutable (Payne et al. 2008). They argue that gender behaviour is coded in the brain and in the chemistry of the body and that gendered differences in brain development and capacity are the key reasons for differences between women and men.

However theories of sex role do not draw only on proposed or assumed physiological distinctions in bodies and brains; they also arise in theories of social structure. While early social theorists such as Marx largely ignored gender in their classical work, gender become an important factor in the analysis of sociologists such as Durkheim and Weber (Lindsey 2015). Weber's contribution to gender theory was the concept of patriarchy, the structure of vesting social power and domination in male heads of household, while Durkheim viewed society as an integrated functioning whole in which everyone has a

place and the place for women is in the home (Grusky et al. 2001; Jackson & Scott 2002; Millard 1997).

These early sociological theories saw gender normativity as a fixed and static phenomenon. However more recent work by sociologists, particularly following the feminist critiques (Hobson 2016; Midden 2010) of gender identity, role and theory mounted since the 1960s and 1970s, argues that gender differences are the result of neither biology nor fixed social phenomena, but of accepted and normalised cultural practices and social expectations: in other words, that gender is socially constructed (Brickell 2006; Korieh & Okeke-Ihejirika 2008; Ridgeway 1991). It follows that if gender is constructed through social and cultural practices, then both the concept and the practice of gender identity are neither static nor determinist and can be changed. A constructivist perspective on gender would ask which social practices construct gender, and in what ways can this change? The specific question this generates for my thesis is: how can thinking about gender from a constructivist standpoint change the traditional understanding of gender in a particular migrant group such as the Nuäär following their resettlement in Australia? The implicit assumption here is that social context also has a strong bearing on social constructs of gender.

The Social Construction of Gender

The recent debate of post-structuralism and material perspectives has predominantly focused on the social constructionists' theory of gender, namely that gender is a set of socially and culturally constructed behaviours and personalities (Connell 2000, 2014b; Franklin 2012). As part of the approach to the social construction of gender, masculinities and femininities are understood as neither programmed in our genes, nor fixed by social structures prior to social interaction. They come into existence as people act, they are actively produced through practices in which they are socially constructed within the specific and cultural context of gender relations (Donaldson, Hibbins, Howson & Pease 2009), and, as further discussed in this chapter, they are subject to challenge and change along with changes in roles.

Social constructionists argue that gender is shaped by society, pointing out that children are born into a society that has pre-existing gender preferences and expectations (Banerjee 2012). This perspective holds that men and women behave differently because of social conditioning that is propagated by behaviours based on gendered expectations and social norms, which are socially and culturally prevalent and reinforced in modern society by the media. As Stone (2011) observed, 'gender' refers not only to people's understanding of the categories of male and female but also to the ways in which these understandings are interwoven with other dimensions of social and cultural life. 'Gender' might be considered as a set of regulatory practices that construct the identities of being male and female, imposed through different norms and practices.

These practices and identities are shaped and reshaped by attitudes and perceptions over time in a particular society. Gender is therefore constructed socially and culturally based on perceptions, attitudes and behaviours, as well as on expectations of the roles to be performed according to whether one is male or female. These traditions and expectations determine what it means to be male or female in a family, and vary widely from culture to culture. The Nuäär, for example, through migration have witnessed status transformation as a result of changes in gender roles in their families which bring new and different cultural values, norms and expectations into play for them. The Nuäär's traditional and modern perceptions of gender in Australia reflect social construction concepts which build on a biological definition but extend that to include the ways in which men and women participate in both production and social activities (Smith, Ellis & Benson 2001).

A role is the expected behaviour associated with status and is performed according to social norms, shared rules that guide people's behaviour in a specific situation (Butler 2009). Social norms determine the privileges and responsibilities attached to that status, and in many societies gender plays a key role in determining status and hierarchies of power. Thus females and males, mothers and fathers, daughters and sons all have roles that are afforded differential statuses. In Nuäär culture, the status of a father calls

for an expected role of being the breadwinner and ultimate decision-maker, while the status of mother calls for the expected role of providing love, nurture, self-sacrifice, home-making and availability to her husband (Dryden 2014). Dryden argues that society allows for a degree of flexibility in acting out roles but in times of rapid social change acceptable roles are always in a state of flux, producing uncertainty about what appropriate roles or behaviour should be. In the developed world, some people experience what Dryden calls a condition of 'normlessness' because traditional norms have changed but new ones have yet to be adopted properly - especially among recent migrants. The traditional Nuäär norms that govern the relationships between a man and a woman, relationships which include gender roles and masculinity, have clearly been changing in the transition from homeland to Australia. How and to what extent are discussed in subsequent chapters in this thesis.

The Performativity of Gender Roles

Judith Butler's theory of performativity is a strand of social constructivism that has particular relevance to this issue. Butler argues that performativity is a conceptual tool for understanding how selves might be constituted as 'subjects of gender, not as a sign of inherent truth' but as 'obligatory norms' of masculinity and feminity (Butler 1988, 2009). According to Butler the concept of performativity is that gender is constructed through its own repetitive performance. Gender is 'performed' into being through how people behave and what they understand they can and can't do in gendered ways. Performativity is an influential theory for its insights into how gender performativity (acting and actions) shaped by gender norms affects our individual agency (Joy et al. 2015; Lloyd 1999). Connell's work is influenced by this theory of performativity as she maintains that gender and masculinity can be understood and conceptualised as a configuration of practices and relationships that necessitate an examination of power in the performance of gender and masculinity.

Various authors have different conceptualisations of performativity, depending partly on the context and field of study. However performativity is often described through a

Foucauldian lens as 'that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains' (Boucher 2006; Butler 2009). Butler sees gender as an 'act' or performance, and the actor performing this act makes such acting a meaningful reality through repetition. Performativity presupposes that norms act on us before we have a chance to act at all, so that when we do act we recapitulate those norms in expected ways (Boucher 2006).

It is this concept of gender performativity that underlies the understanding of women as being lesser, given the long legacy of traditional norms and cultural perceptions that consider women as subordinate to men in both domestic and public settings. Understanding gender as performativity is to understand that our concepts of gender and masculinity produce series of effects, e.g. the way we eat, talk and walk, in ways that consolidate an impression of being a man or a woman. The Nuäär traditionally are performative subjects or a performative society where men and women iteratively perform their masculine and feminine roles in accord with their place and time.

The Nuäär in their tradition back home and in Australia act and perform in a way that differentiates men and women. For example, in public places like meetings, church and ceremonial places men sit on one side and women on the other. The sitting style is also different. Women and girls sit properly in a disciplined way, putting their legs together in the proper manner, while men and boys can sit as they want. When it comes to eating men eat first and women later, while boys and girls eat separately, simply because of the traditional norms that a man is superior. This understanding extends to the way children are controlled. As they develop children are controlled so that as they grow they adopt these performative actions. The boys act by imitating their fathers and other men in learning to look after cattle and carry out other masculine activities outside the home while girls perform activities around the house with their mothers. These practices are still influential among the Nuäär in Australia and show how gender performativity still influences individuals' actions after resettlement. However there have also been lots of changes through this time of transition in the way masculine and feminine roles are being performed within Nuäär society, both in their homelands in Ethiopia and South

Sudan and more importantly in Australia due to changed circumstances and the influence of the dominant culture.

Locating the Thesis within Gender and Masculinity Studies

There is a vast literature addressing the challenges for immigrant communities moving from pre-modern into modern societies (Donaldson, Hibbins, Howson & Pease 2009; Petesch 2013; Pessar & Mahler 2003; Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham 2010), including recent research on refugee and newly arrived African communities covering gender roles and changes in family settings as a result of migration and settlement (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007; Peisker & Tilbury 2003; Mungai & Pease 2009; Williams 2011). In particular Williams and Wa Mungai and Pease have examined the changing face of gender identity amongst African men and the challenges being experienced in the Sudanese communities in Melbourne and Perth respectively. Mungai and Pease (2009) argue that, while some basic elements of African masculinities have survived, changes have occurred because of a number of external influences and the forces of modernity, and their impact has led to the reshaping of traditional ways of life.

Meanwhile Williams (2011) brings an expanded perspective on masculinities in his study of refugee parenting for resettled African men by incorporating the notion of masculinity into the child protection discourse. He recommends an increased visibility and a role for refugee men in the process of developing culturally relevant and appropriate policies and services to assist successful settlement processes and engender wellbeing. Similarly, in his doctoral thesis on South Sudanese migrants in Australia, James Wani Lino has explored the range of interactions and relationships between South Sudanese and the Australian host society, and considers how they construct their identity in relation to their notions of home and place, and how they negotiate shifting gender roles and relationships in the family (Lejukole 2009). He argues that one of the major challenges facing the South Sudanese in the resettlement process is a shift in gender roles and changes in the relationship between men, women and children, which are interpreted and redefined differently by men and women. This

leads to change to a new identity and change in the meaning of home and place. Lino further argues that there is general lack of knowledge about the Australian legal system, about how to gain access to services as well as how family law pertaining to the rights of women and children within a family operates (Lejukole 2009). In the context of this argument, Lino emphasises a significant shift in relation to the feeling of a sense of manhood and masculinities among the South Sudanese in transition. This thesis and the other works referred to above have contributed their critical analysis to an understanding of masculinities that is highly relevant when looking at the crisis in masculinity facing the Nuäär men.

The Nuäär are a patriarchal society, within which men occupy an advantageous socio-economic position. As in any patriarchal society, Nuäär men traditionally are the head of the family, and they hold the power and have advantageous socio-economic positions within Nuäär society. The earliest anthropological researchers on the Nuäär (Bouchard 1996; Evans-Pritchard 1951a; Grabska 2014) reflect the expected cultural and traditional features for that kind of society. The Nuäär believe in practices that make a man a man within Nuäär conceptions of masculinity. A man has to be a warrior, a provider and a hardworking head of family. A key point is that the Nuäär as a migrant group experiencing resettlement are now no longer hierarchically structured. Changes in their patterns of employment, childrearing, education, and other social practices have also changed the socio-economic structure of their society and consequently their gender roles. Because of this the traditional Nuäär concepts and understandings of masculinity and manhood have been changing as a result of migration. However the majority of the Nuäär in Australia, and especially the men, still have no adequate knowledge of the shifting attitudes toward gender equality that have been achieved through the Western feminist critique.

Feminist challenges to gender theory

Over the years, social research paid less attention to gender dynamics until feminist writers turned attention to women's rights and the issues of race, class and sexuality

(Aderinto 2008). Feminist theoretical perspectives emerged to significantly challenge the patriarchal status quo that had disadvantaged women (Lindsey 2015). By the 1990s gender studies had become women's studies but later it was discovered that a patriarchal construction regulates all genders, not just women. Gender studies also discovered that sex and gender are not the same and argued that the binary of being a man/woman is a social construct (Zulfiqar 2011). In all this there was little focus on masculinity.

The earlier writings on masculinity in the 1970s were distinctly feminist and based on the sex role theory which had dominated sociological research on men since 1950s (Wedgwood 2009). Inspired by the debate amongst feminist sociologists on how to theorise power and oppression, Connell in her paper 'Masculinities, change, and conflict in global society: Thinking about the future of men's studies' turns the sociological gaze onto men (Connell 2003). This was a crucial turn in the study of gender theory given that masculinity and femininity are opposites. Connell in her paper discusses the terms masculinity and femininity and how they relate to being male and being female. She was trying to understand how individual identities relate to the dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity. Connell's concept of social constructivism constitutes power as oppressive male patriarchal dominance. She argues that patriarchal structural oppression and hegemony are the strategic means by which consent to patriarchal rule is naturalised and reproduced, pointing out that all masculinities are not the same but are rather hierarchically organised. She indicates that patriarchy involves a pyramid of groups of actual men, from those who are hegemons (transnational business men), to marginalised, black, ethnically and racially stigmatised men (Beasley 2012; Connell 2005).

There has been a range of research exploring the construction and changing nature of African masculinities in times of migration but most are focused on the geographical and historical experience and limited in their exploration of the migration and resettlement experience (Aderinto 2008; Bwakali 2001). For example, masculinity studies in Africa generally aim at correcting the erroneous treatment of men as a unified category by

emphasising that concepts of masculinity change across time and space in response to internal and external forces (Parkes 2007). However, the changing character of masculinity in Africa is also a reflection of the racial and ethnic diversity of the African continent and its story of colonialism. Elsewhere research explores the dilemmas black men faced in the bid to satisfy white colonial hierarchies while at the same time leading resistance movements or serving as representatives of their people in a search for justice (Ouzgane & Morrell 2005). Similarly research into the construction of masculinities examines how social and economic spaces, like schools and villages, replicate and enhance the everchanging masculinities of men in east and southern African (Aderinto 2008). From this it is clear that transitions and changes in gender roles and values were already occurring in homeland contexts, and did not begin from scratch as a result of migration. The impacts of colonialism and of increased mobility in Africa played a key role in this transition. In other words, gender relations were already undergoing flux, change and contestation even prior to refugee migration for the Nuäär and other groups.

The research indicates that there has been a general transformation in the understanding of masculinities across Africa which affects all tribes including the Nuäär in the East, but that this transformation has not been warmly welcomed. In their research on masculinity Ouzgane and Morrell (2005) suggest that ‘imposing a Western gaze on African gender relations is like a square peg in a round hole.’ Some African immigrants, including the Nuäär, believe that the imposed Western culture has dismantled families and destroyed masculinity and manhood, thereby causing a crisis for families.

Furthermore, in the 1990s masculinity studies, then a relatively new presence in the field of gender studies, began to pose questions about men with patriarchal power by looking into the complex relationship between hegemonic masculinity (the ideal of a real man in a given time and place), and subordinate masculinity (masculinities that fall short of this ideal) (Connell 2000). Connell’s concept of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ refers to a ‘particular kind of behaviour and ways of being, which are made culturally dominant and

come to be seen as the pattern of masculinity in general' (Connell 2005). For example being involved in sport and being a provider are examples of hegemonic masculinity, while being an at-home dad, shunning social activities or living in isolation are examples of subordinate masculinity in an American context.

The Nuäär came to Australia as a patriarchal society with expectations that they would maintain their traditional family structure where women are subordinate and men the recognised breadwinners. As explained in this context in previous chapters, the Nuäär family consists of a wide kinship network made up of those connected genealogically through either the father or mother. The family is also often polygamous with Nuäär men able to marry several wives (Holtzman 2008). The Nuäär man is the breadwinner and head of the households, and practices absolute power over all the households. Therefore the Nuäär believe in a concept of hegemonic masculinity that views a man as a warrior, a protector, a provider, and not as a stay-at-home dad.

Most of the Nuäär who participated in this research, especially the men, believe that there is threat to these Nuäär cultural values and understandings posed by the changes in gender roles influenced by the dominant Australian culture. They believe that this is one of the root causes of family conflict and the crisis of masculinity within the Nuäär community in Australia, and that it has not been adequately explored by research. However, this understanding of manhood and masculinity based on Nuäär tradition ignores the fact that Nuäär masculinity and gender roles have already been in a process of transformation since before the start of their forced internal displacement and external migration. This shift started well before they arrived in Australia and has caused changes in gender roles and perceptions that have had enormous impact on both men and women.

The impact of displacement as a result of war and poverty and the experience before resettlement in Australia of life in transit countries with different environments and cultures was the start of the initial transformation of gender roles and masculinity for the Nuäär. The role of men, which in a patriarchal Nuäär family had been largely linked to

being a provider and working outside the home, and the role of women, which had been within the home, became different. The men's roles changed to the greater extent during this period of transition which created situations which forced men to work around the house, while it doubled the challenge for the women who had to care for the children despite the living conditions in the refugee camps and also had to work outside the home. The changing nature of work before and after resettlement with the increased participation of women in workforce and the relative loss of employment opportunities among Nuäär men had a particular significant impact. The men's decreasing chances for employment have also weakened men's primary role in the family and this has been regarded as one of the driving elements in a crisis of masculinity (Chant 2000). With these changes the dynamic of power relations within family life has also changed. Referring back to Dryden's (2014) idea of 'normlessness' as a result of gender roles 'in flux', it has become apparent that in this time of transition Nuäär men and women are facing normlessness, as is evident within the context of the family and household relationships, for instance in the relationship between child and parents. However, as Dryden emphasises, employing greater flexibility in order to cope with adopting new norms of gender and masculinity remains the only viable theoretical option for the Nuäär in Australia.

These transformations have been explored generally in the context of African and Sudanese migrants, for example by Marlowe, who in his leading analysis on change in South Sudanese gender roles identified how the experience of migration led to a loss of power for Sudanese men (of which the Nuäär are a sub-group) in the gender and institutional domains (Marlowe 2010). The factors of greatest influence include women's access to paid employment and to other activities besides home-making, which leaves the men to care for the children and do the other home activities which are traditionally designated as women's work in Nuäär culture. Marlowe also emphasises how raising children was a shared community responsibility in Africa but because in their new environment the community is dispersed with limited links and less opportunity for cooperation with neighbours, it has become more difficult for Sudanese men and women to raise children in Australia. As other new migrant groups have experienced,

the children are also strongly influenced by their peers and the host country's cultural environment to adopt views on their rights that may contradict their parents' teaching. Marlowe addressed these challenges and how to deal with them in his analysis entitled 'Walking the Line', a phrase that provides insights about the multiple challenges facing Sudanese in the areas of culture, social relations and masculinity. He argues that the South Sudanese have to continue to navigate with few clear signposts as they struggle to maintain their traditions, histories and values against the expectations and pressure of life in Australia. Similarly, Nuäär men and women in their gender performance have to learn to balance on a fine line in managing cultural transition within their new environment, as they slowly learn to practice new cultural and gender roles while maintaining certain aspects of their past traditions.

In this regard the changing nature of work has also played an important role in the demise of the Nuäär traditional understanding of a patriarchal family. The nuclear structure with a male breadwinner at its head is no longer the expected state. More importantly, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, gender dimensions in the labour market in Australia that have changed the participation of women in the workforce with a corresponding loss of employment opportunities for men have affected the gender relations and the understanding of masculinity among the Nuäär. Their hegemonic masculinity is replaced by a subordinate masculinity as a consequence of the women being empowered by the Australian welfare system. The women's increased access to earnings allows them to break free of their dependence on men in their homes and to head their own households and this changes the gender dynamic and puts the masculinity of Nuäär men in a weaker position. Likewise the decline of possibilities for employment among men has been seen as weakening the Nuäär men's ability to fulfil their breadwinning responsibilities. In other respects too there has been a process of significant change. For example, caring for children or feeding the family has become the responsibility of all, not just for the women. The expectations that determine what it means to be male or female in a family have been changing as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia.

Marlowe's research, and that of others (Abdi 2014; Lejukole 2009; Marlowe et al. 2014), even though they focus mostly on the vulnerabilities of women and children and less on men and masculinities, is significant for my study. However all of these works cover African or South Sudanese communities in general in a variety of different geographical locations, and to that extent have downplayed the significance of the different nationalities, with different cultures and languages, that make up the diverse 'African community' in Australia. Gender identity and family roles within the Nuäär community in Australia are different from those in the Oromo or Dinka community. Nonetheless, I was interested in the increasing spread of discussion about the family in crisis and the crisis of masculinity in relation to the recent shift in gender and family values in the Australian Nuäär community.

The changes associated with resettlement may cause Nuäär men to feel that their authority has been threatened and to become frustrated. They have lost economic and financial power and seen their provider position diminished, which has changed the gender norms and thus created in the new social context a tension and significant hidden difficulties arising from the internalised performativity of masculinity held prior to migration. This may lead to Nuäär men using violence in their gender relationships in order to regain a sense of masculinity and control within their families. As mentioned earlier, by studying the changing Nuäär perceptions and experiences of the family and the impact of shifting gender roles and masculinity this research is not only contributing additional knowledge to the broader literature on the migrant experience, but it is also informing policy makers and service providers working with the Nuäär community in Australia with a view to improving the settlement experience for its members. This is the gap in knowledge that this research is trying to fill.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an outline of the concepts of gender and gender roles and introduced performativity theory as a key framework, appropriate for use in this discussion. Gender theory and the literature on masculinity provide a basis for

comparing Nuäär gender roles within their traditional hierarchical system. In doing so, I also discussed the concepts and understanding of the theoretical framework of masculinity as applied to the Nuäär perception of traditional masculinity.

Until recently the Nuäär have had an understanding of gender roles as a static phenomenon. The Nuäär perspective is contextualised as a theory of gender roles based on societal norms (Ayman & Korabik 2010). Nuäär society considers girls primarily in terms of the material benefits, the wealth from their dowries when they marry, that they will bring to a family for the benefit of the father, brother or whichever man is in charge in her family. Therefore having girls in the family is very important for the Nuäär. The Nuäär also view a man as the potential successor to the father and thus the future of that family. That is why the relationship between husband and wife remains normatively hierarchical in Nuäär tradition, and it is this concept that Nuäär men in Australia struggle to change.

In the next chapter, I shall discuss the activities and strategies that I employed to carry out this research, i.e. the methodology and data collection methods. I shall show how I analysed and interpreted the data to form theories. I also reflect on my position as an insider researcher so as to identify potential risk and the strategies taken to minimise possible implications for the research.

Chapter 5 - Methodology and Data Collection Methods and Analysis

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four parts. Part One describes the research design and theoretical framework, which includes the research paradigm and epistemological perspectives informing this work.

This part also introduces and explains the nature of ethnographic fieldwork. As Maxwell notes, drawing on Kuhn, a paradigm can be described as a set of very general philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world (ontology) and how we can understand it (epistemology), assumptions that tend to be shared by researchers working in a specific field or tradition (Maxwell 2012). Maxwell further emphasises that a paradigm also includes specific methodological strategies that are linked to these assumptions, as well as identified philosophical positions such as positivism, constructivism, realism and pragmatism. Each of these embodies very different ideas about reality and how we can gain knowledge. Drawing on this concept, I employ a constructivist methodology using grounded theory as a research approach. The primary reason for using this approach is to uncover and explore discursive knowledge and meaning construction between the research participants and myself as a researcher.

Part Two covers the data collection process. I used social research field techniques including semi-structured and unstructured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation, both observations of events and home visits, as my primary methods of data collection. In particular, I drew on the approach of grounded theory (Charmaz 2014) and procedures in participant sampling. Grounded theorists purposively select participants who they believe can offer valuable insight into the topic under study (Foley & Timonen 2015) and collect their responses with questionnaires. In general the inquiry process in the field includes identification of the field site, access to the community and finding ways to recruit participants. In this part I explain the nature of the field site and discuss the issues I encountered during the data collection and

through my interaction with the research participants. I also provide an analysis of the dynamic processes and challenges at each stage of the research.

Part Three covers the strategies I have used to code and analyse the data. Coding is a process of organising and sorting data in a way that allows one to summarise and synthesise the data, which then forms the basis for analysis (Bazeley 2013; Charmaz 2006, 2014; Clarke & Charmaz 2014). Coding can be done in many ways. Many researchers use software coding programs, while others use manual coding, but coding always involves assigning category symbols to perform the tasks of summarising and storing and creating themes. As I used manual coding, I went through the prescribed steps starting from initial coding, to focus coding, theoretical sampling and theory generation, all the while looking for indicators that would identify changes of gender roles within Nuäär family life and their impact, especially on men.

Part Four discusses ethical considerations and complications. In this part I focus mainly on the ethical limitations of my research. Privacy and confidentiality are potential ethical risks in my research. Because my target group is very small, it is difficult not to disclose the identities of the participants in this research. Again confidentiality and privacy in focus groups can be difficult to maintain (Pollock 2013) especially with the researcher as an insider. I shall discuss these ethical issues and how they were addressed. In particular, I reflect on the impact of my role as insider researcher and discuss the complexities and the duty of care that is important for an insider researcher's relationships during the research process.

Part One: Research Design

Qualitative Approach

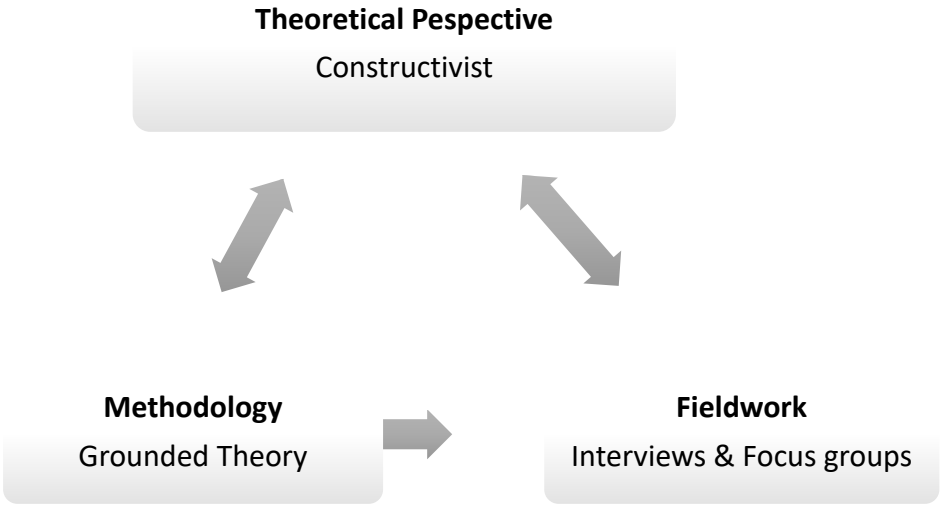
There are various ways to design research and the choice of which one to use will usually depend on the research question combined with the researcher’s own orientation and paradigm within their discipline. Most designs use different concepts to carry out or to accomplish their objectives. Maxwell emphasises that a research design

is presented as a menu of a standard type from which one needs to choose and prescribe the series of stages or tasks in planning or conducting a study (Maxwell 2012). Maxwell further argues that a good design is one in which all components work harmoniously together to promote efficient and successful function.

For the collection and analysis of data I chose to use a qualitative research framework that emphasises the webs of meaning that people create and value in their lives, rather than a quantitative approach. One of the important distinctions between qualitative and quantitative approaches is that qualitative research provides a rich description of phenomena and generates hypotheses about phenomena, while the quantitative approach excels at testing hypotheses derived from existing theory (Foley & Timonen 2015; Lewis & Ritchie 2003; Onwuegbuzie et al. 2009). In quantitative research, as most commonly found in experimental research, the hypothesis is deduced from the theory and tested. Given these characteristics, it is clear that a quantitative approach is not appropriate for this research question because there is no theory to be tested.

The qualitative approach explains processes or patterns of human behaviours and it is conducted in uncontrolled and simple settings. A good qualitative research design is a design which is flexible in process rather than fixed and it should be inductive rather than follow a strict sequential process (Auerbach & Silverstein 2003; Maxwell 2012). In my research design the theoretical perspective, methodology and methods are coherent and simple (see Figure 4 below). They are structured in such a way as to focus on attending to the evidence and meanings of the individual experiences of the challenges arising from resettlement, as expressed by the Nuäär who participated in my study, while also contributing towards theory building.

Figure 4: Research Design Format



My model is a qualitative research design, which is systemic and flexible in process (Charmaz 2014; Denzin & Lincoln 2011). Flexibility in research design allows a researcher to have more freedom during the process of data collection and analysis. This allows me to review and engage with the data in the process of constructing a theory and to continually assess whether this design is working or whether it requires adjustment during the process in order to achieve what I want as a researcher. Identifying a qualitative research methodology as most appropriate to address the research question leads to debates about justifying qualitative methods within a wider research community rooted in traditions of deductive postivism, within which researcher neutrality, passivity and objectivism is implied (Charmaz 2014). However, using this research design helps construct approaches to understand Nuäär perspectives on how their past and present experiences pg changing gender roles have impacted their resettlement and integration process, and the negotiation of their new identities in an unfamiliar environment (Marlowe 2010c). This approach allows the researcher to continuously update interpretation of the data as it is analysed based on the cumulative information and perspectives provided by the project's research participants, and to

build inductive theoretical understandings that emerge from, rather than being imposed upon, the data (Patton 1980).

Theoretical framework: Constructivism

There are different theories in qualitative research. According to Liamputtong (2009), the major paradigms and perspectives that organise and structure qualitative research are positivism and post-positivism, critical theory, constructivist and participatory action frameworks, feminist perspectives, cultural studies and disability theories, and symbolic interactionism. These theories are applied differently in various research settings depending on the research question. The positivist paradigm, which posits that there is a single identifiable reality and a single truth that can be measured and studied, stands in contrast to the constructivist perspective, which attempts to gain understanding by interpreting subjects' perceptions and meaning-making. The constructivist theory, which I have chosen, is the notion that reality exists as multiple mental constructions, based on experience (Denzin 1989; Denzin & Lincoln 2011). Constructivist Grounded Theory is distinct from classical Grounded Theory, in which objective theory was seen to emerge from the data (Adams, Huggard & Hoare 2015), and ithis best met the aim of my research. According to Charmaz (2014), Constructivist Grounded Theory asserts that researchers are part of the world that we study and the data that we collect. We therefore construct our theories through our past and present interactions with people, perspectives and research practices. Based on a constructivist approach, it is possible to develop a substantive theory about the Nuäär settlement experience using my past and present interactions within the Nuäär resettlement community, whilst simultaneously accounting for my role as a researcher who is embedded within the co-construction of meaning with participants and the subsequent decisions that shape the research process (Charmaz 2006).

In exploring the changing nature of the family, where gender is a primary category by which the social world is organised, the constructivist approach is the most appropriate to apply and acquire knowledge about the research topic (Matthews & Ross 2014). As

Denzin & Lincoln and others (Feyissa 2011; Lejukole 2009; Perrone et al. 2009; Tyson 1982) argue, knowledge is constructed through lived experiences and interactions, and gender identities and roles are part of this social construction process.

The theory of social constructivism challenges the assumption that culture is pre-given, an external reality that acts on and constrains people. Instead it can be seen as an emergent reality which is in a continuous state of construction and reconstruction (Bryman 2015; Moore 1975; Payne et al. 2008). This reconstruction of social reality is produced through social interaction, within which the researchers' own accounts of new phenomena in the social world are significant. I applied the social constructivist epistemological framework of interpretivism to investigate the ways in which individuals interpret the changing nature of gender roles within Nuäär family settings. I also engaged in a broader project which is to gain knowledge of the experience of reconstructed Nuäär gender roles within family life through individuals' engagement within different family settings in new cultural contexts. The key idea of constructivism is that the researcher is a co-producer of knowledge (Levi 2014) through designing appropriate questions both for the research question and for the meaning-worlds of participants: hence the experiences of Nuäär men participating in the study were the main focus, and careful consideration was paid to the uniqueness of their individual contexts and how these shaped their accounts of masculinity in resettlement. The questions to collect the data were prepared to help Nuäär men and women unpack their settlement experiences in changing gender roles and masculinities and also to help me as a researcher interpret and produce theoretical knowledge about these experiences. In some situations, asking inappropriate questions is a key factor in compromising methodological rigour in qualitative research (Levi 2014). In order to overcome this potential weakness, research questions were shared and discussed with Nuäär community leaders prior to commencing the interviews and focus group discussions to gain their feedback and input on the questions' cultural and community relevance.

In addition, I used a constructivist approach to gender which draws attention to the way in which the meanings attached to gender identity are shaped by human history,

practices or experiences and culture (Payne et al. 2008). These practices and identities are shaped and reshaped by attitudes and perceptions over time in particular societies. As the Nuäär in this study have migrated and resettled in Australia, their identities and family settings, especially those concerning gender identity and gender roles within the family, have been reconstructed through their engagement in the process of integration into Australian society. In understanding this reconstruction, the theoretical perspective of gender decision-making and relationships in family formulation in the studies by Benjamin and Sullivan (1999) and Krulfeld (1994) were also relevant, and further clarified how a new culture influences day-to-day family life in Nuäär society. This theoretical stance informed the choice of data to be collected, and also the methodology and methods that I have applied for this research project, as discussed below.

Methodology: Grounded Theory

It became an important part of my inquiry to understand how the Nuäär migrants experienced their resettlement, their dealings with adopting the new Australian culture and a new way of family life and the meaning they assign to these experiences. The research questions and how the data will be collected and analysed always influence the choice of methodology. I have chosen grounded theory as the method for this research because it can effectively guide the research procedures and can allow a researcher to identify how and why people behave in certain ways in a particular environment (Corbin & Strauss 2014; Foley & Timonen 2015).

Grounded theory is one of the most widely known methodologies in social research and it is ultimately about developing a theory that is grounded in the data (Charmaz 2014). Since the purpose of grounded theory is to allow a researcher to identify the main concerns of a subject group (Artinian, Giske & Cone 2009; Clarke & Charmaz 2014), it allows me as a researcher to identify the concerns of Nuäär men in particular and the challenges to their manhood in relation to the changes in gender roles that result from their resettlement in Australia.

Grounded theory further facilitates more coherent discussion of what Nuäär people resettling in Australia think would be a solution to these challenges. As argued by some scholars (Clarke & Charmaz 2014; Losoncz 2011) the meaning which people give to their experiences is never accidental or random; rather it is purposeful and constructed. I assumed this to mean that the Nuäär's understandings of the impact of changes in gender roles in their new country would emerge from the raw data and the research context, and this assumption influenced my choice of grounded theory for my methodology.

Furthermore, I chose this approach as it allowed me to bring in my own past experiences and pre-existing knowledge about the issues facing migrants in the resettlement process as a necessary starting point (Charmaz 2006) to think analytically about the data. Grounded theory also gave me the opportunity to move beyond describing and analysing data to a deeper understanding of Nuäär ontology. At the same time, I was well aware that other researchers may have their own ways of applying grounded theory for different reasons and to develop different insights.

As with all field work research, to gain access to the community and collect the necessary data may require a long period of community engagement. However, my long interaction and association with the community, being a Nuäär man myself, has paved the way for the participants to have confidence in the research and regard it as their own property. Traditionally the Nuäär believe in shared ownership and communal property so that a successful outcome by an individual is also considered as a success for the community. The Nuäär understand the meaning and outcome of this research as something that will inform the system about their challenges during settlement and hope that it might ultimately create a lasting social difference (Weiner 1993).

I myself as a Nuäär and as a researcher, who owns and controls the process and outcome of this research, also share the same sense of possession. Weiner describes 'inalienable possession' as 'immovable property which is symbolically identified with the group that owns it and hence cannot be transferred or exchanged.' An inalienable

possession is an object made to be kept not given away, and even if it is given, it must finally return to the giver (Weiner 1993; Clark 1993; Whitehouse 1993). The sense of ownership that the Nuäär participants have shown indicates the trust and belief they have in the research and the researcher. This sense of possession and my insider position facilitated accessibility and enabled me to be welcomed and trusted while collecting the qualitative data. The trust between the participants and me has developed through our ongoing engagement and interpersonal relationships within the Nuäär community. This relationship has allowed smooth and effective engagement during the data collection process.

Part Two: Data Collection Process

As soon as ethics approval was received in January 2014, I started considering collecting data for this research. Based on the nature of the inquiry, I had decided to use ethnographic techniques for collecting data in the field and it was this approach the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee had approved. Ethnography means recording the lives and experiences of the members of a particular group or community (Madden 2010). Ethnography is a description of people, and it deals with people in the collective sense, not with individuals. It is a way of studying people and their culture within an organisation or community and examines the group's learned and shared behaviours, customs and beliefs (Angrosino 2007b; Charmaz 2014; Ladner 2014; Madden 2010). It covers the cycle of life occurring within the given milieu and often includes supplementary data from documents, diagrams, maps, photos and, occasionally, formal interviews and questionnaires.

The ethnographic method is a research technique that has long been used in small scale, culturally isolated communities and has later expanded to study groups who are well-defined by race, ethnicity, age, social class or other identifiers within larger societies (Angrosino 2007a; Ocejo et al. 2004). This describes well the Nuäär resettlement community who were the focus of my study. I therefore found it to be a useful and rich tradition and I resolved that this would be the method I should use for my

research. Data was collected through ethnographic engagement with the Nuäär community, mostly through face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions and participant observations. I spent time with different participants, visiting their homes and at public events (such as marriage ceremonies, dowries negotiations, cultural shows, weddings and community meetings) observing their various activities and interactions whether as individuals, within the family or as part of a larger group.

Selecting a Field Site

Selection of a field site for research is a common problem for researchers using qualitative and/or case study methods. Researchers choose a field site for a range of reasons, be they theoretical, ideological, interpersonal or pragmatic (Burgess 2003). Some reasons are acknowledged while others remain unacknowledged and thus hidden from external analysis or the researcher's own reflection. The selection process can be theorised and justified in a variety of ways. Its an application always involves considerations of cost, accessibility, space, place, boundaries, mobility, representativeness and the concept of the locality itself (Creswell 2013; de Munck 2009). Choosing a site that is accessible to the researcher and that has enough activities to study in the time available is very important. Following are the reasons underlying my choice.

The selection of the field site for this research was based on where the Nuäär had settled in Australia. The majority of them arrived in Australia through humanitarian visas at different times and were allocated across Australia by the Immigration Department. Thus they were dispersed across Australia - some in Sydney and in Brisbane, a relatively larger number of families living in Adelaide and Perth, but most in the south eastern suburbs of Melbourne, Victoria, and specifically in Greater Dandenong as the centre of their business activities. Many migrants have settled or relocated to the Dandenong area because of its history since the 20th century as a metropolitan area known for manufacturing and commercial development (City of Greater Dandenong 2015).

This development provides opportunities for employment, which together with the availability of public housing has inspired many people to migrate to this area, making it the most diverse local council in Victoria. According to the census of 2011, about 150,000 people live in Greater Dandenong and over half of this population was born overseas, from 150 different birthplaces, and two thirds of this population have a first language that is other than English (City of Greater Dandenong 2015). Recently, the number of those born overseas has risen with the result that Greater Dandenong is the greatest area of resettlement within Australia for even newly arrived humanitarian refugees, who are mainly from Africa and who include the Nuäär. However the surrounding suburbs too are expanding, especially the City of Casey, and many Nuäär are now buying houses and shifting there.

The population of Nuäär in this area of Melbourne is estimated by the research participants to be around 3,000 to 4,000, although there are no official statistics to confirm this. The Australia Census of 2011 (Department of Immigration & Citizenship 2011) provides some limited statistics on those born in South Sudan but does not give an exact estimate of the Nuäär population in Australia, so the estimate provided by research participants might be higher than the actual number. The Nuäär have some premises in Noble Park where they own small local businesses, such as restaurants with African food, entertainment centres and child care services, and that area has also become the place for Nuäär community connections, meetings and events. For that reason, the south eastern suburbs of Melbourne, which include the cities of Casey, Monash and Greater Dandenong as the centre, were selected to be the main field site. The Sobat Training Centre in Noble Park is used as the main office of the Nuäär community and this was the venue where some of the interviews and focus group discussions were held. However other areas in Victoria where the Nuäär are located in numbers, such as Geelong, Colac, Ballarat and Morwell in South Gippsland, were also visited. Ballarat was selected for one focus group due to the opportunity provided by the presence there of an Anglican Church led by a Nuäär pastor.

Recruitment of Participants

The starting point for data collection was participant recruitment. Participants for both interviews and focus groups were recruited from the Nuäär community immediately after the questionnaires and a pamphlet entitled 'Information to Participants Involved in Research' were complete and translated into the Nuäär language. The research documents together with their translations in the Nuäär language are attached as appendices.

Recruitment was not straightforward and there were many difficulties that had to be overcome during the process. Brinkman challenges researchers who may think that interviewing others for research purposes is easy and simple to do because it employs a set of techniques that everyone can master by virtue of being capable of asking questions and recording the answers (Brinkmann 2013). There were some difficulties associated with time constraints, distance of travel to venues in scattered settlements, and a heavy load of family responsibilities.

I used purposeful and snowball sampling to recruit participants. Purposeful sampling aims to reflect and value diversity within the community and the varied experiences and understandings of the dynamics of gender issues (Charmaz 2014, Bell, 2013; Suri 2011). Suri indicates that snowball sampling involves seeking information from key informants about the details of rich cases provided by others. That means it requires access to key informants in the field who can help to identify other potential informants. The sampling approach was governed by a maximum variation strategy in which respondents were deliberately chosen for their differences in experience from one another (Levi 2014). The aim was to gain in-depth insight into both Nuäär men's and women's migration experiences. Using this approach, I needed a strategy to identify key informants who could then help identify other potential volunteer informants from the Nuäär community. To this end, recruitment efforts were focused in different locations in Melbourne and interstate to include participants who were here as couples, those who were here alone, and those with and without employment from amongst the broader community of Nuäär men and women. For the purposes of this study, a child

was defined as younger than 18 years of age. Children were identified as potentially being at high risk in relation to research participation and were excluded from research. However, men and women (over 18 years of age) were identified as low risk research participants and were generally considered to qualify for participation. A range of different Nuäär organisations and and Nuäär churches were also approached.

Through initial sampling the first contact was made by emails and phone calls with Nuäär community leaders and influential elders, most of whom were heads of families within the Nuäär community in Melbourne. I also engaged with church leaders so that they might help me to find recruits and also act as participants themselves and provide their views on this issue. These initial contacts were to survey availability and to test the level of interest in this research among the Nuäär community members and for both aspects the response was very good. These leaders and elders helped in the recruitment of the participants by nominating others, men and women, based on their active engagement and participation in the community.

The Nuäär community leaders provided phone numbers for the nominated participants who qualified and met the research criteria. I phoned each of those nominated to secure their acceptance to participate, and later to arrange the interviews. Most participants were recruited from the different suburbs in Melbourne where the Nuäär have settled but a few were also recruited from other states in Australia. The interview schedules were arranged separately for different dates and times to ensure the anonymity of the participants.

Men were overwhelmingly interested in participation. I assumed it was because they want to express their frustration, grievances and sense of injustice and victimisation from a system that allows greater opportunity for women to challenge the men's authority in the household. Women on their part were also positive but always with a degree of caution, as I had guessed that there might be because of the tensions that exist between them and their menfolk in relation to the changes in gender roles as they adapt to a new life in Australia. I publicised my quest for volunteer participants in the

community, and in a short time I got more men than I wanted. However the women were slower to respond, so later I used women's groups and church leaders to identify some potential participants with a personal interest in these issues. The Kuiybor Women's Organisation played a strong role in the recruitment.

I also contacted a Jikany Nuäär women's organisation operating in Melbourne and in refugee camps and elsewhere internationally. Seven women volunteered to participate in interviews and to become members of the women's focus group. A local church in Ballarat led by a Nuäär bishop also helped to recruit participants and provided a venue for a focus group discussion that took place in Ballarat in May 2014. I acknowledge the help and assistance accorded by all these organisations.

It was originally proposed to hold eight individual interviews with participants drawn from families and community leaders but the number of interviewees was later increased to 14, 6 women and 8 men, in order to strengthen the research results. There were also three focus groups, each having 10 people: a mixed gender focus group of younger people, an older men's focus group and a women's focus group. So in total there were 44 participants including two participants from Perth and two from Sydney, all four of whom were leaders representing the branches of the Nuäär community in their respective States.

Among the Nuäär participants, three were community leaders: a Nuäär youth leader, a Nuäär women's leader and the Chairman of the Nuäär Community in Victoria, who has given his permission to be identified. Others were selected according to their engagement with the community and their experience and knowledge of the challenges that have been faced by Nuäär groups in settling into the Australian way of life. Members of the Nuäär community have shown high interest in this research. Many voluntarily requested to participate and it was a challenge to keep the number of participants down to the number planned for this research. In general then the recruitment was very successful. The following table shows the demographic characteristics of the participants from the Nuäär community.

Figure 5. Demographics of participants

Age group	Male	Female	Total
18 - 25	3	2	5
26 - 35	4	2	6
36 - 45	10	8	18
46 - 55	8	6	14
56 - 65	1	0	1
Total	26	18	44

Semi-structured Interviews

The interviews and focus group discussions were conducted from January to October 2014. Before each interview or focus group began, I gave the participants a briefing that explained the purpose of the study and the associated safety and confidentiality protocols in the data collection process, and sought their consent. The English version of the relevant documents (Information to Participants Involved in Research) that explain the details of the study design and the participants' role in the research process is provided in Appendices A & B. As mentioned earlier, the information to participants was translated into the Nuäär language and read in both English and Nuäär by those participants who were able to read and also explained orally to those who were not able to read before the commencement of the interviews.

In collecting the research data, I used in-depth face-to-face interviews with both semi-structured and unstructured formats. The concept of the face-to-face interview is a 'face to face verbal exchange of ideas in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons' (Brinkmann 2013). The 14 recruits for these interviews were invited to meet at a place of their choosing. Some were interviewed at home while others were interviewed at Victoria University or at the Noble Park Sobat Training Centre where the Nuäär

community operates. A first pilot interview was held on 21 April 2014 at this Centre, a second on 24 April at the office of the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Victoria University, and a third on 10 May 2014 at an individual's home. These pilot interviews provided me with an opportunity to modify the research questions and to understand the areas in need of improvement in the data collection process.

The Sobat Training Centre, which was the focal point for meeting the participants, is privately owned. Its owner also runs a family Day Care Service for the Nuäär community and provides assistance to the Nuäär community groups (Youth, Women and Elders Groups) by permitting them to use the Training Centre for meetings and other activities. The owner was happy to make the venue available for this research in return for the publicity given and public acknowledgement of the role it played. I used this venue for two focus group meetings and for in-depth face-to-face interviews for some of the participants. The availability of this place and the kindness of its owner has indeed helped me and facilitated my data collection and so I would like to use this opportunity to acknowledge the great contribution from the owner of the Sobat Training Centre in Noble Park.

I contacted the participants individually in order to allow me have time with one before interviewing another, especially since I had to go from one home to another. The interviews took the form of a discussion or conversation where I guided and controlled the process but with flexibility to address other relevant issues which might arise during the interviews. In this way the interviews were both structured and unstructured.

The interview questions gathered data on gender, age, marital status, where the participants came from and their journeys to Australia, their experiences of flight and as a refugee, and place of residence in Australia. Issues such as the relationship between changing gender roles and cultural identity, family life, community experiences, coping strategies and resources also formed part of the focus for data collection. A complete list of the questions in English which were orally translated into Nuäär during the interviews is provided in Appendices E & F. It is important to note that these questions

were also reviewed and modified as the study progressed. During these in-depth interviews I wrote down the responses from my informants as a detailed narrative. I have learned about their backgrounds, histories, experiences of war and displacement, migration and life in exile in refugee camps and within the Nuäär lands. This also provided an opportunity for informants to narrate their recent experiences of resettlement in a new environment.

Although things went smoothly during the recruitment, there were some challenges in relation to attendance at interviews and focus group discussions. As I mentioned earlier, one of the problems was time constraints, especially for women. Many participants had family responsibilities, some were working and some lived a distance away, so getting to the agreed venue on time was a real problem for some. There is also the concept of Sudan local time, which means being in no hurry to meet a commitment. When Sudanese have an appointment or a time for a meeting, they come at least one hour late. This concept exists even within the Australian Nuäär community, and for that reason it was a challenge for me to meet the allocated timeframe for interviews, which took me longer than projected.

I had thought about employing a female interviewer for the sake of gender issues. The gender issues I mean are those cultural behaviours and private matters that may prevent women from speaking freely to a male researcher. However the Nuäär is an open society with a culture of openness, where women are always happy to discuss family matters openly with their siblings and friends from both sexes. So after careful consideration and recognition of the limitations that this might cause I decided that it was appropriate for me, a male researcher, to interview the female participants. In addition the women intending to participate in this research were asked at an early stage whether they needed a female interviewer or not. They said that they were okay with either male or female, and gave their formal assent to be interviewed knowing that the interviewer would be male. Therefore I decided to conduct the interviews myself and throughout the interview process the women who participated in the interviews were confidently engaged and happy.

Although the interviews went well in Melbourne, in Sydney and Perth I did not receive the numbers I expected. I interviewed only four people in both places, but I compensated for that lack of numbers with additional recruits in Melbourne. In total, 14 people (8 men and 6 women) were individually interviewed face-to-face. The interviews were important and permitted questions that explored complex interpersonal issues such as wife/husband and parent/child relationships and gender roles. The interviews further helped me compile important information and facilitated harmony between my informants and myself during the data collection period. This also gave me opportunities to adapt and modify the interview questions and to clarify questions not understood by my informants. The open questions I used permitted them to tell their stories in ways that were meaningful to them. Their responses reflect the difficult experiences they passed through and the challenges they are facing. In talking about gender issues, many participants emphasised that some of what they had experienced has made it very difficult for them to maintain hope and has diminished their collective traditional culture, although some embraced the positive transformation in their lives.

Focus groups

Another data collection method that I used was the focus group. Traditionally, a focus group is used as 'a way of collecting qualitative data, which essentially involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion focused around a particular topic or set of issues' (Halkier 2010; Onwuegbuzie et al. 2009). There are very important reasons for the focus group being a popular method used by social researchers. It is suggested in the literature that focus groups are less threatening to many research participants and this environment is helpful for participants to discuss perceptions, ideas, opinions and thoughts (Halkier 2010; Krueger & Casey 2002). Using focus groups was also found to be an economical, fast and efficient method for obtaining data from multiple participants, in addition to creating a sense of belonging to a group, cohesiveness and helping participants feel safe, enabling them to share

information for possible spontaneous discussions of personal problems and possible solutions (Halkier 2010; Wong 2008).

As mentioned earlier, before these focus groups started their discussions, the document that detailed the study, their roles and the procedures of the focus group, and the confidentiality and safety arrangements was provided to each participant and their individual consents were sought. This document is attached as Appendices C and D. Three focus groups took place in order to consider the issues being researched with thirty people participating in discussion across the three groups. There was a youth focus group with participants aged 18-25, and separate women's and men's focus groups with participants aged 26-60. Normally a focus group consists of 6-12 people with each session lasting about one or two hours. This format is endorsed as enough for qualitative data collection (Bloor et al. 2000; Brinkmann 2013; Kamberelis 2013; Remenyi 2012). The division of focus groups based on age and gender allows freer discussion on gender-related issues and avoids the possibility that women might fear to speak openly as their subordinate social position prevents them from doing so (Bishop 2011).

However, as I mentioned earlier, not all turned out for these discussions. There were 12 participants in the men's focus group but only eight participants in the women's focus group and ten participants in the mixed gender youth focus group, six males and four females. These focus group discussions took place in Noble Park at the Sobat Training Centre while one focus group met at the Anglican Church in Ballarat. Most of those who participated in the youth focus group reside in Ballarat or Geelong. The focus group discussions were well-organised forums which were able to provide information about the participants' experiences and the challenges facing both men and women in their relationships. They also provided insight into how the welfare agencies and the social services system could improve their intervention practices to better accommodate Nuäär cultural tradition and thus perhaps help to minimise stress within migrant families.

In the discussions, the participants were active and participated well. However, in the mixed gender youth focus group, some women spoke less than the men. I thought that this could be an influence of the Nuäär tradition that women have to show appropriate public behaviour by being quiet and reserved around men. There was an interesting argument between men and women about the treatment of men by women being outside the Nuäär tradition and about women being supported by the system.

Participant Observations

One of the methods of data collection proposed was participant observation. Frances Gardner contextualised participant observation as a technique that often involves recording behaviours in settings that are relatively unnatural for families, so the validity of the observational method depends partly on whether the families' actions are representative of participants' typical everyday behaviour (Gardner 2000). In a qualitative approach, observation allows an investigator to acquire an in-depth understanding of phenomena. The observation of the phenomena starts without prior judgment or hypothesis (Suen & Ary 2014). According to Suen and Ary, the participant observation method, in which the observer participates as a member of the social group being observed, is the one most often recommended. However nonparticipant observation methods have also been used. Although there may be some concern about the presence of the observer, Gardner's work on the relationship between parents and children suggests that the presence of an observer does not necessarily distort the nature of interaction (Gardner 2000). I have assumed that my presence in observational settings such as homes and social events did not cause any complications as there were no signs of discomfort or discontent observed, nor any complaints to date from participants or others in the community.

The participant observations took place in public places and community meeting areas, as well as in Nuäär households. This enabled me to see how the cultural performance of gender as gender identity has shifted in both the public and private domain. In other cultures it might be difficult or inappropriate to observe this, but since the Nuäär are a

culturally open society, which likes to discuss issues in public during performances and in family activities, and since I am myself a Nuäär, it did not cause any concern or complications for the data collection process. The observation of meetings was to see how women and men participate in community affairs and leadership. Generally through the participant observations I was able to observe how the changes in gender roles as a result of migration and resettlement have affected the lives of families and the feelings and behaviour of men within the Nuäär community. The details of these findings are discussed in Chapter 6.

Part Three: Data Analysis Process

For the data analysis stage in this research I followed the constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2014; Corbin & Strauss 1990; Glaser & Strauss 1967) from which numerous interactive themes and patterns emerged. As Charmaz argues, grounded theory means theory that is developed from data systematically gathered and analysed through a research process. Grounded theory consists of systematic yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories from the data itself. In this method, data collection, analysis and eventually theory stand in a close relationship to one another. The researcher does not begin research with knowledge in mind but with an awareness of an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data. Theory emerging through grounded theory analysis is more likely to resemble reality and provide more insights into the data. This is because grounded theory research method is a systematic research process that works to develop a process and action or interaction when exploring a topic.

Charmaz (2014), in her *Constructing Grounded Theory*, proposes an inductive strategy whereby the researcher discovers concepts and hypotheses through constant comparative analysis. However it is important to apply other strategies in generating theory from data. When I began this research, I had no idea of what to do and how to do it, or what I would get out of it. I assumed that this research would produce some knowledge, and the challenges facing my community was one of the issues in mind, but

I had no idea of the theory it would generate. That is where Charmaz's approach to grounded theory analysis is really important. The themes that emerged from the data and the theory that has developed from it have guided the direction of this thesis.

In addition, Interpretivists such as Denzin (1989) and Geertz (1973) offer different understandings and analytical perspectives for generating theory based on interpretation or the act of making sense out of social interaction. They argue that theory building proceeds from thick description, which describes and probes the intention, motives, meanings, context, situations, and circumstances of action, in contrast to thin description, which is the bare reporting of an act (Denzin 1989). In this context the goal of theorising is to provide an understanding of the lived experiences of the research participants. Applying this strategy to analyse the themes and categories emerging through grounded theory analysis would help to thoroughly describe the meaning, emotions and intentions in the responses from participants and can help generate knowledge from the data presented.

The data collected were coded using Grounded Theory. Coding in Grounded Theory has at least two phases: initial and focused coding (Charmaz 2014). During initial coding the researcher asks such analytic questions as ‘What is actually happening in the data?’

When I started data collection, I did not wait to complete the whole data collection process but began analysis while still collecting, as Charmaz (2006, 2014) recommends. Analysing data involves categorisation and synthesis, which includes interpreting data through coding (Charmaz 2014, Denzin & Lincoln 2011). The first step is initial or open coding followed by focused coding which is more conceptual. I explain these step by step in the next sections.

Initial Coding

The data collection timeline was exactly as scheduled, almost eight months from April to December 2014. While I was transcribing, I was coding at the same time. Transcription took a long time because it involved translation from Nuäär to English as some of the interviewees spoke in Nuäär when responding to the questions. I broke the transcribed data (about 150 pages) into sections and then coded line-by-line. I identified the main ideas or themes and coded them with numbers from 1– 10. Subheadings emerged from the coding, as I further reread and digested in order to better understand the experiences related. The main themes were:

- Code 1: The location of group
- Code 2: Displacement, migration and resettlement in Australia.
- Code 3: Family dynamics and models.
- Code 4: The impact of changes in gender roles.
- Code 5: Cultural identity.
- Code 6: Inequality and masculinity.
- Code 7: Gender roles.
- Code 8: Empowerment of women; Disempowerment of men.
- Code 9: Family violence as a result of changes in gender roles.
- Code 10: Leave the bad, keep the good: Strategies and coping approaches to handle change

As mentioned earlier, there were many sub-themes or ideas, which later reduced during the focused coding. The initial coding tends to be more descriptive than conceptual and the process of staying close to the data keeps the coding simple and precise (Charmaz 2014). I used a comparative process, which is useful for understanding human phenomena, to examine the transcribed data within the context of the Nuäär participants' experiences. The process of initial coding took some time, as it required me to read and reread the raw data so that items with similar objectives were grouped properly in order to help me select items that I might potentially use in analysis. This initial or open coding was the first step towards conceptualising important ideas and selecting key phrases from the data.

Focused Coding

Focused coding is sometimes referred to as axial coding (Charmaz 2014). This was the second step in the data analysis process. Usually, when undertaking focused coding, you identify and combine the data as initially coded into categories that subsume multiple codes, thus further reducing the data. The goal here is to put together items and ideas into categories, thereby moving from fairly literal codes into more conceptual ones (Charmaz 2014). Because of the large amount of data involved, most researchers use computer software to facilitate the process of coding. However, because I found NVivo and other computerised software to be too complex and problematic, I did my coding manually, which was also time consuming.

Focused coding involves hunting for specific targets for synthesis and explanation, and then relating them to the initial memos and testing them against the data (Clarke & Charmaz 2014). Within the manual focused coding process, I was looking specifically for gender interactions and I was able to reduce the data as initially coded into significant categories (labelled alphabetically) for developing into a broader conceptual framework (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Conceptual Framework

Section A: What happened to the Nuäär? Transition/change/disruption: Codes 1 and 2
Section B: What the Nuäär brought with them into the experience of change and disruption: heritage/tradition/norms: Codes 3 and 5
Section C: What was the impact of ‘A’ on ‘B’? Codes 4 and 7
Section D: How can we understand these impacts, specifically at the level of responses to shifts in gender identity and roles? Code 6

Section E: How does using the lens of gender theory help us understand responses to the impacts identified in Section C? Codes 8 and 9, and further reference to theoretical and conceptual literature
Section F: How are the Nuäär adapting and moving forward as a result of these changes, and what does the future hold? Code 10

This focused coding into a conceptual framework made the direction of analysis clear and also allowed expansion of some codes across several categories to refine their analytical potential. These broader concepts provided the interpretive frame and helped generate a comprehensive theory of gender dynamics and the impact of changes in gender roles within Nuäär families as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia.

Writing Memos

In conjunction with coding, field researchers simultaneously write memos to record insights derived from the initial coding and their reflection on the data (Charmaz 2014). Writing memos or notes helps in creating, defining and refining conceptual categories. From the start of data collection, I too started writing memos from my observations in various settings. These were used to stimulate my analysis and help me to conceptualise the phenomena of interaction within Nuäär families. As always, writing memos requires asking questions, posing hypotheses and seeking answers grounded in the data (Foley & Timonen 2015). This process prompted me to ask specific questions during the subsequent data collection process and supported conceptualisation of incidents. Furthermore, discussing the impact of changes in gender roles is a topic for daily discourse among Nuäär men in the south eastern suburbs of Melbourne, when they meet in cafeterias, entertainment places and at social gatherings. These discussions too became a significant part of my field notes and I used memos to support my analysis of them.

Generalisation and Triangulation

In qualitative research, one of the important aspects to take care over is systematic generalisation. Generalisation usually refers to the extent to which an account of a particular situation or a theory postulated to explain a particular situation is useful for making sense in similar situations (Losoncz 2011). Generalisation is described in two ways: 'empirical' and 'theory building' (Lewis & Ritchie 2003). Theory building involves the generalisation of theoretical concepts or propositions which are deemed to be of wider or universal application. The conclusions in this context are drawn from features or constructs developed in a local or single study, which are then utilised to develop a wider theory. Generalisations are strongly influenced by the epistemological and ontological orientation of the contributors. A generalisation's validity depends on how the meaning attached to qualitative research evidence is perceived and its reliability beyond the context in which it was derived (Lewis & Ritchie 2003). With my research, the likelihood of making false generalisations from data collected at interviews and focus groups was reduced by the use of triangulation.

Triangulation is a method whereby information is collected from a variety of sources in a variety of different ways. So the various methods of data collection (interviews, focus group discussions, participant observations) that I have applied have reduced the risk that my conclusions reflect only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific source. They have also allowed me to gain a broader understanding of the impact of changes in gender roles as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia. Furthermore my long engagement with the Nuäär community provides rich contextual information about their experiences. I often checked my interpretation of the data collected in interviews and focus groups against this contextual knowledge for consistency, fit and relevance described in Charmaz (2006).

The final process in developing a broader concept using themes under categories and larger codes inform understanding of the Nuäär relationship experiences grounded within the data (Charmaz 2006). The techniques of Grounded Theory led to a major concept which was fundamental for understanding Nuäär gender roles and masculinity,

that of *transitional experiences of gender roles and identity* for Nuäär within their families and community in Australia. This process has helped the research to achieve substantive theory generation about Nuäär immigration and resettlement experiences, especially concerning the relationships between men, women, husbands and wives, and parents and children in a changing environment.

Part Four: Research Integrity and Ethical Issues

Integrity

The importance of acting with integrity is widely recognised as an essential element of conducting ethical research in any context (Macrina 2005). According to Macrina the word integrity is often used in publications relating to ethics where it is equated with qualities such as honesty or trustworthiness and involves an ideal of human behaviour which might be summarised as acting professionally.

The problem of integrity derives not from observing professional standards of research but from the lack of documentation of results, data falsification, fabrication and plagiarism (Beisiegel 2010; Macrina 2014). However, research integrity and merit is justified by its potential benefits which include its contribution to knowledge and understanding to improve the welfare and wellbeing of people (Anderson 2011). When a researcher carries out research that is conducted with integrity the research is carried out with a commitment to its benefits and with honesty and respect for human beings. Respect for human beings means recognition of their values, culture, beneficence, perceptions and customs. In regard to this project, I have shown the honesty and trust required in the research process and also respected the guiding principles established by my university in the Victoria University (Melbourne) Human Research Ethics Committee's terms of reference to guide professional conduct in research. These terms of reference are based on the national statement on ethical conduct in human research (2007), and commonwealth state laws (NHMRC 2007). I have conducted this research in accordance with these guidelines.

Data management and safety is another of the issues relevant to research integrity. Responsible data management covers the process of data collection, analysis, interpretation, storage and distribution (Sikes & Piper 2013). According to Grossman (in Sikes & Piper 2013) data fabrication and falsification are among the most important challenges in data management and ethics. These occur when records are changed or when figures are altered to fit the thesis and then presented as your own. However, the integrity of the research can only be maintained if the researcher obtains, represents and reports data faithfully and accurately. Transparency is very important to avoid misrepresentation of research findings and research oversight. I was transparent in explaining to my participants how I would use the data throughout the process of the research and my transcriptions and translations faithfully reflect the intent of what my participants said. Research aids, such as digital recording and computers, were used to ensure accuracy.

Another issue associated with integrity is risks associated with Occupational Health and Safety in research, especially the safety of the environment where data collection takes place. The venues for individual interviews were private homes or sometimes offices, for example at Victoria University or the Nuäär Community Office in Noble Park, depending on the choice made by the interviewee. For private homes, although there was a potential OHS risk for both researcher and participant, the safety issues were their own risk and there were no problems for the interaction. For those who were interviewed in offices or members of focus groups in public venues, the safety issue was assessed according to the principles and procedures of OHS before the start of the research activities. The safety of the venue including fire safety procedures, cleanliness of the venue to minimise infections, exits and toilets, and the kitchen on the premises, was assessed and, where appropriate, communicated to the participants before the data collection process took place.

Ethical Issues

This project involved research with human participants. I am investigating the impact of changes in gender roles within the Nuäär community as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia. The ethical and integrity issues that could have arisen in the conduct of this research included: disclosure of sensitive information, for example, experiences of physical pain or experiences of worthlessness, distress, guilt, anger or fear; fear of reprisals; devaluation of personal worth; and being humiliated, manipulated or treated disrespectfully. In addition, precautions were taken against lack of trust, honesty or transparency, acts of deception, fabrication or falsification of data and analysis, repeated breaches of the code of conduct, and potential language difficulties and cultural issues. Privacy and confidentiality are potential ethical risks in this type of research. Since my target is a very small community of immigrants who have settled together in particular areas, it is easier than normal to identify participants in this research. However sensitive issues such as family breakdown, private life, marital relationships and children were handled privately at interviews to minimise the risk.

In the relationship with the research participants, protection from harm is a concern. Harm can be physical or psychological and depends on the background and dynamics of the participants. For example, children or those with disabilities might be seen as a vulnerable group. Likewise participants who are stressed due to family hardship and conflict can be considered vulnerable (Anderson 2011). Since my target group were new migrants who had experienced difficulties and trauma as refugees, they were considered a vulnerable group. As such, the interactions during the interviews could be particularly detrimental because of their pre-existing vulnerabilities to psychological risks from excessive emotionality and stress.

To minimise or avoid this potential harm, it was particularly important to have structures in place to be able to refer participants to appropriate counsellors or relevant service providers should the participants become distressed during or after participating in the research. If anything happened during or after the interviews or focus group discussions, participants were provided with information and contact details for trained

Victoria University counsellors and psychologists if required for treatment of emotional stress and discomfort. However throughout the research process there was no such incident. I did take great care and was polite in discussing any questions that may have been highly sensitive for participants, especially those concerning marital relationships.

Lack of awareness of information or deception is one of the ethical problems in research involving people (Chami et al. 2002). Research participants need to be well informed about the expectations and potential risks before they are involved in a project. Language barriers too can be a problem in gaining informed consent in writing from potential research participants. My participant group all come from a non-English speaking background and some have difficulty with written English, although they can communicate orally in English. They needed to understand the risks involved before they volunteered, otherwise it would have been an act of deception and they may have consented to doing things they didn't understand. Therefore the informed consent form and the plain language statement that outlines the protection in place for participants were provided (in Nuäär translation when necessary) to ensure they were aware before their participation. The informed consent form and plain language statement were also read out in Nuäär to ensure that the ethical issues were well understood, and participants' right to withdraw from participation at any stage was explained in Nuäär.

In the process of data collection, it can be difficult to maintain confidentiality and privacy for information revealed in focus group discussions. In focus group discussions the researcher acts as facilitator or moderator of group discussions between participants, not between himself and participants, and he/she takes a peripheral rather than leading role in the process (Parker & Tritter 2006). The objective here is not primarily to elicit the answers but rather to stimulate discussion and thereby understand through subsequent analysis the meanings and values which underlie these group answers. The ethical concern in this situation is the respondents' confidentiality. With focus group discussion, it is difficult to ensure that participants will adhere to strict privacy stipulations. In this case, the participants were assured of boundaries, codes and constraints, and there were agreed ethical policies that should be followed during the interactions. This had a

considerable role in maintaining trust and harmony between participants and with myself, and allowed effective engagement in the group discussions.

Locating Myself as Insider

Qualitative researchers have been engaged in extensive debate about the benefits and challenges of researchers coming from the community they study. To understand and address these challenges, researchers have identified two opposing views and summarised them as the 'Insider Doctrine' and the 'Outsider Doctrine' (Kerstetter 2012; Kirpitchenko, Voloder & Kershen 2014). Kerstetter argues that the Outsider Doctrine values researchers who are not from the community they study as being neutral, detached observers. This argument is similar to the understanding of Simmel (1950) who, however, portrayed an outsider researcher as a stranger who can never truly understand a culture or situation if they have not experienced it.

The 'Insider Doctrine' on the other hand holds that insider researchers are uniquely positioned to understand the experiences of groups of which they are members (Kerstetter 2012). Insider researchers are often able to access community resources, engage participants more easily and use their shared experiences to gather a richer set of data. However insider researchers may find it difficult to separate their personal experiences from those of the research participants and confront questions about potential bias. They may face issues of confidentiality when interviewing members of their group about sensitive subjects. Nonetheless researchers often attempt to adopt an insider role within the community. The goal of being an insider is to socialise in the group, thereby gaining insider knowledge and understanding (O'Reilly 2012). O'Reilly argues that the great advantage of being an insider is finding strangeness on your doorstep.

As an insider, it was easy for me to understand the dynamics and the geographical setting of the community and this helped me more easily to mobilise and select the volunteer participants for this research. I was aiming to cover a broad cross-section of

the Nuäär, employed and unemployed, and others with various roles and positions in the community. Being a Nuäär man has allowed my participants to have trust in me and created harmony between us. That made my fieldwork easy, as participants did not see me as a stranger. Being an insider also gave me an opportunity to easily gain access and take advantage of using my understanding of the cultural background. It definitely helped me being able to discuss issues with my participants in a local language. This allowed them to speak freely and to have confidence in the discussions.

However, there are challenges to being an insider or an outsider in fieldwork. The literature indicates that the main challenge of being an insider is accusations of over-involvement and bias (O'Reilly & Bone 2008). Over-involvement would indeed narrow my independence as a researcher and the integrity of the research. On the other hand, as a man I was an outsider to the women participants. Gaining the trust of the female participants is always one of the challenges faced by male outsider researchers (Bonner & Tolhurst 2002). Female participants may have different expectations and having help in the research from a female may facilitate communications and bring gender and culture into focus, making sense of the data (Bonner & Tolhurst 2002; Mullings 1999). In addition, research indicates that 'culture and social norms construct certain gender expectations that the researcher can negotiate and act within' (Al-Makhamreh & Lewando-Hundt 2008). I knew that dealing with gender-related research required me to be critical and reflexive.

To minimise these complications, I thought of working with a female research assistant. However, as previously stated, the fact that the cultural norms of the Nuäär community are those of an open society where women can speak freely without fear provided sufficient grounds for me to negotiate with female participants around obtaining their consent to be interviewed. So, while I was an outsider among the women in one sense, I was still an insider as a Nuäär man who is known to them, and that gave me the privilege to access and understand their perspectives. However, my engagement with the literature and regular briefings from my research supervisors in our meetings also made me well aware of how to reflect on and manage insider/outsider issues and to

maximise the benefit from being part of the group in order to collect useful data for this research.

Anonymity can also be problematic in this sort of research, simply because the researcher is an insider (Phinney 1990). To protect the respondents' anonymity, a researcher has to take extra care to ensure confidentiality in publication through the use of pseudonyms. As a researcher I needed to reassure participants that being an insider researcher would never affect the confidential relationship they might have with me during the data collection. Furthermore, to avoid this potential harm, participants were assured that confidentiality would be maintained by keeping the identities of interviewees unknown to each other and to others in the community. To make sure that the research participants were not deceived I had to act with a high standard of accuracy and honesty.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the research design, methodology and methods. Part One discussed the theoretical framework, which includes the paradigm and epistemological perspectives. In contextualising the concept, I referred to Thomas Kuhn's definition in Maxwell (2012) about epistemology and ontology. Using this concept, I identified philosophical positions such as positivism and constructivism, each embodying very different ideas about reality and gaining knowledge. I applied the methodology of constructivist grounded theory as a research approach to attend to evidence and meanings within the Nuäär community and this allowed me to go beyond the raw data and uncover new knowledge and meanings to explain and generate themes. Constructivist grounded theory also allowed me to recognise myself as a researcher with an agenda of research.

Part Two demonstrated how data was collected. I have used structured and unstructured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation as methods of data collection. I have discussed the selection of field sites and the

recruitment of participants. I also discussed the field activities which I undertook in the data collection process and the challenges they raised, and provided an analysis of these challenges.

Part Three demonstrated how the data was analysed and interpreted through consistent use of the comparison method of grounded theory. I used a coding process which organises and sorts data in a way that allows one to summarise and synthesise data, which then forms the basis for analysis (Charmaz 2014). The process of initial coding, focused coding, and writing and analysing memos, using grounded theory for each of these tasks, identified the changes in gender roles within Nuäär family life and their impact, especially on men.

Part Four discussed ethical considerations and complications. It considered issues of integrity and the ethical limitations of this research. I have discussed the potential risks identified, which include privacy and confidentiality, and how I addressed them. In particular, I reflected on the impact of my role as an insider researcher and discussed the complexities and the duty of care that is important for an insider researcher's relationships during the research process.

Chapter 6 - The Impact of Transition on Nuäär Family Dynamics and Models in Australia

Introduction

In Chapter 5 I have discussed in detail the strategies and methods applied in collecting information from the participants in the field. The necessary data was collected by using semi-structured and focus group interviews and then extensively analysed through the analysis processes of grounded theory. I have also located my position as an insider researcher and discussed the potential implications of this and how these ethical issues were minimised in accordance with agreed research policies.

This chapter will discuss the findings made on family dynamics and models, focusing on the Nuäär family model and changes to this model. It looks into the changes and their impact on Nuäär family dynamics and models in a broader context through the lenses of gender and modern concepts of family. These form the basis for thinking about changes in family structure and the attendant changes in gender roles, which I have touched on briefly in Chapter 2. In addition this chapter discusses the responses from the participants about the importance of family and family ties for the Nuäär during their migration and once in Australia.

The discussion also includes the findings in relation to the formation of the family across aspects such as the marriage system, the wedding ceremony, divorce and the day-to-day running and decision-making in households in Australia.

The Importance of Having Family

In Nuäär tradition, the importance of having family is linked to a traditional set of family values that differ from Western family values. For example, the research participants emphasised the importance of having a family in terms of support, a collective life and other traditional values such as community, identity and a sense of belonging. Their explanations of family differ to some extent from those of sociologists such as Hartley whose conceptualisation of the Western family views the importance of family in terms of socialisation, social control and transmission of culture (Hartley 1995). The research participants also stressed the importance of extended family members when conflict arises in playing a crucial role to mediate and unite the family.

> I think family is very important because it gives you a sense of community and identity. It helps in identifying oneself as a social person in a community and society. A social person is a person who is able to live with another person who will support him socially, emotionally, spiritually and in so many other ways. So having a family is very important (MP8).

Although this view reflects a religious perspective, it clearly indicates the importance of having a family as a social unit within the society in general. Furthermore, the

participants relate the importance of having family to the provision of support and raising children.

> Well, having a family is very important; you can get the support around you if you are in need of help. You can also have your family and your kids growing up in a very safe environment and then they can get good education and a good life (MP2).

> Having family is very important more than anything else because having children is very important. As a Nuäär family is very important. I think about 99 per cent from the Nuäär would agree with me that family is very important to us. Therefore my family is very important to me. Having children and the way we bring up our children make the family very important (FP13).

Among the Nuäär there is a strong cultural belief that wife and husband have to work together for the good of the family. However, many participants, especially men, expressed the importance of having a family in terms of the roles of family members and the power of men. Men feel they are the head of families and that responsibility defines the authority of manhood.

> Family is important in order to keep you happy. As a man you must have a family and also have children for the future. But things have changed. Things are not working the way I expected as a Nuäär man, but I want to remain as a man responsible for my family and be responsible and act the way men act (MP7).

However the data shows that family life in Australia has changed and the views of my participants is that there is a need for both a man and a woman to raise their children together. Unless something happens such as the death of a parent or divorce, most of the participants believed that both a mother and a father are needed to care for the family. Some female participants felt that having a man at home is very important in any culture, and they believe that the man is the head of family. They think that it is part of the Nuäär culture that a woman cannot be respected in the community unless she lives in a home with a man in place. ‘If you are married and have children you will be

respected as good parents. Because when you live with your husband and your children you will be respected in the community according to Nuäär culture' (FP10).

The Extended Family

According to Nuäär tradition, friends and extended family are considered to be part of the family and they have the same level of responsibility as a close and immediate family member. Janet Finch gave the reason why people support each other as a mixture of love and duty (Leat 1991). She has written extensively on family relationships and argues that flexibility in family life, which she calls 'fluidity', is very important in family relationships. From this point of view, it is possible to argue that the links between Nuäär community members are characterised by their love and duty to each other. Participants reported that many Nuäär have sponsored friends to come to Australia out of the feeling of having a duty to help even those who are not a relative.

> I did not have family members here in Australia but I had three friends who came earlier. These friends jointly sponsored me to come to Australia through the United Nations (MP7).

The influence of and links with family in Australia together with help from the UNHCR was acknowledged as the way that many had entered Australia. Many members of the Nuäär came to Australia through sponsorship from relatives in their immediate or extended family or from friends who had come to Australia earlier. For some their decision to come to Australia was indeed influenced by the family links they had in Australia.

> Yes, my family members who came to Australia before me were among the very few people who influenced my decision to come to Australia. Because when I was in India the United Nations' first preference was to take us either to the United States or Canada. I was going to be in USA but because of my family links to Australia I pleaded my case with the UN office in India and I expressed my interest to come to Australia and I was lucky to be accepted (MP4).

Of course, many of these also came with government help through the United Nations refugee process or through humanitarian assistance on a humanitarian visa rather than a refugee visa.

The concept of assistance from those within this extended definition of family is very important within Nuäär tradition. Somebody who is not even a blood relative but is a community elder is regarded as a relative and is referred to as 'uncle'. Thus many came to Australia through sponsorship by their uncles or community elders who were there before them. Having family in Australia has been a major influence and played a crucial role in the Nuäär migration. Most of the research participants agreed that the majority of Nuäär had brought family members into Australia through the principle of family re-union.

> Yes, I have sponsored quite a few and they are all now here; they are all settled. Each one of them is getting on with their own business and from what I can see they are happy to be in Australia and they are developing and progressing very well as well as integrating into the Australian way of life (MP1).

However, the process of sponsoring a family member or a friend is complex and requires much time and patience. It is also costly and many migrants cannot afford it without assistance from the government, UNHCR and service providers in Australia. It places a great responsibility on the sponsors in terms of providing accommodation and assisting the new arrivals to access services, deal with a new language and interact with the new society. There are those who blame themselves for having not been successful in bringing relatives or friends to Australia through this process:

> I worked as chairperson of the organisation through which I came to Australia and I proposed lots of South Sudanese people, and hundreds of hundreds of people are here because of that. But I failed to bring my own relatives to Australia, and it is very unfortunate that I wasn't able to bring my own relatives apart from two of my sisters who came with me to Australia (MP8).

Just as the impact of having a family is positive, by contrast the impact of having no family is a great problem within the Nuäär community. In Nuäär traditional culture they live collectively, which is largely defined by being in the community with their immediate and extended families. As the proverb from many African cultures states, 'In Africa, it takes the whole village to raise a child' (Gordon & Gordon 1992). The impact of having no family in Australia has posed serious challenges to families within the Nuäär community. Many participants acknowledged that the lack of family members around them is a problem.

> I came to Australia alone with 3 boys and now they are grown up and do not listen to me. Back in Africa when you live alone with children who are boys without your husband and they do not listen to you when they become adolescents, the close and extended relatives come to your aid, but I came without relatives and I found it difficult. Now I am working hard to sponsor a relative from home (FP12).

The lack of family support when conflicts arise often results in separation and divorce within families. Some husbands abandon their wives, leaving them to care for their children alone. This lack of support in difficult times and in the management of children is something that those without family members around them have been dealing with:

> So having family here is very important and sometimes too for a family that is very young, having the extended family around can help to mediate if things do not go well with your family. They can intervene and come and try to mediate. From there you can move on together (MP2).

The difference is that in Australian culture, family life is not collective but the responsibility of an individual, and this is something that will take some time for the Nuäär to adapt to. In the meantime the presence of kin, both close and extended family members, contributes a lot to maintain the unity and stability of Nuäär families in Australia.

Impact of Transition on Nuäär Family Formation in Australia

Marriage Process in Australia

The family structure and model in the Nuäär tradition is hierarchical. As stated earlier, marriages can be polygamous. The traditional concept of marriage in many societies is that marriage is a union between one man and one woman (monogamy) but the Nuäär permit polygyny (Evans-Pritchard 1951b; Mair 2013). In Australia, there are two types of marriage: the sacramental model which is based on scriptures from the Bible, and the civil, contractual model which views marriage as a bilateral contract that is voluntarily formed, maintained and dissolved by two individuals (Kostenberger & Jones 2012). Recently there has been significant transformation of the traditional Nuäär form of marriage. The two most significant factors in this change are that Nuäär marriage is becoming transnational and the way that arranged marriage is perceived.

However the Nuäär traditional marriage is not yet fully transformed into the contractual model and it still allows polygyny. A Nuäär man can marry many wives, as long as he has sufficient cattle and wealth. The marriage system in the Nuäär culture has matters that are taken into consideration by both families. Once the man and the woman have reached the stage of being ready for marriage, both families meet to decide what should happen next or when the next step can be taken.

However, in making these marriage decisions freedom of choice is limited because the views of the extended family, kinships, and the interests of the parents of both sides are taken into consideration (Evans-Pritchard 1951b). This is known as an arranged marriage (Evans-Pritchard 1951a). Nuäär parents prefer to have a traditional arranged marriage rather than a marriage of choice because in the process of choosing a girl to marry to their son they can consider their own requirements. They want to choose a girl from a stable family, a girl who is respected in the community, and who they know will form a family with their son. The parents naturally want their children to marry into a family whose background is already known, and if they don't like that family the marriage will not go ahead.

One research participant's remarkable story provides a good illustration of the procedures of traditional marriage in Nuäär culture. This participant, who came to Australia as a young man, went back to South Sudan to marry:

> When I travelled and met my parents I expressed to them that I am coming here to get married. I told my parents I am not here to marry someone wealthy or to marry for material reasons, I am looking to love someone who I will find love from. I attended various social gathering so that I could choose one for myself - one I loved, not imposed by my parents. When I found one and approached her, she said that is okay. Then I told her to report to her parents so that they can background check me. I had that background check and then it was clear that I was okay as was my family too. We therefore started the marriage process and the dowry negotiations all began, and when that was all finished my wife was handed over to me, and we came to Australia (MP5).

Checking the appropriateness of the couple involves a criminal record check as is seen from the impressive account of the marriage process for this participant. If you come from a family that is greedy, poor or violent, there is a strong chance that the parents of the bride would reject you. If she comes from a family with a history of theft or other crime, or which is lazy and does not care about her reputation in the community there is also the opportunity to reject her. The checking is not limited to the legal background but also includes the level of socialisation in the community, the economic position, social position and ability to care for family members. These steps characterise the traditional arranged marriage in Nuäär society. Allowing the man to be in charge of his own marriage is a new departure from Nuäär tradition, where the parents have a heavy influence on their children's decisions. Many Nuäär in Australia are still conducting marriage according to Nuäär tradition. In other respects, however, there has been a significant change. The incidence of polygamous marriage has decreased in the Nuäär community, not only here in Australia, but also back in Africa. There are various reasons

for this decrease, one of which is the expanding spread of Christianity which considers polygamy inappropriate.

The Nuäär have also incorporated modern ways of marriage: there may be a church wedding but only after the traditional processes have been completed. This is a transformation which both men and women have taken up to some extent, but it threatens the polygamous interests of men because it is not possible to wed two or more wives in church. The polygamous marriage that is still being practiced in South Sudan in the traditional way is a problem in Australia, even though some women do recognise it. Most of the Nuäär women, especially the younger ones, now want to be the only wives to their husbands and to share the family responsibilities. This is a new aspect to Nuäär culture that they have adopted from western society. However women know that men cannot be controlled and if a man decides to have another wife, the most important issue is that the position of the wives within the polygamous family should be recognised by the Nuäär husband. One of the interviewees expressed her feelings on this:

> To me it is not surprising because I know our culture allows a man to have more than one wife. But I am of the young generation, I am not old fashioned; I want my husband to be my husband, I don't want to share him with anyone else; however, if it happens, it is not a problem, but I do tell him that he can get married, but he has to know very well that I am the first wife and I would like to know that my husband has a second wife and he is not jumping over and around there. I know he has already had some few accidents over there, I am not taking it seriously because in my culture a man can have 10 children outside marriage, but whether he has kids or not I want him to be with me and with my kids (FM9).

The first wife in Nuäär culture is respected and sometimes honoured as the head of family. In the absence of the husband, she would be in charge of all the other wives. Polygamy is not acceptable in western culture and this has affected the interests of the men, because it has stopped them from marrying many wives. Nuäär men are finding it hard to stop polygamy, although it has been changing gradually. There are cultural

issues that still pressure men to marry many wives. For example, if your brother, stepfather or uncle dies, you should take his wife. Or if a relative dies without marrying, then you are obliged to marry for the deceased and the children will be named after him. All these practices have changed now within the new culture but because they are still carried out in South Sudan and Ethiopia, it puts men who have such responsibilities in a difficult situation.

The Dowries Process in Australia

Another aspect of Nuäär traditional marriage is that the groom is expected to give a dowry, a bride price, which is paid in instalments during the marriage process, to the bride's parents. Fadlalla in his work *Customary Laws in Southern Sudan: Customary Laws of Dinka and Nuer* defines a dowry as the gift paid by the groom and/or his family to the bride and/or her family (Fadlalla 2009). Similarly, Francis Deng explicitly states that dowries in the tradition of these two Nilotic tribes are the cattle the groom pays to the parents of the bride (Deng 2001). Under this concept it is the groom who actually pays the parents and the couple get nothing from the dowries. This is contrary to the conventional Western definition, according to the Oxford Dictionary for instance, where a dowry is an amount of property or money brought by a bride to her husband on their marriage of which the couple is the beneficiary.

In Nuäär culture, a marriage is discussed and the amount of dowry is negotiated. There is a fixed sum or number of cows to be paid to the bride's parents. The dowry negotiations involve immediate and extended family members from both sides. During the negotiation the two groups are positioned facing each other and they negotiate the number of cows, bulls, and even goats and other cultural materials necessary for the marriage. In Australia the dowries are paid as money even though the negotiations deal in cattle. The agreed exchange rate between cattle and money is that one cow is worth about AUD $300.

A Nuäär man in Africa might pay more than eighty cows as the dowry, after which the bride is expected to fully submit to that man as a wife. The dowry amount ranges from 80 – 120 cows. However in the diaspora in western countries such as Australia, there has been a significant shift in the way the dowry is paid, although the marriage is still organised based on Nuäär traditions. Now the dowries are being paid in the form of money, although, following the Nuäär tradition, the dowry money that is paid to the in-laws is still called cows. For example the participant who told his marriage story above paid about 100 cows, worth at least AUD $30,000. The dowry is shared between the bride's parents.

In Australia a Nuäär groom will pay the same value, but in cash, to the parents of the bride and this ceremony is still regarded as part of Nuäär tradition. The dowries together with the associated ceremonies give validity and durability to the marriage and also to the created kinship (Evans-Pritchard 1951a). This concept makes it appear as if the Nuäär are turning their unmarried daughters into a commodity to be sold. But that is not the way the Nuäär regard it, either in Australia or back in Africa.

However the amount of money being paid as dowries has become very expensive both in Australia and in South Sudan, and this raises some concerns within the Nuäär community. For the young, the system of arranged marriage and dowry has become difficult. Marriage has become very expensive and this is in addition to the other challenges the community members are facing in adapting to a new culture. For example in Australian culture there are no arranged marriages, no polygamous marriages and no dowries. All this is in conflict with the Nuäär marriage tradition.

My participants argue that men who marry having paid substantial dowries expect their wives to be hard workers, carers and to fully submit themselves to their husbands. But the women sometimes refuse to work, don’t respect their husbands, misuse their freedom and even chase the men from the marital homes. Because of this, the younger Nuäär are refusing to pay dowries, saying that the women don’t respect them as husbands.

As a result of the impact of changes in gender roles and of the perception that women no longer respect men as husbands, the younger generation are hesitant to pay the dowries. They claim that women do not maintain their expected roles. The men believe that the family structure and the role of the man have changed so that one is unsure who the head of the family is in Australia.

> Today your wife is the head of family and tomorrow you are no longer a breadwinner: everyone has income. This really has changed the system (MP14).

The older people among the research participants want to maintain the marriage traditions - which many Nuäär still practice - and they feel that the younger generation needs to maintain this marriage system. This includes negotiated dowries, even though the form of payment has changed from cattle to money. Many participants saw the need for the Nuäär to sit down as a community and discuss this issue. In fact, the Nuäär would not want their daughters being married to a person who doesn't have the negotiated amount to pay. So when it comes to dowries many of the participants think that it is good for the Nuäär community to keep paying dowries.

The Wedding Ceremony in Australia

As mentioned earlier, according to Nuäär tradition the marriage ceremony that follows formal payment of the dowry gives traditional and customary legality to the union of the married couple. It is a very important aspect in the Nuäär marriage system. The ceremony occurs in an open space where every member of society, both sides of the union plus others from the community, would participate freely in the ceremonial display of culture. This is the event where the Nuäär marriage rituals take place.

Evans-Pritchard in his account of the Nuäär marriage process during the 1930s and 1940s listed three basic phases. These are the engagement ceremony, the wedding dance ceremony and the consummation (muot) ceremony; each of these involves the transfer of a negotiated number of cattle. The consummation ceremony extends through to the birth of the first child when the bride takes up residence in her husband's home,

and this marks the final confirmation of the groom's exclusive rights to his bride (Evans-Pritchard 1951a). This does not mean the bride cannot live with groom until she has given birth, but the timing of them living together is negotiated and depends on how they became engaged.

But in Australia this has changed substantially. Marriage ceremonies are usually conducted in a hall and not outside, and do not end there as they usually go on to a church ceremony. That means the Nuäär marriage now has incorporated both the traditional ceremony and the modern marriage ceremony in church, making it very expensive for both parties. Traditionally a man would be allowed to take his wife only after he has paid the dowry of about 100 cows and divided them amongst the relatives of the bride. When a bride gets married she cannot make love with her husband until marriage process is completed and she is officially handed over to her husband by her parents. That has now changed too. Marriage ceremonies within the Nuäär community are influenced by the Australian host society so the traditional ceremony is gradually changing, and a modern ceremony is slowly becoming more common. This is partly because of increasing intermarriage between the Nuäär and other young Australians.

The Divorce Process in Australia

For the Nuäär marriage has become a big issue in Australia. The bride and her family still expect the Nuäär man to marry her, pay all the dowries, complete all the wedding ceremonies - the betrothal and the negotiations - all of which costs a lot of money. Young Nuäär men work hard to save money to get married. When they move into their own house, issues and differences can be expected and these, unfortunately, sometimes lead to separation or divorce.

Divorce is defined as a legal declaration of separation between married couples (Everett 2014). The reasons for the divorce in Australia vary. Everett analysed divorce in Australia based on the legislation in effect from the 1975 Act, which provides the causes for divorce. These include adultery, desertion, habitual drunkenness, habitual failure to

support wife or family, habitual cruelty, habitual neglect, and serious assault upon a partner (family violence). However from the traditional perspective of the Nuäär failure to pay the dowry, failure on the part of the wife to fulfil her husband's expectations of her responsibilities and duties are seen as grounds for divorce within the Nuäär community.

> What I am seeing is that within Nuäär community in Australia the divorce rate has increased because women do not want to be dictated to fulfil their duties as wife and because she has government support and power over you, she will simply kick you out, and you will not get back your money that you pay as dowries. Men who are facing that are now increasing in number; it is a big problem (MP7).

Traditionally the Nuäär are widely known as the prototypical example of a 'low divorce' society due to high bride-price payments, patrilineal descent (descent that follows the father's line only) and polygyny (a man being married to more than one wife) (Evans-Pritchard 1951a). There is also the woman-to-woman marriage which is not a same sex marriage in the current sense but is a tradition where a Nuäär woman can marry a girl in the place of her deceased son or brother if there is no other living male relative in the family. In this tradition a woman would support the wife of a deceased relative providing her with support, kinship and family to enable her continued integration with social and family life.

However the participants were of the view that that the divorce rate within the Nuäär community in Australia is increasing. This could be because of the changes that have been taking place during the community's integration. When a couple divorces or separates, the big loser is the young man who has paid a lot of money for dowries and other wedding costs as outlined above, since the law in Australia relating to marriage and divorce does not recognise Nuäär traditional custom. This leaves the man in a very vulnerable position.

In fact the research participants feel that some Nuäär men have been affected by this problem both physically and mentally. In the Nuäär homeland, when a divorce occurs,

the dowry is always returned, but this is not the case in Australia where the payment of a dowry to the bride's parents is not a concept within the Australian way of life. What that young man has paid is not returned as it used to be in Africa where the circumstances were recognised and regulated by the Nuäär traditional way of life.

> I worked hard in Alice Springs and saved money and I married a Nuäär girl in 2013. I paid 85 cows valued at about 30,000 Australian dollars to the parents of the girl as dowries, but in 2014 we disagreed because she was not fulfilling her duties as I expected and she did not want me to tell her what to do. Because of that she divorced me. What I know is that in Africa if you have not paid the dowries, or if you don't produce children with your wife or when your wife is not doing what she should be doing as a wife, you divorce her and get your dowries back. But here when you want to marry a girl you pay a lot of dowries but in short time the woman can kick you out and divorce you and you don't get back the dowries you pay, and system will not support you, I know some of my friends are affected by this problem (MP in MFG).

Some of the research participants said in the focus group discussions that there are number of married men within the Nuäär community who are suffering from stress thinking about all the resources they have spent on their wives. As a result these men see their new society as negative because they assume that the Australian courts will not recognise their claims. The research participants argue that those so affected and who have failed to get help from the system turn to domestic violence, which is indeed a serious problem within the Nuäär community in Australia. When the family relationship breaks down, the couple needs to think of the welfare of the children, which is very important. The wives, with assistance from social workers, are perceived to often get the support they need to remain in the family home in order to care for children while the man/husband is removed through the official intervention process. It is felt that that this sometimes undermines the assistance a man may also need. As a result some men have returned to Africa and remarried, leaving responsibility of caring for the children to the woman alone. According to the research participants about 15 – 20 Nuäär men are

known to have gone back to Africa under these circumstances, and most of them have remarried. The result is stress and depression for both parties.

Male control of the family is looser in Australia. Women's greater access to work, education and other social freedoms has contributed greatly to lessening men's control of family life. Some men among the participants think that there is some favouritism from the service providers towards women. One of the participants for instance cited as an example an incident where a woman had called the police to demand that a man be taken away. In situations like this, men feel disempowered and their masculinity eroded. As a result of this stress, family breakdown and domestic violence, some men have even decided to return to their Nuäär homeland and establish another family. The changes have most affected the Nuäär who came directly from villages and have jumped into a new life in the cities in Australia. These changes have affected everyone but men feel that their sense of identity has been the most affected.

Evidence of Change from Community Events

As part of the planned research, I have spent some time observing community events and meetings. I observed several different cultural shows put on by the Nuäär community in Melbourne. These cultural shows are performed to introduce the audience to Nuäär cultural practices and traditions and are a way of socialising with other communities. In the course of these observations, I have noticed that the Nuäär traditional dances have been changing, in dress, and in the cultural arts and rituals displayed. There are new ways which reflect a new generation and a new way of dancing, as well as new songs among men and even women with a different style to them. For example, 'Lire, Lire, la ja hona' is a new song which is very different from old-time traditional Nuäär songs.

Traditionally, Nuäär songs are patriotic in nature and are connected to masculinity and the defence and protection of the community (Glickman 1972). But now as a result of the transition overseas, the nature of the songs has changed with a leaning towards a

bout romance and love - a big change in Nuäär culture. This change has promoted gender balance to some extent.

I have also been involved in several marriage processes - dowry negotiations and wedding ceremonies, where both the traditional ceremonies and modern church services were held. I have also observed various Nuäär community meetings and events such as welcoming parties for new arrivals to Australia as well as visiting some homes to see how the men, women and children interact. I carried out observations in public spaces like the restaurants and shops in Noble Park where men often spend their time playing dominoes, conducting business and contacting their kin back in Africa. In these public places you often find men discussing and analysing how their manhood has been affected by being in Australia. In all these settings I have seen that gender divisions and gender roles still exist but also that the impact of migration and resettlement in Australia has transformed the nature of relationships between men and women. For example, in meetings and social affairs women participate more than they do back in the Nuäär homeland.

The seating in a meeting or even in church is still always divided by gender. The women sit separately from the men. Even a husband and wife who arrive together are obliged to sit separately, so at the entrance the woman goes to join the women's section and the man joins the men's section. One can see in these events that there are still patterns reflecting the traditional hierarchical system of the Nuäär. However, in other places, for example, in the participation by women in political and social meetings, and in other social activities such as fund-raising, church services and even in community affairs, the transformation is evident. This reflects a clear shift from the concept that the women's role is domestic work as it has been in Africa. Financial independence and the other opportunities available in Australia for women also make them more active outside the home. They now actively participate in social and political activities because the power shift as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia provides more freedom and has empowered women.

Another interesting example where I have observed a clear reflection of the transformation in relationships between women and men was the Mother's Day celebration in 2015, organised by the Nuäär Community in Victoria. For this event, all Nuäär women were invited to attend at Clayton Hall from 6.00pm to 1.00 am. Women were just told to dress well, come to the hall, and once there just to sit down or dance. The men were responsible for preparing food in the kitchen and for serving the women. During the event all the men were busy serving the women and this was something that would be unimaginable in Nuäär land. This shows that the men - even those who strongly resist change and who have been affected by adapting to a new life in Australia - are gradually changing. In community ceremonies and celebrations too, the women appear to be becoming more active than the men. The participants noted that in community events the men are always quiet and most of them do not even attend while the women are always happy and enjoy this socialising. They are also active in helping to organise such activities.

Generally the behaviours and activities I have observed through the participant observation method provide good insight into how the changes in gender roles as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia affect the Nuäär community, both men and women. Additionally it informs us about the benefits and opportunities both men and women have gained.

Evidence of Change from Observations in the Home

As mentioned earlier, home visits were also made to obtain insight into how men and women interact in the family setting and cope with adapting to their new environment. Gardner argued that observations can be made in a setting in which a behaviour occurs most commonly, in this case the home (Gardner 2000). I selected about five homes with an assumption that they would represent the views and experiences of most families in the Nuäär community.

Since the primary objective of this research is to see how men are affected by changes in gender roles, the observations looked at how men were assisting women in the household work, and to what extent their relationships had changed. I wanted to see if men were still resisting change and seeking to maintain their domination in various ways, and how women were responding to the men's resistance to change.

Following the visits I made to a number of homes during data collection, I observed similarities in regards to relationships between men and women and parents and children. These revolved around similar efforts to deal with issues related to management of income, gender roles and control of children, issues with law enforcement agencies, child protection and the loss of power felt by men. However, I ended up intensively analysing, through my field notes, one home visit that particularly interested me. This is the visit I made to 'John' and his wife 'Maree' (both names are pseudonyms for privacy and confidentiality reasons).

One afternoon in 2015, I visited John's house where number of people had gathered. John and his wife Maree are members of the Nuäär community and are newly arrived immigrants. They came to Australia as refugees and like many others in the Nuäär community have experienced difficulties in facing the challenges of resettlement. John and his family have struggled with access to the social services system and especially with looking for accommodation, but because they got a state-provided house within 12 months they feel that God has helped them as this was faster than for many others who have been on the Department of Housing waiting list. They therefore invited church people and community members for lunch to thank God for this blessing. One of the guests John invited was his neighbour, a white man and his wife who have no children. This man has been helping John with shopping, giving him driving lessons, showing him where to find various services, and encouraging John and his wife Maree to share household responsibilities, such as cooking while Maree is at school.

I was one of those who were invited to the thanksgiving ceremony organised by John and Maree. While I was there I was observing the household activities as they related to

gender roles. John was sitting with some of us watching his wife as she served the guests, prepared food and provided water. John's neighbour was not happy and he told John to get up and help his wife. John hesitated, clearly uncomfortable with this idea. The neighbour told John, 'Why are you not helping your wife? This is not good, she is not your slave, please get up and help her.' John replied, 'In Nuäär culture, men do not join women in the kitchen, especially when there are other people around like this; it is an insult to both a man and a woman, so I cannot do it now. Maybe in the future.'

There were two main reasons for John not to accept the pressure from his white friend. Both reasons stem from the cultural influence of the Nuäär tradition, as he explained. In the first place he thought that if he intervened other Nuäär would regard him as a coward with no authority over his family. Second, the woman too may have felt that she was being seen as lazy and poor in handling her home activities, in that she had failed to care for her husband, and culturally that is also an insult to the wife. Therefore even if John wanted to help, she would not accept. I found from observations like this that the relationship between John and his wife, and their relationships with their children, were still strongly reliant on traditional Nuäär culture. Neither was apparently yet ready for change after one year in Australia.

Perhaps it would have been a different situation in a family which had come to Australia 10 or 20 years ago. I have witnessed some men, who have been in Australia for a longer period of time, helping their families by caring for the children, helping in the kitchen, cleaning, washing clothes, even cooking. I have also witnessed others who strongly oppose such flexibility and are determinedly hanging onto traditional practices in relationships. That means the hierarchical system is still an existing phenomenon, where a woman is subordinate to a man and heavily loaded with domestic responsibilities even though she may also be working. However my observations suggest that on the whole there has been a great transformation in the traditional Nuäär culture in Australia, especially in relation to gender roles within the family. The strict traditional norms have been changing in the process of resettlement.

There is now greater flexibility in sharing household or domestic work. The influence of the dominant culture, and especially the way it supports and empowers women, has left most men with no choice but gradually to accept change and adopt a new way of life to fit the new environment. These influences play a positive role for those men who have accepted the change and are coping with the challenges. Nevertheless on the negative side it is also generally accepted that such changes have devastated the lives and living conditions in some families, resulting in family breakdown, anxiety and stress.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the impact of transition on the Nuäär family model and structure, focusing on the importance of having family and family links as contributing to the successful migration of this group to Australia. Many of the Nuäär came to Australia with help from family members, from the extended family or through connections with friends. The formation of family through marriage, the dowry system and divorce were also analysed and through this data analysis it became clear that arranged and polygamous marriages are in decline in Australia, and that the dowry system has changed from payment in kind (cattle) to money. Also the commitment to uphold the union is weaker because of the influence of western culture. In the Western marriage system there is no dowry negotiation as such involving the immediate and extended family. Migration creates many challenges, and the Nuäär culture in Australia is now different from their traditional culture, mainly due to the changing gender roles. The Nuäär men argue that the Australian legal system supports only the woman within the family and that causes some tensions that contribute to family break up. Likewise the experience of different cultural values has become a significant challenge. In terms of divorce, it is evident that the changes in gender roles have caused disagreements in families, resulting in separation and eventually divorce. This issue of family conflict and the impact of government intervention will be discussed later in another chapter.

Chapter 7 - The Impact of Changes in Nuäär Gender Relations and the Practice of Gender Roles in Australia

Introduction

This chapter discusses the changing nature of gender relations and the practice of gender roles as experienced by Nuäär households in Australia. Gender has become a complex issue in the migration and resettlement process as family members navigate and negotiate their adaptation pathways according to shifting gender norms and expectations. These gender norms and expectations derive both from their own community traditions and also from those of the new communities into which they resettle (Jennings 1983; van der Gaag 2014; Wienclaw 2015).

In this chapter, I consider these key questions:

1. What is the Nuäär concept of gender?
2. To what extent is the Nuäär traditional concept of gender challenged and threatened by the impact of adopting and practicing new gender roles in Australia?
3. What are the resulting challenges for relationships between husband and wife, and between parents and children in Nuäär families?

In my data analysis and discussion I shall focus on the perceived threats to men's masculinity on one hand, and on the other hand the perceived increase in opportunities for Nuäär women and the social changes they are experiencing as a result. I shall argue that the changes in gender roles as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia have impacted negatively on the feelings of Nuäär men, while the men think that through empowerment women have achieved success in their search for self-reliance and role equality within Nuäär families.

Change in Nuäär Concepts of Gender Practice

Traditionally the Nuäär have distinct gender roles, which are pivotal to their perception of who they are as individuals and as a group in a domestic context. These domestic roles have been changing. Research on migrants indicates that resettlement in Australia often leads to shifts in gender roles and domestic relationships as part of the resettlement process (Miville 2013). Within the Nuäär community itself, there are diverse views on the changing gender roles among the Nuäär in Australia, and these views are themselves divided roughly along gender lines. On the one hand men seem to have a more negative view about the transformation of gender roles, while on the other women seem to have generally positive views on the changes that have come about in the process of adapting to their new life. In general Nuäär men believe that Nuäär women have gained a more privileged gender position in Australia, and accordingly they view themselves and other men as being placed in a weaker position, becoming 'victims' of Australian gender arrangements due to a number of different factors explored below. However, few women support the view that men are victims of these changes in gender arrangements. Many women also criticise men for resisting such change in order to maintain their traditional hierarchical gender domination within Nuäär social life. In order to understand these complex gender dynamics and changing roles, it is important that I return to Connell's theories and understanding of gender roles and masculinity and relate these to Nuäär perspectives.

Challenges to Nuäär Gender Roles and Masculinity

The traditional family roles in Nuäär society are quite different from modern Australian family roles. Traditionally within a Nuäär family the roles of a man and a woman are gender-classified. According to Connell's literature on gender, words used repeatedly to describe the traditional characteristics of masculinity include terms such as 'muscular', 'strong', 'hard', 'brave' and 'control' (Connell 2000; de Groot & Morgan 2014; Grabska 2014). Connell in particular emphasises that people know that masculinity is the opposite of femininity, so that terms which are the opposite of those used to define

masculinity, terms such as ‘weak’, ‘soft’ and ‘emotional’, are automatically coded as female in such a schema.

Connell provides three dominant gender theories – those of biological essentialism, constructivism and performativity – to understand masculinity and gender practice as explored in Chapters 3 & 4. Biological essentialism depicts a process in which biological influence precedes cultural influences and sets predetermined limits to the effects of culture (Connell 1987). This theory is associated with the traditional notion of radical gender differences that links manhood to rational thinking and maintaining patriarchal authority. Traditionally, rigidly defined gender roles for both masculinities and femininities are found in the ideology of strict essentialism, and the clear implication emanating from this strict essentialism is the notion that men and women have divinely-ordained natures predisposed to occupy different social roles (Bartkowski 2001). According to this theory, the explanation of the division of gender-based roles is based on the social expectations that define ‘proper behaviour’ for a man and for a woman.

The Nuäär by tradition believe that gender roles are based on sex divisions given by nature – a nature which is itself understood to be created by God. Men and women are understood to be different and have different roles. One of the roles that the Nuäär believe to be for a man, which is also an important essentialist characterstic of manhood, is power and decision-making within the household. A Nuäär man has to be a warrior, protector of his family and community, and a provider. The Nuäär believe that manhood and masculinities depend on maintaining and demonstrating such characteristics, among others. The maintenance and performance of these masculine characteristics important to Nuäär is one of the areas that this study has found has suffered and been significantly eroded in the resettlement transition. When the Nuäär arrived and settled in Australia it is evident that some men lost their sense of self and power in their settlement process because the essentialist belief they have in mind is that a man has certain roles, for example, that he is the only final decision-maker and cannot work in the kitchen. This foundation of Nuäär masculinity has been gradually

eroding as Nuäär men reconstruct their identity and gender practice in a new sociocultural setting.

In contrast, constructivist theory argues for the construction of identity and roles through engagement with the world (Crotty 1998). This perspective seems to have started replacing the Nuäär thinking about traditional gender roles and equality as Nuäär men and women have been renegotiating and reconstructing their gender roles and identities through immigration and resettlement. In Australia, the Nuäär group is trying to integrate into mainstream Australian culture but is also struggling to maintain their traditions, which can create new individual and cultural dynamics. As Benhabib (2002) emphasises, cultures are not unitary wholes with discrete boundaries, they are webs of meaning that are constantly defined and redefined through interaction with their surroundings. This is realised through practice of individual performativity in their homes and community settings, as discussed explicitly in Chapter 4, as well as changes in the material resources available to them. For example, the meaning of Nuäär life in Africa was economically associated with cattle, fishing, hunting and the cultivation of farmland. But here in Australia, Nuäär economic life has been based on money, either from social security or employment to which both men and women have access and equal decision-making on it. This changes the meaning and definition of Nuäär manhood and the Nuäär understanding of Nuäär masculinity.

Generally, when looking back to these assumptions about what traditionally makes a man ‘a man’, it is easy to see that masculinity has a history that does not always affirm our modern ideas about what a man is. Connell defines masculinity as ‘simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage, that place in gender, and the effect of this practice in bodily experience, personality and culture’ (Connell 2000; Courtenay 2000). So for the Nuäär the concept of gender roles requires a new set of understandings in the context of their lives in Australia. One of the research participants alluded to this when responding to the question, ‘What do you see as the main role of the husband in a Nuäär family?’

> Gender role is a different language when we came here to this country. Back home in our culture the gender roles are separated, there are things a woman can do and things a man can do and things children can do as well for the benefit of the family. But here these roles have collapsed and that creates a very big confusion as to who is to do what? It seems like everybody is now interested in doing things that are different to what they are supposed to do (MP2).

The role of a Nuäär man or a husband, as mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, is traditionally to provide leadership, that is, to maintain the unity of the immediate and extended family. As a breadwinner he provides protection and has a moral obligation to work hard for the family to make sure that the family has enough to eat, the materials they need to cover their bodies and shelter to live in. Men's responsibilities thus include looking after the cattle, cultivation and fishing. One male research participant explains his conception of the man's role in this way:

> As Nuäär men traditionally we are heads of families, we are the planners and we used to be the breadwinners. All the issues concerning the affairs of the household are man's stuff; the woman's role is only to cook and feed her children and look after them, while all communication outside and inside the family is the responsibility of the head of family, which is a man and not a woman (MP1).

However, traditionally, in Nuäär society there is heavy responsibility on a woman. She does all the household work, including caring for children, milking cows, cooking, fetching water and serving her husband. A woman is the one who takes care of everybody at home, including the extended family - cousins, nephews, uncles, aunts, sisters and brothers, and also guests and age mates as discussed in Chapter 6.

Despite these gender-based divisions in roles arising from the Nuäär family lifestyle, within the family relationships there is great respect between a woman and a man, between husband and wife and between parents and children. Both husband and wife also help in the raising of other families' children. By contrast in Australia or in the West

the gender roles within the family are more equally shared by both husband and wife (Renzaho et al. 2011). So the dynamics of gender power in the Nuäär community remain traditionally hierarchical and patriarchal. Exposure to gender differences and the resultant tensions begin with the initial experience of displacement, when families are broken up during their fight for survival, and then escalate further after resettlement in Australia.

The culture of the Nuäär tends to subordinate women by structurally instituting a hierarchical relationship between a man and a woman within the family. The man has all the power over many material and social factors, and he makes the final decisions. He controls the resources and wealth. This consolidation of resources and wealth in the hands of a man articulates the main difference between husband and wife and it further weakens women's position in Nuäär society.

The Nuäär wife's primary role is to look after the resources such as food brought home by her man and to distribute these to the rest of the family. Even though a man brings money home, it is the woman who buys the food for the family and looks after them all in the way that she thinks will best meet all the family's requirements. This obviously includes taking care of the children. Back in the traditional Nuäär lands, the woman and children look after all the livestock owned by the family. A woman also looks after the domestic household so she does all the housework and looking after the children. Thus, in Nuäär tradition gender roles are divided. However in many ways these gender roles have collapsed since their arrival in Australia and such roles may no longer even exist. For example, even if a woman continues to look after things at home, a man may still be required to do housework. There are lots of changes that are perceived to undermine the traditional role of a man with women taking on aspects of men's traditional roles by earning money or working outside the home.

These role transitions in the family as experienced by the Nuäär who are resettled in Australia affect Nuäär men's and women's identity and understanding of themselves. The experience of resettlement in Australia can provide grounds for women to challenge

the traditional Nuäär understandings of masculinity because the Australian system does not favor such strong masculine-hierarchical relationships either in a family or in social settings in general. Other factors and impacts of change that challenge the relationships between men and women are discussed in the next section.

Men's Threatened Masculinity, Loss of Breadwinner Role and Status in Gender Roles Practice

As with many other new migrant families (Chiswick & Miller 2014; Korieh & Okeke-Ihejirika 2008; Miville 2013), Nuäär men, women and their children came to Australia with expectations of peace, stability and greater opportunities. Many Nuäär acknowledge that they enjoy these benefits, but the men never expected to undergo what they experience as such a big loss of power within the household. Transitions in lifestyle brought on by resettlement in a new society have brought enormous changes in the lives of the Nuäär in Australia, and chief amongst these for the Nuäär is the difference in the way the power of a man is now perceived.

Nuäär men arrived believing that they would help their families by providing food, shelter, communication with the world outside the family and other activities, just as they did in their homeland. But changes to their ability to play these roles, combined with new roles being taken on by Nuäär women, mean that there are a range of factors which are perceived as contributing to the loss of manhood for Nuäär men. These factors can include the use of English rather than the Nuäär language at home, (because women who speak English can access external information that encourages women to challenge male domination at home), the change of culture, lack of employment and the greater support available for women in Australia in the legal, employment and social service systems. All these contribute to men feeling that these changes have impacted negatively on their roles, resulting in the weakening or loss of their identity as Nuäär men.

In Africa, a Nuäär man would provide for his family through the cultivation of crops, the care of his cattle or fishing, but since these are not practiced in urban Australia, a Nuäär man can only provide for his family through his employment. However, to be employed, one needs English language skills, local work experience and other qualities which many immigrants don't possess on arrival and struggle to develop once they resettle (Karlsen 2015; Milos 2011; Mungai & Pease 2009). Having skills relevant to today's technology is also an important requirement for employment (Healy 2016). One is unlikely to find a job without a minimum level of technological skills, whether that means access to a computer or simply the ability to read the safety signs at work to comply with Occupational Health and Safety (OHS) standards, an important matter in today's workplace (Gatt 2011). Particularly for those Nuäär who came to Australia highly traumatised by war experiences, it is hard to cope with unemployment. Although some find work, many Nuäär men remain unemployed, and so many Nuäär families lack an independent income.

This lack of income is another of the main factors perceived to disempower Nuäär men and reduce their sense of independence and autonomy, since without work the only resource available to this new migrant group is welfare income from Centrelink or social security. This income is provided to everyone equally in the family: the man has his own, while that for the children and their mother goes to her account and she controls its use. This limits the authority of a man as a provider to the family, as one participant noted:

> But now because of the impact of immigration to Australia I see different things here. The role of a man as a breadwinner has gone because some men are lacking the sophisticated skills that are required nowadays to be a breadwinner for the family. The whole family now relies on social security support, which is provided by Centrelink. If men are getting Centrelink income and women are also getting Centrelink income, then the man has no role. The whole family is relying on social security which is provided by the government: men have no power (MP6).

This new capacity for women to generate and control income influences the nature of Nuäär family relationships. Nuäär men complain of Nuäär women's increased aggression after resettlement. They argue that the women are misusing the system that provides social welfare support, as that is the primary cause for their misbehaving toward their husbands. Most men think that the financial opportunities provided to women in Australia and the other institutional support accorded to them by the system and public service organisations have led to the dismantling of the Nuäär family structure and the power of a man in the family.

> The big thing is that as many Nuäär guys are still without jobs and are not working a housewife who won't ever give you the money that you want runs the whole income. The rule has changed; this is upside-down and it now looks to me that the woman has become the head of the family (MP14).

As mentioned above, the money provided by Centrelink for the children goes to one parent and most commonly to the wife so that she will have a greater say in deciding what to do with that income. A male research participant perceived this entitlement as one of the aspects causing problems between family members:

> Back home it's a man who has the decision on family income but here the government gives the money for the children to a woman and not to you, and you are told that you have your own (MP7).

Many participants perceive that the women's new role in managing the spending creates tension between a wife and a husband when it comes to assisting extended family members back home, especially if there are remittances needed for the family members of both partners who are still trapped in refugee camps or in their villages in the country of origin. As recognised in other research, remittances to kin and community members can adversely affect refugees' livelihoods and become an unseen burden for resettled refugees (Akuei 2004; Geggie et al. 2007). Furthermore, research

indicates that many immigrants from refugee backgrounds face high expenditure in relation both to settlement costs and the costs of sponsoring or supporting others (Taylor 2004; Tyson 1982), adding to the level of stress and anxiety among both Nuäär men and women. This quote further illustrates the frustration faced by men in relation to women's control of resources and remittances:

> When she gets that money, maybe she will send money to her relatives and leave your relatives without any money sent to them. The situation always creates a big problem and when you tell her she will call a police officer and kick you out. She has nothing to lose because she will remain with the money for the whole family. It is the man who will suffer, and the children (MP8).

Many Nuäär men feel that social welfare and service providers have neglected the role of a man even though they too can provide things that benefit everyone so that the community can prosper. This account shows that everyone in the household being entitled to an income contributes to the loss of manhood and authority. Nuäär men feel that their social position and authority are under threat because some of their traditional privileges - decision-making, control of resources and the position of breadwinner - have come under attack. Since some male Nuäär privileges have reduced, and the traditional men's and women's roles have changed, some Nuäär men now believe this spells an end to their customary privileges and entitlements which makes it very hard for them to survive as men in this country. As a result of the decline in men's role as provider due to unemployment, some men claim that the women from the Nuäär community think that their husbands are too lazy to work and care for their families, thus further eroding men's sense of pride in their identity within the traditional social structures.

This has further escalated the tension between husbands and wives in Nuäär families. Some women, however, do sympathise with men's feelings on this subject, arguing that in this country men have no choice. When they first arrived, their main objective was to provide for their families, so getting a job was the first priority for Nuäär men, but as

discussed earlier this has proved very difficult for many men. Education was the second priority, so when a man couldn't find work, he went to study:

> I disagree with the idea that men are lazy and don't like to work. Getting a job here is about who you know not what you know. If a man searches for jobs and has not been successful, he can't do anything. For Nuäär men in Australia, going to school is their second choice; the first choice is to get a job and provide for the family, but because they don't get jobs they go to study because they don't have another option (FP11).

On the other hand, some argued that some of the Nuäär women who came directly from the Nuäär lands to Australia had had a different set of experiences and were encouraged to come out and stand by themselves. Consequently these women tended to be more hostile to their husbands, at least in the eyes of those Nuäär men who have been experiencing changes in their gender relationships following resettlement. Participants explained that the loss of integrity as a Nuäär man and the loss of their unique culture have resulted in even fewer productive activities for men, leading to greater risks of an alcohol-dependent culture. Men not working or studying begin to spend their time at non-productive social gatherings using alcohol on a daily basis to shelter them from feeling useless in a foreign land. These are the characterstics of men who resist change, while the men who accept change live smoothly with their families often spend their time on activities that support their families. Some of the male participants blamed the women for this trend, believing that women use the opportunity provided by the Australian social services system to mistreat their husbands or to apply non-cooperation strategies within the family in order to isolate men. However, some men also think that Nuäär women are not making such good progress in resettlement and integration either.

> For women, I don't see any future; they are not integrating, because they have the rights, but they don't have the responsibility. They are still struggling and seeking help from anywhere. It (the integration process) is something that could

> have been dealt with better if they were working together with their husbands. They are very much exploiting the culture and the new system too, which they want to integrate into (MP2).

Men argue that a woman should respect the Nuäär culture's capacity for smooth integration by seeing a man, wherever she goes, as her protector, while she takes the role as implementer of what has been agreed by the family – the man decides, and the woman executes his decisions. The meaning of being an 'implementer' reflects women's subordination in the family structure (Stromquist 1990). For Nuäär men, this doesn't mean that a woman has no voice but the last word in decision-making should be that of a man, and this, they believe, preserves the interests of women. However, since this is not the case in Australia, Nuäär men feel that their social position within the family is compromised and diminished. This leads to their inability or unwillingness to support their families and consequently triggers a sense of disempowerment, as their core responsibility as sole provider has been disrupted.

Male participants also identified living space and allocation of time as other issues where change has had a negative impact or which have caused other problems within the Nuäär family lifestyle. The notion of space and time can be conceptualised in the form of simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations in all geographical scales, from the intimacy of the household to wide spaces of trans-societal connections (Doreen 1994). In anthropological studies, the concept of 'space' focuses on the tribal house or domestic space. In this context, the internal structure of the tribal house is symbolically connected to social hierarchies in which gender division is reflected in the spatial structure of how the domestic space is organised, such as eating or sleeping areas and practices (Cieraad 2006). Within this symbolic meaning of space, gender constructions differentiate those spaces of a household to which women are confined and which limits their movements. The Nuäär tribal home space fits into this context: culturally, women stay separate from men.

In Africa, a Nuäär man has his hut and his son is sometimes with him there, while his wife has her own house and her daughters are always there with her. A husband socialises with his friends and the wife socialises with her friends. This is not to say that they don't love each other, but that their spatial and social relations and interactions are governed by the influence of their culture. Children, too, play separately from their parents. But in Australia Nuäär family members all live together. There is no mandated separation of roles based on gender, for example cooking or cleaning, and this causes problems between them, which can create tension in Nuäär household relationships. The close proximity of men and women together within a single domestic space contradicts the traditional Nuäär way of life. The Nuäär are used to living as a big extended family in different huts around their home, and that allows men to do men's things and women to do women's things freely on their own, while in Australia they live in one house as a nuclear family without extended family members, even though they still sleep in separate rooms. This living environment changes the culture inasmuch as it changes the way husbands and wives treat each other. Some of the participants argued that this has had an influence on the Nuäär household.

> I believe the culture we had and the way the husband treats his wife should be maintained instead of thinking of changing your way of life because of others. My view is that we should maintain our cultural way of life because it does not mean Nuäär men don't love their wives but they tend to have space which is consistent with their traditional culture (MP3).

As indicated earlier, the allocation of time is also something that can affect gender roles, as there are changes in the time spent by both men and women on internal housework and on external activities, depending on who is working and who is not. Many Nuäär families face this new challenge, but the outcome depends on how it is managed by the family. There might be both positive and negative impacts, especially when both are employed. This is because with wife and husband both engaged in paid work, it is harder for them to care for their family and to do the housework, while on the other side their income is greater.

As a result of all these issues - the inability to get better jobs, being unable to provide for the family and the humiliation some men feel they experience from their wives in relation to their status as men - many Nuäär men have returned to Africa to look for better jobs. One of the study participants estimated that about 75 percent of male adult Nuäär immigrants have returned to the homeland, and this, naturally, has caused their women to experience hardship in caring for their children alone. However, while the Nuäär men have been recasting themselves as the victims of changes in gender roles, Nuäär women have also engaged in fighting the men's resistance to change. This is the subject of the next section of the discussion.

Women's Search for Self-reliance and Equality in Gender Roles Practice

The women reported experiencing new ways of organising gender relationships and roles that differ significantly from their previous experiences. The data indicates that the impact of changes in gender roles has not been easy for the Nuäär women even though they have emerged in a better position. There are negative and positive impacts of these changes. However many women described how important it was for Nuäär families that men shoulder the larger responsibilities as primary breadwinners, and that they be responsible for the family livelihood and for making decisions in the family. This dependence of women on men was a Nuäär tradition, which some women still accept as a norm. The literature shows that, traditionally, women were dependent on men and that this status was often supported by State policies (Crosby 2008). Their dependency became more institutionalised through their marginalisation (Benjamin & Sullivan 1999). The Nuäär understanding of gender roles is based on this concept of dependence. According to the female participants in this study, a woman is responsible for childbearing and all household activities, even though these responsibilities are now being transformed.

However, participants have acknowledged that since the start of the migration and displacement from Nuäär lands, women have been moving towards greater self-reliance

and equality in the family setting. On one hand, this followed conditions of change across place and time, as the life in the Nuäär lands and the life in transition - both in refugee camps and in Australia - imposed different gender practices on Nuäär family life. Moreover, as with any other immigrant group, when the Nuäär arrived in Australia it was difficult for the families since both women and men faced new challenges in caring for their families. These challenges pressured women to work hard, because men were no longer the breadwinners. A female participant described how the pressure of resettlement has changed the understanding of gender roles in the Nuäär community.

> It has changed because there is lot of pressure here. Women want to work, especially when they are qualified and can get a job. They work or maybe they study and that changed the roles of a Nuäär wife. And that changed the role of a man as well (FP10).

Some women believe that the changes in gender roles have not changed their traditional beliefs and their respect for their husbands. These women argue that the only negative change that has occurred is on the children, not between husband and wife. For them the search for self-reliance and gender equality still has to observe Nuäär cultural norms.

> For myself, I can say that nothing big has changed in my life. I still respect my husband and I look after my kids. The bigger change is on the children. Children in this country are not respecting the culture and even what their parents tell them. When as a parent you try to tell your kid what is wrong they will run to the police, and the police and social workers will only support them. They are not helping families to care properly for their children. This is a big problem (FP9).

The impact of change on the children is discussed later in this chapter. The impacts on women of these changes to gender roles and their search for equality in gender roles differ according to their ages, as the data shows. For the older women their perception of Nuäär gender relationships is close to that of the men. This is because women aged

over 50 come with a strong belief in the Nuäär tradition that influences them to respect the status of a man and avoid direct confrontation. They support the tradition that a man is in charge of the family.

In terms of relationships, some older women who still believe in upholding Nuäär tradition live relatively harmoniously with their husbands even though they may have to endure some violent behaviour from their husbands, which is seen as being within traditional cultural norms. The changes have not affected this age group as much because they still keep to their traditional way of life. In contrast, Nuäär women in the focus group who were aged between 20 and 44 years are more likely to celebrate a subversion of traditional patterns and are happy with an increase in their power and their role in decision-making within the household.

According to the participants these younger Nuäär women are adapting to the new life in Australia although they are facing enormous challenges in the integration process. They are facing two types of challenge: the pressure to maintain traditions on one hand and the desire to adopt a new way of life on the other. As one of the elder women explains:

> Young women are the ones who have big problems because they don't follow the family structure. They are in between the two cultures, they are not really sticking to Western culture and they are not following the Nuäär culture either. That means because they don't know the system there is a problem (FP13).

Gender roles and employment: Nuäär women and paid work

The involvement of women in paid work is one factor that has inspired changes in gender roles. In Africa, Nuäär women had little access to outside employment, not only because of the influence of their culture but also simply through lack of opportunity, as they lived in remote areas. With more opportunity for employment the women have become providers and that has reduced their gender-based household roles and challenged unemployed men to undertake the women's role at home (Lejukole 2009).

There is significant feminist and development literature, which indicates that for some women working outside the home, even in what middle-class Westerners may see as an exploitative job, makes them feel empowered (Claster & Blair 2013; de Groot & Morgan 2014; Geggie et al. 2007). By earning an income and interacting with others in public they feel that they are assisting themselves and their families independently and outside men's control (Trask 2013). In her book *Women, Work, and Globalization* Trask found that in rapidly changing work and social environments men have become more vulnerable to economic dislocation and their traditional primary roles as providers and breadwinners are being challenged. This situation shows how the men become victims of change, as Nuäär women struggle to gain gender equality and self-reliance in Australia. This further challenges the previous dominant male breadwinner role because women are contributing to the family finances with income gained through formal employment. This has impacted positively on women's resettlement and some argue that the changes in gender roles are due to them doing outside work for the survival of the family.

For most in the Nuäär community, finding a job is difficult. The language barrier applies to all but especially to the women. If one's language skills are not good, that can make it harder to get certain types of work and be able to retain it. Research done with Southern Sudanese in Australia and New Zealand reveals how lack of proficiency in English can make it difficult for individuals to understand their rights and obligations and to achieve good settlement outcomes (Marlowe et al. 2014). Marlowe argues that limited proficiency in the English language has disadvantaged South Sudanese job seekers. This finding also applies to the Nuäär, both men and women, who find it difficult to access jobs and social services for this reason. Language is key in this process because learning English skills helps to improve understanding of these changes and can smooth the transformation in gender relationships and roles.

The Nuäär men and women who participated in this research acknowledged that the women’s struggle for equal gender roles in practice and for increased self-reliance has

yielded positive results, and they pointed out that many family-based practices have changed in the Nuäär community. There is greater freedom in terms of decision-making, and the availability of entitlements from the government provides women with more power. Women are now in a greater position of power in family affairs. They have access to employment and education.

However, some criticise the way Nuäär women have handled these changes in gender roles, arguing that some women have used this opportunity to remove the man from the home or to otherwise mistreat their husbands. Those who sympathise with the men's point of view argue that working together but with the husband in charge is a better way for the family to bring up children. The following quote illustrates many women's views about these changes and their role within family.

> The responsibility of a Nuäär woman is really something that you cannot find in other cultures. Even in Australia, Nuäär women still stick to the Nuäär culture. Of course, there are some changes but still many follow the culture; they still have the identity of how they've been raised as Nuäär women - where you have to respect your husband, your community, and the elderly (FP 8).

Normally in Nuäär tradition a man and a woman work separately at home with the woman doing most of the work in the house. The woman works as a housewife and takes care of the rest of the family. But in Australia although many things have changed in regard to traditional Nuäär gender roles with women gaining more freedom and becoming more powerful in the family, yet some still believe that it is good to bring up the children and honor the culture with the husband in charge. Generally the experience of resettlement has provided women with the opportunity to take a more active role in family affairs. The changes in gender roles as a result of resettlement provide opportunities for women to empower themselves and maintain their resistance to male domination. For example, from a female participant:

> Nuäär women in Victoria a couple of years back were having many problems in adapting to a new life, but because of access to education, employment and the Australian welfare system, women opened their eyes and are now working, especially in family day care, cleaning and similar fields (WFG).

This has strengthened their independence and ability to challenge male behaviour within the family. Many Nuäär women now have the ability to support their families and no longer depend on social security from Centrelink. The participants indicate that some families, whether headed by one or two parents, are now buying their own homes. The research participants argue that this is an indication of a positive integration process even though the language barrier is still a big problem. Though this figure is just an estimate and hard to support with evidence, the analysis of the data of this research suggests that women are being more successful in their challenge to men's domination and in pressuring men to accept a new arrangement of gender roles.

Changing Gender Roles: Women with Double Responsibilities

As mentioned earlier, the lack of proper jobs for men that would allow them to care for their families has resulted in some men abandoning their families and returning to Africa. The men's focus group claimed that many Nuäär men have taken that option to avoid being humiliated since their provider role no longer exists. Some went so as to avoid family conflict while others left because they were no longer able to care for their families. However, the details of numbers returning to Africa and the reasons given are difficult to estimate and could be the subject of further research. In these cases, it is the woman who has become head of the family and is caring for the children. She undertakes paid work outside the home and the household work waits for her return. I have visited one of these women at her house. She has been left alone with her children while her husband has returned to South Sudan. She reported feeling lonely and miserable at being forced to do both a man's and a woman's work. She is now the head of family, caring for the children and also sometimes providing assistance or sending money to her husband in Africa. She works in order to pay the rent and bills

and to buy food for her family. She is experiencing a difficult life with the responsibility for raising her children alone. When I asked her, 'How difficult is it for you to be alone with children without your husband?' she answered:

> It is really difficult when you live without the man. Back home, a woman doesn't do what a man should do; the woman sits at home only doing kitchen work but here now I am the man and the woman to care for children. I am the father and the mother. It is really difficult (FP13).

However, as miserable as this mother is, she indicated that she feels happy because her husband did not run away as a result of family conflict and that she therefore hopes he will come back. There are other families who have separated for various reasons with the result that the woman is left alone looking after children while also working. The research suggests that the changes and shift in domestic responsibilities are not always empowering women. This is because the men sometimes refuse to relinquish their family decision-making power or to undertake new domestic responsibilities even when their partners are working long hours (Abdi 2014; Bishop 2011; Pease 2013). Such male refusal to change results in women facing an increased burden and double hardship in the family: they become responsible for both the domestic and paid work for the family's survival. Some women accept this challenge and support the husband returning to Africa to get a better job. Other women are said to have deliberately initiated trouble to have their husbands removed by the police so that they can remain in charge of the family resources and enjoy the freedoms their husbands had long denied them while in Africa. For that group being alone is not a problem, although they still experience the double burden.

The participants revealed that many women who are living without their husbands face hardships and difficulties in caring for their children. In the Nuäär community, many women arrived in Australia with adolescent children but without their fathers, which makes parenting more difficult and puts more responsibility on the mother. Meredith Levi indicates that parenting as part of the resettlement process is one of the key

challenges in re-establishing family life. She argues that mothers parenting alone during resettlement fear losing their children (Levi 2014). Teenagers who have migrated from a culture which emphasises obedience and the control of children to one of greater independence which emphasises individualism and autonomy (Levi 2014) become difficult for mothers to manage. In this context, there is a loss of self and authority, and more responsibilities for mothers who live without their children's fathers nearby, which increases their levels of loneliness, anxiety and depression. This is the situation that Nuäär women who live without their husbands face in Australia. However, the opportunities, such as access to education, which is the subject matter of the next section, greatly mitigate this danger.

The Influence of Education on Changing Gender Roles Practice

Access to education is one of the important benefits that both Nuäär men and women have gained in Australia. In Africa, education at all levels was mainly a male privilege (Crosby 2008). There parents would make sacrifices to send boys rather than girls to school as part of the culture perpetuating specific spheres of influence for each gender. Even in past times the Nuäär kept the girls at home because of the wish to keep them out of the public sphere, as they were seen as sources of wealth (as noted earlier in Evans-Pritchard 1951a). Comprehensive education was seen as better for males because they were expected to operate and function in the public arena and were trained to provide for their families. Girls are kept from school for fear that they will fail to observe traditions and become worthless for the family. This arrangement supports ongoing male supremacy in Nuäär families, but it is now being challenged by the concept of equal access to education.

As a result of migration and resettlement in Australia, boys and girls, men and women have access to education. Many Nuäär women went to school immediately following their arrival in Australia, mostly with the intention of learning to write and speak English. This education has helped to change their way of life, and give them better access to jobs. As stated earlier, it used to be only the man’s role to bring something home, but

now Nuäär men in Australia understand that if a wife has qualifications she too can work and bring something home. These differences which challenge the concept of masculinities in Nuäär gender relationships have led to changes in gender roles and of culture. Education also plays greater roles in shaping the experiences of men toward accepting new gender roles. According to both the men's and women's focus groups, those Nuäär men, young and old, who have been successful in education are more positive and cope more easily with changes. They easily get access to employment and are able to provide for their families. They don't show hostile attitudes but spend their time on work, either at home or in the workplace, or study - unlike those who are not successful in education and may consider going back to Africa as the only option. The characterstics of those Nuäär men who came to Australia with minimal education and who are not successful in further education in Australia, often resist change, spending their time in unproductive ways such as playing cards, gambling, alcohol, (substances), together with group members who are in a similar situation.

The Impacts of Changing Gender Roles on Parent-Child Relationships

In the Nuäär tradition the relationship between parents and children is important for family life. In Africa, the Nuäär children are raised from childhood to adulthood in ways appropriate to their gender. Their role is to learn the appropriate skills and to pay back (whether directly or indirectly) the care that their parents have given them. They do that by making sure they learn the culturally approved life paths. As the participants indicated, in Africa a young girl would always do the washing (both clothes and utensils), participate in the cooking and be a role model for the younger girls. Young boys and youths herd cattle and make sure things are being looked after. That is no longer the case in Australia, because the changes in gender roles as a result of resettlement in Australia have had an enormous impact on the parent-child relationship. There is more scope for conflict or clashes when they are trying to deal with and adapt to the new culture in Australia. In this process, some people (particularly teenagers) end up in trouble because they are trying too hard to swiftly catch up with the new culture. This affects their relationships with their parents. Some adults see this as a negative

while those children see it as a positive. In Australian culture a daughter may have a boyfriend, which was not the case in Nuäär society. In Nuäär culture there is no such thing as a boyfriend and girlfriend who can engage in sexual relations.

However, as a part of the process of change and transition, young Nuäär girls are keen to adopt their new culture where they can enjoy being with boyfriends, be sexually active and be in different places other than just at home. That conflicts with the values of their parents, who want their children to concentrate on their studies because they don't want them to face the suffering that they have experienced. They want them to get a good education which leads to employment and the ability to pay something back to their parents. But now the Nuäär parents claim their children are always having fun and fail to listen to the family or parents when they tell them about the possible negative consequences of their behaviour, consequences such as homelessness, fighting in public, offending and going to court, perhaps ending up in jail. That is devastating to the relationship with the parents. When conflict arises, the young people are more likely to move out of the family home and live by themselves, which in itself creates a big problem for the family. The participants in this study acknowledged that there are differences between those children who came to Australia as young adults and those who came when they were much younger or who were born and have grown up in Australia.

> Children who came to Australia as grown kids with their families know the system and the custom that you should respect your parents, come home on time and listen. But there are those kids who came here and have grown up here. Sometimes if you tell them to come home on time they will say 'I am moving away.' In our culture, a child cannot move away until he/she gets married (MP2).

Nuäär youth now are moving away from home even before they get married and even before they finish high school or tertiary studies. Because the Australian system allows children to be independent at the age of 16, they have the right to live independently of their parents. But in Africa even if they are in their thirties they cannot even go out until

they get married. The following view illustrates the frustrations felt by some of the participants who are also parents:

> Many children, now when they turn 18 they say they have got their independence and can do whatever they want: they want to drink, go out, be involved in drug use and other things. Also, the government is giving children money and they live their own lives. Therefore, we are really powerless to look after the children. In Nuäär tradition a child cannot be given money unless he/she gets married. The government is now contributing to the problem, and they call it human rights but it is not a human right because it contributes negatively (FP11).

However, participants did acknowledge the contribution and help children are providing for their parents in Australia. They claimed that children who live with their parents support their parents, but those who have left home do not do so. Children help others in their family with English. They also tell their parents about their experiences and what they have learnt about the new culture. The participants also indicated that these children are caught in the middle and have lost the boundaries between the Nuäär traditions and the host society's culture.

> We need to keep the boundaries, and also challenge the Western culture because the way children and women behave, like going out from home when children turn 18; it is not in the Nuäär culture. According to the Nuäär culture, until the children become adult enough and get married, that is when they can go out of the family [but] until then they remain under your control (FP13).

Another issue which participants saw as a problem in the relationship between parents and children is their entitlement to the social security income provided by the government, as it becomes a factor in enabling children to run away from home. As mentioned earlier, this entitlement encourages children to leave their parents as the government will provide for them in place of their parents. The participants claim that this entitlement encourages children to misbehave and to disrespect their parents, and

undermines the responsibility their parents have for them. They claim that the behaviour of Nuäär children here in Australia does not fit Nuäär traditions of teaching and caring for children. The participants acknowledged that children, especially boys, resist parental authority. This is because leaving home is more common among sons than daughters. Boys leaving home is common, not only as a result of change, but also as part of the Nuäär tradition: boys commonly leave home at a certain age because all activities outside the home are traditionally done by men. The girls traditionally remain at home with their mothers. This may have a certain influence on the pattern of sons leaving home and resisting parental authority. But the main problem in this transition is the freedom which children have here and parents attempts at traditional control that they have brought with them, often results in intergenerational tension (Deng 2016). Santino Deng, in his recent (2016) research, has found conflict between parent and children is fundamentally about control. He argues that parental control over young people's freedom and independence often leads to struggle in many new settler families. However, in my study the voices of children are not fully represented as those who participated in research are 18 years and older. Children under that age might provide a different understanding to a certain extent, since the adolescents who participated in this study might have generalised the feelings of others. It would be important in future studies to broaden an understanding of the issues relatting to parent-child relationships in a changing Nuäär family context.

It is clear that in Australia the children socialise and interact on a daily basis with their peers from other community groups so their daily activities and interests are influenced by the cultural interactions that they see and this seems to be what influences their knowledge and adoption of a new identity and culture. In this way it is possible to claim that the children will be less concerned with the Nuäär culture as they will be exposed to a different culture and they will be interacting with their peers who speak different languages and come from different cultural backgrounds. Generally, the changes in gender roles as a result of resettlement have changed the nature of relationships between parents and children in the Nuäär community. This change affects fathers to a greater degree because they are not able to exercise their parental authority over their

children. This, according to the participants, hurts their feelings and contributes to the loss of their power and sense of masculinity within the Nuäär community. The next chapter talks about family breakdown as a result of changes in gender relationships among the Nuäär in Australia.

Summary

This chapter has explored the impact of change in gender relationships and the practice of gender roles among the Nuäär in Australia. Research recognises the difficulties immigrant groups and families have in resettlement and has identified the factors associated with successful settlement (Hibbins 2005; Howe 2009). As with other immigrants from Africa with refugee backgrounds, the Nuäär have been experiencing challenges in the process of transforming gender relationships and adopting different gender roles as a result of resettlement in Australia.

I analysed the data from the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions that explored the extent of the impact of changes in gender roles on the Nuäär in Australia, and especially the impact on Nuäär men. In the process of investigating the feelings of the men, this chapter also covered the impact of changes in gender roles on the relationships between husband and wife, and between parents and children, in fact the whole household's gender roles and relationships. I have also discussed the effect that other factors such as access to education have had on changes to gender roles among Nuäär families. Throughout my analysis, I focused on men's threatened masculinities on the one hand, and on the social changes and gendered opportunities for Nuäär women on the other.

I have explored the impact of the Australian welfare system and discussed its assumptions that empower women and disempower men, and the resulting implications for the challenges that the Nuäär people face in the process of integration. Through my analysis of their responses, I found that the Nuäär participants have different views and understandings of the impact of changes in gender roles that have been taking place in

Australia as a result of migration and resettlement. The participants revealed that the Nuäär women and youth are more able to withstand the impact of these new ways of gender arrangement, while the men have shown a poor attitude towards the changes. Nuäär men believe that Nuäär women are in better position from the process of change in gender roles because of the multiple bases of support they have from within the Australian system.

These multiple supports help women become successful in their search for self-reliance and greater equality within the roles and practices of Nuäär family life. Men feel they are in a weaker position because they are neglected and have become victims of Australian gender expectations. The Nuäär men argue that the process of transformation has undermined their manhood and limited or eroded their ability to provide for their families. This is a view they share with some women who support their feelings that they are victims of change. However, most of the women who participated in this research blame their menfolk for resisting change, arguing that the men's resistance is because they want to maintain the Nuäär traditional hierarchical gender domination over women. In the next chapter I shall discuss family breakdown as a consequence of the impact of changes in gender roles and the impact of intervention by the Australian authorities and service provider agencies.

Chapter 8 - Family Breakdown and Intervention by Australian Authorities

Introduction

In Chapter 7 I discussed the impact of changes in gender roles among the Nuäär by focusing on men's experiences in the process of transformation of traditional roles of masculinity. I analysed the participants' views about the loss of the men's role as breadwinner and the women's search for equality and self-reliance in gender practices within Nuäär families in Australia. Following the data, I showed how the pattern of change puts more responsibilities on women and challenges men's authority.

I also discussed the influence of education on both men and women which allows them to accept the changes and their impact on parental relationships. I showed that some Nuäär men try to resist the changes in order to maintain the traditional hierarchical gender domination and the frustration these men face as a result of failing to achieve this objective. I suggested that as a new community in Australia the Nuäär have lost aspects of their traditional culture in their transition into a new culture, and in particular the men's identity and traditional perception of masculinity has become lost. Taking those results further, this chapter explores the extent of family breakdown as a result of domestic violence due to the men's experiences and frustrations with the changes in gender roles within the Nuäär community, and the impact of intervention by Australian authorities. Family breakdown can be caused by family violence and is generally associated with men trying to regulate the behaviour of children, youths and women. This is a serious concern within the Nuäär community.

While some literature has examined domestic violence in immigrant and other marginalised groups in Australia (Canary 2013; Milos 2011; Murray & Powell 2009; Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham 2010; Smith et al. 2001), there are few studies which examine domestic violence as a result of changes in gender roles in communities with refugee backgrounds and look at its nature and impact and the context in which it is experienced and perpetrated. Although the literature shows that health and social

workers, some church leaders and the police are aware of domestic violence, particularly targeted at women in Sudanese or African migrant communities in general (Healey 2014), the type and extent of domestic violence experienced by the Nuäär in Australia is not well known. These research participants suggested that family breakdown due to domestic violence perpetrated by frustrated men has been rapidly increasing in the Nuäär community. The impact of changes in gender roles as a result of integration into a new culture in Australia is thought by research participants to be one of the major factors of domestic violence.

There are two sections in this chapter. The first section introduces the concept of domestic violence and how changes to the understanding of the family is contributing to family violence within the Nuäär community in Australia. It also identifies the main sources of domestic violence in Nuäär families as a consequence of changes in the practice of gender roles, chief among which is the frustration felt by parents, especially the fathers, over their loss of authority. The second section focuses on two key outcomes of domestic violence, inter-generational conflict and government intervention. It discusses the extent to which Nuäär community leaders and the Victorian legislature has been dealing with family conflicts and the measures taken by the government in response to this problem, which have left some fathers/men demoralised by losing their rights to physically discipline their children and wives. These are some of the important issues that I shall address through my analysis in order to attain a better understanding of the causes that underlie Nuäär family violence. The starting point is a definition of family/domestic violence.

Concept of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is constructed differently among cultures; there is no single nationally or internationally agreed definition of domestic violence because what constitutes domestic violence differs across the different sectors and interest groups in society, such as, for example, the legal and justice sector, researchers and service providers (Canary 2013; DeFrain 2013; Healey 2014). The definition in a legal framework doesn't

necessarily align with the general understanding within a particular community, or with victims' and offenders' perspectives of what constitutes domestic/family violence. But in most cases, it is constructed broadly to include physical, sexual and emotional or psychological abuse. Family breakdown and disintegration as a result of domestic violence is a critical concern in the Nuäär community in Australia.

Domestic violence refers to acts of violence that occur between people who have or have had an intimate relationship in a domestic setting (Fisher 2013; Menjívar & Salcido 2002). In many states, including Victoria, domestic violence policy is framed within a broader gender policy addressing violence against women. In doing so there is a recognition that domestic violence is a form of violence, along with sexual assault and sexual harassment experienced by women and predominantly perpetrated by men (Murray & Powell 2009).

According to this definition, violence against women occurs in the context of a continuing power imbalance between men and women in society. Most of the time men are the perpetrators of domestic violence and women who are abused by their male partners are the victims. This is underpinned by ‘a gender analysis of domestic violence’ (Petesch 2013). However the Victorian Women’s Safety Strategy acknowledges that men can also be victims. It also draws attention to domestic violence as a characteristic of patriarchal societies:

> The influence of sociocultural and physical gender differences on the causal factors and impact of violence …. in particular, spousal domestic violence, must be understood in the context of historical gender roles in marital relationships. Thus the often condoned abuse of power by men towards their female partners and the traditional links between masculinity and violence that characterise patriarchal societies (Government of Victoria 2012).

Some definitions have been limited to acts that are intended to cause physical harm to another (e.g. murder, rape, assault), while others have also included threats of physical

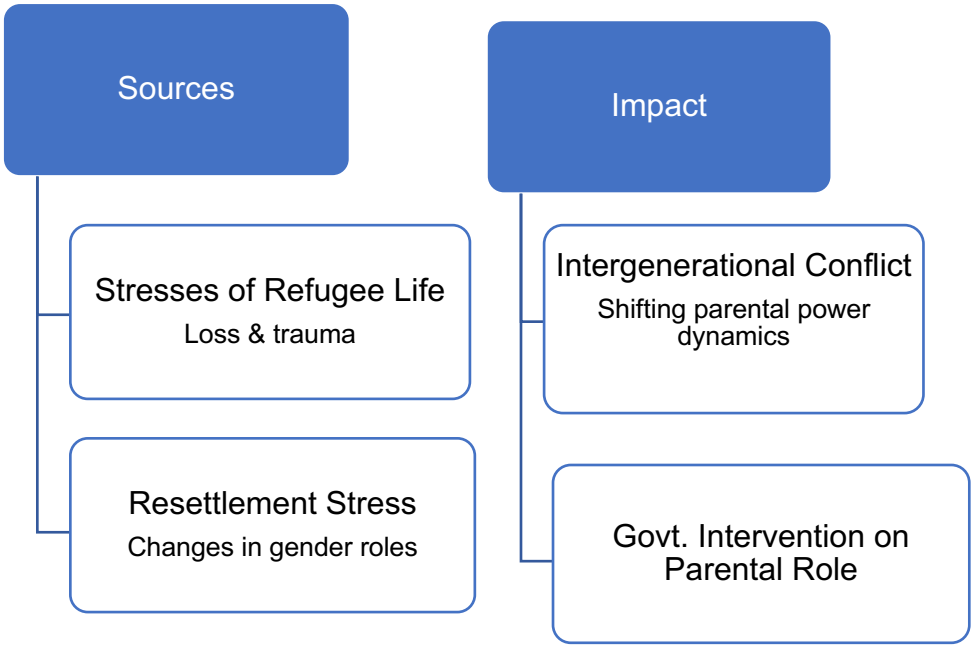
harm and intimidation. The Victorian legislation similarly defines domestic violence as violent or threatening behaviour or any other form of behaviour, which controls and/or dominates a family member/s and/or causes them to be fearful (Family Violence Protection Amendment Act 2017). This includes causing a child to see or hear or be otherwise exposed to such behaviour. In a similar fashion, Nuäär society traditionally considers domestic violence as an unacceptable abuse because it regards women as weak and so not to be physically confronted by a man, but it accepts violence used for disciplining a wife or children. This is because the Nuäär cultural norms allow physical action against wife or child as a way of maintaining respect and ensuring they comply with their obligations to the family. However, in Australia the concept of domestic violence does not accept culturally-sanctioned behaviours in the refugees' countries of origin, and immigrants are subject to the Australian legal sanctions against behaviours that constitute domestic violence and intimate partner violence (Canary 2013). Though the Nuäär in Africa do not consider domestic violence as a serious issue, there is now recognition that domestic violence is a big problem within the community in Australia. There are a number of factors that contribute to domestic violence and family breakdown.

Sources of Domestic Violence and its Impact in the Nuäär Community

Following the definition above, domestic violence is a threat of violence against women due to various factors in the relationship. For the Nuäär, it is believed by the research participants that the various stresses related to resettlement contribute to domestic violence. The research participants believe that Nuäär men are responsible for breakdowns in the family (separation and divorce) due to their frustration with the various challenges and stresses of resettlement. The Nuäär men are seen as responsible because of their aggressive response within their intimate and family relationships as a result of challenges to their masculinity and the loss of manhood in the process of change. The figure below is a composite schema of the stressors identified in the literature and from this study. These stressors, while not always

exclusive to the Nuäär, have a big impact on the way Nuäär men deal with family breakdown.

Figure 7: Sources of Family Conflict and Breakdown



Sources

The Stresses of Refugee Life: Loss and Trauma

As with any other migrant group, the stresses that might be increasing the prevalence of domestic violence in the Nuäär community are associated with forced migration and their experiences as refugees which often included the loss of and grief for their loved ones, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The experiences of long periods spent in displaced persons or refugee camps are also a source of considerable stress and have caused long term trauma not just for the Nuäär men but for all humanitarian immigrants (Gatt 2011; Losoncz 2011). This applies to men in particular because they often participated directly in the fighting and the subsequent difficulties of escaping with their families from the war zones have had contributed the stresses they face. But it is worth mentioning that the impact of this experience is twice as bad for the women and

children. These experiences seem to have made the men more hostile and they express this through their angry behaviours toward family members.

Several participants stated that their experiences and the arduous journey to asylum countries and in transit to Australia were stressful and life threatening. They have witnessed violence, sickness, death, torture, threats and anger through their journey as a result of forced displacement. Among the Nuäär, most have lost loved ones and almost all have relatives still trapped in refugee camps and sometimes in displaced persons camps inside South Sudan, all of whom are depending on them for their survival. This situation with its combination of trauma and complex economic challenges further increases the level of stress for all households in the Nuäär community and is another significant influence on men's violent behaviour as they respond to the challenges of integration.

> I think the long war situation that men have lived through in Sudan may have an influence on men's violent actions when dealing with their wives and other community members, plus the changes in traditional norms between wives and husbands here in Australia. There are so many families that I know have had conflict as result of this trauma (MP7).

Since the situation in the Nuäär homeland is still fragile, as indeed it is across all South Sudan, the causes of stress for the Nuäär in Australia may still be far from over. That means that violence in Nuäär families will continue to be a problem.

Resettlement Stress: Changes in Gender Roles

Another major cause of family breakdown in the Nuäär community is associated with the stresses resulting from the challenges of resettlement such as unemployment and insufficient income to live on which then encourage dangerous behaviours such as drug taking and alcohol abuse. Generally, the factors that promote adjustment during settlement and allow for smoother integration into the host society and culture are things

such as proficiency in English, access to and advancement in education, employability for economic independence, and an understanding of the legal and justice systems. Most Nuäär come from rural areas in Africa where their life revolved around cattle, and they are now faced with an urban way of life which depends on money and demands knowledge of household budgeting and financial management skills to pay the bills, rent and other expenses. These are skills which are lacking. All the informants in this study expressed their concern about the complexity of these challenges in their day-to-day life (see Chapter 3 for more detail). The situation that these resettlement challenges create is exacerbated for men by the changes away from the traditional Nuäär gender roles:

> I think so many families that I know with difficulties would not be free of conflict about changes in gender roles. I don't want to point a finger at any particular situation but as an observer in the background changing gender roles have been one part of the problems in every family here in Australia (FP11).

The participants who have witnessed such problems further blame cultural transition:

> Yes, I have seen a lot happen to my neighbours and my community as well because the change of culture brought misunderstandings among people resulting in violence (FP9).

The data collected from my research participants further links the causes of domestic violence to the changing domestic roles. The fact that these are now in transition and sometimes challenge normative Nuäär constructs of the distinctions between women's and men's roles is causing conflict between husbands and wives. In the focus groups both men and women believed that the increase of domestic violence within the Nuäär community is because the changes to gender roles are having a negative impact on resettlement. As one of the male participants explained:

> Changes in gender roles have caused a lot of problems. That is why if you heard about the domestic violence in new migrants communities, it is because people

> are fighting the roles; women want to take over a role that they don't deserve and men are trying to preserve their powers and that causes the domestic violence. As a result many males from our community are in jail, a lot of families have separated and divorced, so a lot of problems. And this family violence is now common in the Nuäär community (MP3).

Another factor, beside the changes in gender roles, which contributes to the difficulties causing domestic violence are traditional norms around marriage. Traditionally in Nuäär culture, if a marriage is not conducted as required and the dowries not paid as agreed, a woman could decide to divorce or separate from her husband. Previous researchers on the Nuäär such as Holtzman have identified that traditionally Nuäär men and women are socialised to understand marriage in the context of conflict, in which they exercise their differing opinions in a variety of ways and one of these ways is domestic violence (Holtzman 2008).

As explained in Chapter 6, in Nuäär society when you haven't paid the full dowry for your wife or if you did not properly complete the betrothal and wedding ceremonies, there will be a problem in the relationship. The problem will arise from your wife's marital status, because she will see herself as someone who has not been fully allowed to be your wife. The Nuäär want a husband to pay everything in full; doing so is a sign of his love for her, but it also allows a man to own her. However, through displacement and the refugee life many Nuäär have become partnered without paying dowries, because no cattle are involved in the transaction. Therefore, when a misunderstanding occurs, the ramifications can become complex for the couple and the extended family. One participant explained what he witnessed happen to a friend of his:

> It is amazing: when I arrived in Australia, a friend of mine who happened to make a girl pregnant in Africa happened to come back with this girl and then this guy told this girl, 'Look, we came to a different world now and I think we shouldn't be concentrating on convening the wedding, paying the dowries; we should just focus on our lives and how we can help our children grow up.' That simple point

> caused violence and divorce because the wife believed in tradition; she wanted to be married, have the wedding and have everything done as a sign of this guy loving her. And this guy was trying to say, 'We came to a different culture here, let's just adapt to this culture and raise our children.' She didn't agree and that caused the divorce (MPFG).

Both men and women in the focus group discussions have acknowledged that the demand of some Nuäär wives to complete and settle the marriage process causes the conflict in families. And that problem started during the transition to settlement in Australia. However, there were other issues mentioned as causing contention and fuelling conflict between couples in Nuäär families; these included the decision-making process, control of resources and the management of money, and sending remittances to help relatives back home.

Furthermore, in the focus group discussions, both men and women agreed that they are being faced with new stressful challenges that don't exist in the Nuäär lands, such as women working long hours outside the home and having less time with their children, difficulties with driving and traffic laws, and lack of extended family members to consult for problem-solving and mediation. All these stresses increase the likelihood of incidences of domestic violence and have an enormous impact on the relationship between husband and wife and between parents and children. The result is a high level of family breakdown in the community.

> I have seen lots of families in the community who are experiencing this situation and this leads to some families and children being involved in different activities including drugs and gambling that are not beneficial to their families or to the community at all. I have seen that situation unfolding before my eyes (FGMP).

Both women and men can be domestically violent. Some men who are still applying traditional systems have experienced the breakdown of their family and the loss of their children. Some men argue that women have at times misused the independence and

freedom they have in Australia against their husbands, and that this eventually results in family violence.

> In Nuäär tradition, the husband is allowed to beat his wife but the wife is not allowed to hit back and beat her husband. If she gets emotional and retaliates and beats her husband, her parents will need to compensate and pay a cow to her husband (MPFG).

The women in their focus group indicated that there were problems of hitting or beating at home, and many reported that they are experiencing conflict. However, most of these women were concerned to preserve the integrity of the family which means respecting the man as head of the family so that he would be available for the children. Women were concerned about their husbands being arrested. Some men who participated in the focus group argue that a man needs to be politely asked for help by a woman. Their thinking was that, even though the norms that govern the relationship between a man and a woman have changed, a man should still expect some special treatment from his wife. In their argument they emphasised that the change should not be so swift. As one participant said:

> Things cannot be 100% in a matter of 24 hours. For example, my wife cannot tell me, 'Go and prepare yourself some food.' That will be harsh, not polite and she knows that would not be polite because when I come, I always would think that she is the one who should say that this is the time for tea or dinner and if she needs help with anything she should tell me and I would be happy to help her. But still my mind would not find it easy to hear her say, 'Go and prepare yourself food.' That will not be good because it is not polite (MPFG).

The transformation, according to the men's point of view, has been very fast and it has not allowed people time to evaluate the benefits of change from the traditional gender roles to the new gender arrangements. This swift transition has affected men the most and that creates tension between the genders and conflict between family members.

In general the challenges of settlement in a new environment and the subsequent changes in family life and gender roles have resulted in increased domestic violence and divorce and this has had an enormous impact on Nuäär families. There are serious emotional, psychological and economic impacts on women, men and children. These complex challenges have become too difficult for the Nuäär to manage and this has led to separation and divorce in many families:

> Given that this is a very new country with all these changes in the culture and identity, not many members of our community are managing it very well. There are lots of families not living together because of all these changes; families have become involved in physical fights, some are very much traumatised psychologically and not wanting to leave their family but also want to be there but having no role to play. They are there grieving until it becomes annoying and that affects them psychologically through seeing things going in the wrong direction and they have no power to change them (MP7).

And of course there are sometimes family issues that need family solutions in accordance with the traditional Nuäär way of doing things. If the husband or the wife chooses not to cooperate with his or her partner, things turn sour. Many homes have broken up simply because of stubbornness by either partner (but more often the husband) who tries to be a little difficult or to hold on to an African tradition and resist change. With such a lot of separations, divorce and violence, these social issues have affected a large number of people. But that is what happens when there is resistance or non-cooperation and there are various ways to deal with this problem. For example, the Nuäär community organised a conference in December 2016, where the community elders came together and discussed the impact and implications of using traditional and modern strategies to resolve family violence. Similarly, a Nuäär youth conference held in Dandenong in early 2016 also discussed the modalities that are appropriate for resolving family violence, with an emphasis on the importance of traditional dialogue for keeping families together.

Impact

Intergenerational Conflict: Shifting Parental Power Dynamics

The changes in gender roles as a result of resettlement in Australia have brought with them challenges for the parents in managing their children's behaviour and intergenerational conflict. The study participants identified the problem of how to regulate the behaviour of children as one of the major problems. Conflicts between parents and children were identified in the focus group discussions as one of the problems which frustrated parents, and especially the fathers, because of the gradual shift in control of children due to the influence of a new system. This has resulted in differences in values and behaviours between the younger and older generations and changes in identity influenced by the new environment. Once children in Australia reach 16 years of age they may receive a payment from the government that would allow them to be independent and can live outside the family if they want. The participants emphasised that this sometimes undermines parental authority, thus creating a further source of generational conflict. The broader literature on intergenerational differences suggests that the point at which children have the means to be financially independent can be a key point of intergenerational tension (Urick et al. 2016). That research revealed tensions arising between generations from value-based, behaviour-based and identity-based differences. The shift in responsibility creates a gap in the supervision and guidance of children.

Almost all participants raised the loss of parental and communal authority as a factor in the problem because the responsibility that parents, extended family members and the community had for controlling and guiding children has been confronted with the same challenges that have undermined paternal responsibility. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Seven, children and especially sons leave home and resist parental authority, making it difficult for parents to raise children. In Africa, raising children was a collective responsibility for the extended family and the community. But in Australia, raising children and managing their behaviour has often become the sole responsibility of the

mother. This situation contradicts the expectation of hierarchical superiority that the fathers as men thought should be the guiding structure for gender practice within the family. Traditionally, children and the youth had little opportunity to contest that authority.

The Nuäär parents, and fathers in particular, find it difficult to cope with the increase in contestation of parental authority. Parents blame the Australian authorities for creating the perception that the Australian culture offers individual freedoms that promote and protect youth freedom and rights, permitting children to undermine parental authority. Parents noted that they were no longer able to control and guide their children, especially teenagers. In the focus groups, men emphasised that their children disobey parental wishes and commands because of that freedom. One participant described his dismay about this.

> I think the fact that young people are now being given a choice of doing what they want to do and when the parents try to intervene they will be told by the government to back off has been the biggest issue ever and that is the problem that the South Sudanese or the migrants at large can't help. Because if you want to discipline your child in the way you want, it will be contrary to the view of government. Now there is really a bigger problem (MP7).

The participants argued that the government is trying to support the rights of these children when they don't know what they are trying to do. The parents are now blaming the government as a result. In the Nuäär concept, a child is called a child even if he or she is over 18 years of age, because they are still in a state of development where they need to be guided. This is different to the Western perspective.

In addition, the patterns of cultural change in adopting to a new way of life in a new country was also identified as a source of generational conflict, because managing two cultures - the Nuäär traditional heritage and culture from before their migration and the host Australian culture - raises some problems for children. However, due to their

interaction with their peers at school, in sports activities and in other areas, children acculturate easily and integrate smoothly and more rapidly. Parents, especially the fathers, stick to their traditional culture and resist acculturation and this can result in their becoming isolated and depressed. This difference can lead to more generational conflict between parents and children. Similar findings were reported in Australian-based African-related research by Losoncz (2015) and Renzaho, McCabe & Sainsbury (2011).

That research identified the behaviours of youth in accepting change and behaviours of parents in resisting change in the process of resettlement as a source of generational conflict, and one which affects men to a greater extent. For example, Renzaho and colleagues talk about a state of family disharmony characterised by youth freedom and parental struggles to preserve cultural values and changes in gender roles post-migration as the principal source of generational conflict between parents and children. The Nuäär, like many other immigrant groups, are affected by these experiences of child-parent conflict, in which the support given by the authorities to the young people is seen as diminishing parental authority.

Impact of Government Intervention on Parental Roles

The use of physical discipline as a child raising technique has become a key challenge for Nuäär families. In the Nuäär tradition disciplining children is implemented with children from the age of three years with an array of approaches similar to those used in Australian society - talking/reasoning; explanation; ignoring/tantrums; yelling; and isolation or withdrawal of privileges (Kolar & Soriano 2000) – but the Nuäär also consider the physical beating of a child or a wife as an acceptable approach and it is this physical action that triggers intervention from government authorities, which many Nuäär then see as a denial of parental authority. The participants in the focus group discussion said that disciplining a child using physical violence should not be understood as child abuse because it is a legitimate way to raise a child to be a better person. As this is a practice they would traditionally undertake as part of child raising it

has become a challenge for Nuäär families in Australia. While intervention is paramount for the safety of family members during domestic violence incidents (Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda 2013; Mackie 2013; Taylor 2012), intervention from the authorities, the child protection services and youth social workers also undermines parental roles and responsibilities.

The Family Violence Amendment Act 2017 Part 2 - Intervention Orders, Section 4(1, a) states, 'A court may make an intervention order if satisfied on the balance of probabilities that the person has assaulted a family member or caused damage to a family member's property, and is likely to do so again' (Humphreys & Stanley 2006). The Nuäär community sees the application of this section as interference and a denial of parental responsibility. Parents feel that government intervention in a family dispute is not necessary where children are being disciplined according to the tradition in which they are being taught to behave properly. Nuäär men especially view government intervention as one-sided, arguing that it has always marginalised men even if the problem is found to have been caused by a woman. Some Nuäär men think that the government's good intention to protect the weak has been misused because it does not consider and recognise traditional cultural values that encourage discussion to resolve family affairs.

> For example, back home if a woman wants to divorce, according to Nuäär culture people sit down first and discuss and resolve that problem. That is what should be followed but if any problem occurs between the husband and wife here, the wife doesn't give the community a chance to look into the matter; she would rather go to the police and the police will not address that according to our culture (MP8).

The focus group members raised the lack of cultural knowledge and understanding among the authorities and social workers, questioning the appropriateness of their intervention in family affairs. The groups thought that any such intervention should

always involve the community leaders so that the cultural implications and concerns are addressed.

Like many other pastoralist communities, the Nuäär use traditional violence, including physical violence, to discipline children. Gustafson & Iluebbey (2013), found that in focus groups they undertook with Nuäär and Dinka in the USA, both women and men agreed that 'traditional discipline' was necessary if women did not follow their husband's orders. From this finding, Gustafson and Iluebbey argue that in order to help refugee families there is a need to understand their cultures and to educate law enforcement agencies and other care providers about varying cultural behaviours and norms (Gustafson & Iluebbey 2013). In preventing those practices, Nuäär men feel that they have lost their status and are deprived of their parental responsibilities because they are not allowed to use traditional methods of discipline. They view intervention by the authorities as a violation of family privacy and as an obstacle for them as they guide their children in their development.

However, it is worth mentioning how the Nuäär play out public and private space in their culture. According to the literature, public and private are social constructs that conceptualise deferent domains in everyday life – from the interiority of our bodies and home to the publicness of the city streets and public space (Breshears & DiVerniero 2015; Kingwell 2014). Kingwell (2014) defines public space as the space of approved social interaction, whereas private refers to personal space and intimate encounters. Both public and private space transects class, racial, and gender lines and the form of contestation varies from place to place. One of the ways of thinking about public and private space in the context of family is through individual rights and activity. The use of space and privacy in the Nuäär family is gender divided which is conceptualised as a right. Women within the family have their own private space and men too. Likewise the children have their own places for play. So sitting at home men, women and children each sit in different rooms. Apart from places for ceremonial events, public places are not shared much by Nuäär family members. Therefore, when it comes to conflict, the Western expectation is that the couple resolve their problem in their (shared) bedroom

before it is known to the extended family and for the Nuäär that is what is missing, because right from the start an argument is visible to others and so there is cause for immediate intervention by the authorities.

However, in looking into the implementation of family law to address family violence in migrant communities, it appears that there are many problems that need to be considered. One aspect is the issue of awareness of how the legal system works (Erez 2000; McMichael & Manderson 2004; Menjívar & Salcido 2002). Many families, not only in the Nuäär community but also among African immigrants in general, have separated because they don't have enough information about the law, especially about family law in relation to domestic violence.

This suggests that there is a need for more research in order to incorporate an understanding of cultural issues for the Nuäär and other migrant societies. But this cannot be an excuse for not adopting change and modern behaviour. The Nuäär in Australia have an obligation to understand the positive impact of intervention in helping families to cope with today's environment (Roberts 2002). In a new environment, the Nuäär should expect changes in their cultural and traditional values, so that the cultural differences, which are the main cause of family or domestic violence, can be narrowed or eradicated. In Africa when the family breaks down and the couple divorce, the children go with the father. As explained in Chapter 3, Part Two, this is because the wife's parents are not required to return the 50 -100 cows given as dowries. The dowry tradition in a Nuäär marriage is one of the important features that causes domestic violence and separation (Hutchinson 1990). This is a problem in the Nuäär community even though the court may arrange for the child to have a meaningful relationship with both parents (Government of Victoria 2012; Monahan & Young 2006).

The Nuäär largely feel that Nuäär men have had little or no support for the challenges of resettlement in Australia, and family conflict is an example. But they do understand that men are most of the time the perpetrators of the violence. The participants emphasised that the authorities, through their intervention when such problems occur, sometimes

undermine the rights of men. Of course the first action in any intervention is to remove the children so as to protect them from harm or abuse (Featherstone & Trinder 1997; Mullender & Morley 1994), because family conflict always affects children. The men, however, argue that they don't get any support from the system as such and the participants recognised this too as a problem for Nuäär men. The quote below reflects the expression of support for the men from the women's focus group:

> In Australia, there is lot of support around women and children but men are missing out. I know there is a hotline for men to be supported but not everyone is comfortable with using that support and I wish the government would review or do something else to support them because if a man is not able to get a job and provide for his family, he could even be violent because he has lost responsibility (FPFG).

Furthermore, the women in their focus group discussion also expressed their concern about the challenges men are experiencing in such areas as lack of employment, lack of support, loss of the dignity they had back home and in many other areas. This is how some of the women described the men's frustration in relation to their lack of support and isolation:

> They call it a woman's country because whether a woman slaps you in the face or she does anything to you and then calls the police, you will be the one who will end up out. Nobody can deny that with family violence in most of the cases men are the ones who perpetrate it and this has resulted in a bias against men as the Australian government says men are the perpetrators of violence (MP).

Therefore the traditional strategy of using violence as a solution to discipline children that the Nuäär community uses could work except that Australian law prevents it from succeeding.

The Nuäär Approach to Domestic Violence

The Nuäär apply various approaches to deal with domestic violence. These include traditional methods and modern strategies applied through legal process. First, domestic violence in Nuäär tradition is not a permanent conflict. In Nuäär culture, when family violence occurs, the couple may separate temporarily but sometimes reconcile later on through the help of relatives or friends. Therefore, family violence is usually a temporary issue in Nuäär society. In Australia however when family violence happens and is reported to the police, it is handled according to the law. The court may grant an intervention order (Altobelli 2003). If there are children, the court must consider primary and secondary considerations for the best interests of the child under s. 60CC (2) of the Family Law Act (Story 2003). According to this Act the child's best interests include the meaningful relationship of the child with both parents and the need to protect the child from abuse and harm or family violence. But after all these arrangements are applied and the couple probably separated, they may still reunite without the knowledge of the authorities and the law. This has now become a problem when applying the law to resolve family violence in the Nuäär community and according to the Nuäär community leaders in Victoria who participated in this study they have been dealing with this problem outside the existing legal system:

> The domestic violence among our community today is due to differences in culture and family law. Australian family law is contradictory to Nuäär family law as practiced in Africa; we therefore use traditional methods to resolve it (MPFG).

These leaders applied traditional solutions to help them resolve domestic and family violence. Traditionally, in Nuäär culture when conflict occurs between a couples or within a family, a small group of elders from the nearest relatives on both sides are nominated to reconcile the couple. Most of the time when there is violence or a misunderstanding in the family, the elders in that particular family will come together and resolve that problem in a traditional way. At this stage privacy is no longer a factor because the problem is already known to the extended family members. The involvement of these outsiders is done with the full consent of both partners and is

culturally appropriate in that their involvement is acceptable in Nuäär culture. But some women do not accept this traditional way because they see it as biased against them, because the culture is based on the perspective that a man is the head of the family and has full authority over the women. So some Nuäär women, especially the younger ones, sometimes avoid this traditional approach of solving disputes according to cultural norms, but others do handle their problems through the community elders. Most of the time the strategy of involving elders from the extended family is effective, as was seen in a study in the US (Gustafson & Iluebbey 2013). If this strategy fails, the conflicting couple can still use the normal procedures of separation according to the Australian legal system (Monahan & Young 2006).

The Nuäär leaders have also been working to help their community have a better knowledge of the Australian legal system to enable progress during integration. To that end the leaders from some areas have formed a domestic or family violence mediation committee from within their community, comprising elders and others of both sexes who have experience and knowledge of the Australian legal system, to work in cooperation with the various partner agencies at local council or regional level. This committee works together with branches of the Nuäär community organisation in different locations. According to the participants, the role of this committee is to help in reconciliation and mediation between couples in dispute within Nuäär families and to provide legal advice and give support to the community, especially to newly-arrived refugees, so that they can get information about the Australian legal system as they integrate into mainstream Australian culture.

When appropriate the Nuäär community organisation (Nuäär Community Association In Victoria Inc.) provides education to its members that domestic violence is a moral crime in the changing value structures of Nuäär society, and if there are any problems the community elders meet to resolve these issues. The Nuäär community leaders try to reconcile the parties and mediate for the sake of their children. However, the challenge is that the Nuäär Community Association has insufficient capacity and resources to support and manage all family problems by providing community-based education about

the legal system. Nuäär of both sexes and all ages need more education about the new Australian culture and how the system operates.

Furthermore the community leaders emphasised the need for the Nuäär to sacrifice some of their cultural beliefs and customs and practices in order to cope with Australian values, while at the same time encouraging the government to incorporate important cultural norms into its processes in order to cope with and solve community problems such as family violence (Lejukole 2009). These cultural norms include everything from cultural beliefs to expectations embodied on behaviours and practices. The norms around gender for instance stem from Nuäär societal ideals and values that distinguish a man and a woman and regulate individual behaviour. They may include the way Nuäär society traditionally resolves its conflicts and the forms of punishment used, which can be aligned with modern disciplining practice. In the community, there are those, especially amongst the women, who encourage dialogue and discussion and advise the Nuäär men to denounce violence:

> I can advise the Nuäär men to denounce violence: let them talk when there are issues, agree and disagree. No one should be forced to be what you don't want to be because Australia says no to the violence. There are many types of abuse - verbal and physical abuse, psychological abuse - and it is important for men to openly denounce family violence (FPFG).

The general consensus of the participants indicates their support for directing such encouragement and advice towards men. However both men and women acknowledge that there must be a collective effort to avoid family violence in order to attain harmony and promote the welfare and growth of children.

Women Taking the Lead in Resolving Family Conflict

Another strategy that the participants emphasised that can minimise the risk of violence is for the women to provide the initiative and effort. The female participants who

acknowledged the danger of family violence as a result of changes in gender roles, encouraged women to be a part of the solution and not just to expect a husband to comply with new changes for the sake of family harmony. These women think that since they have been empowered by the system and can be in charge of the family resources, they can create a positive relationship with their husbands. One of them expressed her encouragement to others:

> I think we are women and we can change the society. I can say that women are very good in handling the problem, [better] than men. I am very proud to be a Nuäär woman and because we talk as women, I think Nuäär women are better than Nuäär men. For example, if you talk to a child and you give your child time and respond to him slowly, she/he will learn. Women are smart and have patience but the good thing with Nuäär men is when a woman comes and sits down and discusses the issue they will understand and respond positively. It is good to give anyone time to think and decide. And you need to understand that anybody can make mistakes but when it happens we need to be patient (FPWFG).

This quote further illustrates the importance of collective effort by both husband and wife and that women have a greater role in this matter. In the data as analysed the research participants generally acknowledged that family violence is a dangerous and criminal act on women and children which should be stopped by intervention based on the law. However sometimes a lack of information and knowledge makes it difficult to enforce the intervention between couples who don't understand and to perhaps bring about reconciliation and resolve the problem.

However, as mentioned above, most participants in both the female and male focus groups encouraged sharing and cooperation between husband and wife as the way to handle any problem arising as a result of changes in gender roles although some participants were sceptical because of the restrictions of cultural norms on the typical Nuäär men who are stuck in the traditional culture and have not changed themselves to

the way of life of western society. Here is how some women encourage cooperation and understanding in the relationship between husbands and wives.

> If you say, 'This is my wife and these are my kids and we have put our hands together,' there would have not been a problem. There are lots of families without any problem, because between them there is a link, and they solve their problems without shouting, without quarrelling, without calling the police. The police are the worst because they are going to give you bad ideas, they will tell you if your husband beats you up, go out and get your own accommodation, and when you go out, the children will see that dad and mum have problems, they also later will go out, so you all will lose. We need to have a link, something for our community to share if someone has a problem before taking any step; you have to sort it out between you and your husband (FMP10).

The participants in their responses have emphasised the importance of having a link to other Australian communities and living together in harmony but the women also warned themselves to remember that back in Africa a man is the head of the house and that should be respected.

> I believe that without a man, a house is not a house because when you have a man in your house, you will be respected, your family will be happy with you. They will say, 'Our daughter is together with her husband even if they are not given anything at least they live together (FP11).

Most of the Nuäär women and men who participated in this research believe that if a husband or a wife has left home, you are nothing in the community and you are nothing to yourself. They argue that when a man or a woman is not in the house with his/her family, then there is no family. They therefore denounce the perpetration of family violence by men and encourage women to forge a healthy and sound relationship with their partner and children.

Summary

In this section I have explored the extent of domestic violence in the Nuäär community as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia. I examined the causes and the impact of domestic violence as experienced by the Nuäär. There are various issues associated with the causes of domestic violence, including the changes in gender roles and the challenges of resettlement in Australia with the stresses of adapting to a new life in a new environment.

Also in the process of analysing the responses on this matter, I suggest that it is important for Nuäär men, and especially those who are parents, to acknowledge that this different culture affects the extent to which they can reject the views of their wives on matters of children. If they do, that is likely to cause trouble. The effect of the changes on men has resulted in a change of behaviour towards their partners. According to the research participants, in most cases, the Nuäär men's responses to the problem of coping with their feelings appear to be aggressive, leading to family conflict. The changes in the wife-husband relationship and the management of children in a new environment can cause generational conflict. I have discussed how the Nuäär manage such family disputes and their views on intervention by Child Protection Services and other government agencies.

I have shown that to resolve these conflicts women often turn to the police for help, while in Nuäär culture, when problems occur within a family, the extended family members intervene to resolve the problem. In Australia, when problems occur, it is left to the married couples alone and they cannot solve their problems without appropriate support. This has become a serious challenge for the Nuäär in Australia.

I have critically examined the impact of intervention by the authorities in domestic or family violence in the Nuäär community. In Australia when disagreements mount it is comparatively easy to obtain a divorce and this usually affects the relationships between parents and children. The use of divorce to resolve domestic or family

violence in the Nuäär community needs more research and communication in order to increase cultural awareness of the traditional norms of Nuäär society.

However the Nuäär community regularly organises information sessions when it brings together community members and the organisation responsible in order to educate the community about what services are provided and how those services can benefit the community. A number of topics are covered on different levels, be they about mediation, dispute resolution, child protection or other things, but these awareness sessions appear to have not provided enough information, particularly about family violence.

The next chapter will further discuss the coping strategies available for the Nuäär as they adapt to a new way of life and the ways men and women negotiate their new identities, their new place, and the new gender relations and gender roles in Australia.

Chapter 9 - Nuäär Gender Roles: Negotiation and Coping Strategies

Introduction

Chapter 8 examined features of family breakdown and specifically family violence within the Nuäär community in relation to changes to family relationships and identities caused by resettlement in Australia. Salient factors that contribute to family breakdown and family violence, including the traumatic experiences of refugee life prior to resettlement in general, and men's frustration in particular as a result of changes in gender roles after resettlement were identified. It was argued that one way of understanding the violent behaviour of Nuäär men is to understand the challenges and frustrations caused by changes in and transformations of gender roles that represent threats to traditional conceptions of masculine identity, and this becomes a source of the family breakdown and violence being experienced by the Nuäär in Australia.

In this chapter, we saw the ways in which men feel that they lose their masculinity and male authority in settlement transition contexts. This is centrally focused on a sense of losing control of family members as a feature of traditional masculine identity, since these transitions mean they are unable or less able to control the behaviour of children and wives. This reaction is also linked to Nuäär men's perceptions of new forms of empowerment for women in settlement settings, with corresponding perceptions of problems about the way some women treat their partners, which men argue are unfair. I have also discussed the implications of government attempts at intervention to prevent violence and to protect vulnerable women and children from such aggressive behaviour, and explored the ways in which Nuäär men view such interventions, including the impact of these measures on family life, and on how their community could better deal with these challenges.

In this chapter I turn to the coping strategies used by the Nuäär to renegotiate gender roles and differences in their families. According to the data I have analysed, this group expresses different feelings about how to deal with the changes in gender roles

practices that have been taking place and how to respond to these changes. Some of these gender-related problems are influenced by social environmental change. Social environmental change refers to social settings in which something happens or develops and this includes the culture in which the individual was educated or lives and the people with whom they interact (Kumanyika 2008). Manifestations of social environmental change include financial difficulties, social isolation and lack of social support, the impacts of which have also been discussed in previous chapters.

The transformations brought about by resettlement experiences for the Nuäär have seen new forms of resilience and coping strategies emerge that allow Nuäär men in Australia to negotiate a new way of life. In interviews and focus groups, participants have identified different types of coping strategies based on the types of difficulties they have been facing. These and other aspects that can play both positive and negative roles in harmonising relationships within Nuäär families and the community will be a focus of my discussion in this chapter.

Defining 'Coping Strategy'

The definition of coping strategy varies according to the problem and circumstances in which the challenge has occurred and how its nature affects that definition. In some situations, the definition may be based on emotional or psychological stress (Lazarus 1966), while in others it may reflect the physical and sociological contexts (Matud 2004). But since immigrants experience both psychological and social challenges, all aspects of the coping strategies as defined probably align with the Nuäär's situation as immigrants. Likewise all the problems investigated in other research are also relevant to the challenges faced by the Nuäär.

For example, Batty (2006) investigated men's subjective experiences of depression and found that their psychological stress from the impact of unemployment, financial hardship, failure, social loss and lack of family support is associated with their depression. This study and other similar research studies define a coping strategy as

'the cognitive and behavioural efforts made by individuals to manage personal challenges and to reduce harm from stressors' (Batty 2006; Somech & Drach-Zahavy 2007). These approaches consider various types of ongoing efforts by an individual to cope with his or her challenges. The definition offered by Batty (2006) and Lazarus (1966) seems appropriate in many ways for trying to understand the particular strategic approach taken by Nuäär men in dealing with their problems.

However Somech & Drach-Zahavy (2007) emphasise that no coping style is universally appropriate; some theories might work better than others with a specific form of conflict or negotiation based on cultural differences or personal values. Several theoretical researches have addressed the role of culture and diversity as important aspects of resilience as a coping strategy (Clauss-Ehlers 2008; Ungar 2008). Clauss-Ehlers especially presents a cultural-focused coping adaptation model which is described as 'a dynamic, interactive process in which the individual negotiates stress through a combination of character traits, cultural background, cultural values and facilitating factors in the sociocultural environment.' This model includes adaptive coping, which is a positive way of coping associated with resilience, connection, confidence, competency, and flexibility.

In other circumstances coping may be associated with negative traits such as depression, loneliness, anxiety, insecurity and selfishness and Clauss-Ehlers calls this maladaptive coping. The sort of coping applied depends on the level of stress or challenge that a particular group or individual is facing.

The coping strategies that the Nuäär apply to deal with their challenges are not universal, although there are similarities with the strategies other migrant groups have used in their daily challenges. For example, Folkman & Lazarus (1985) when studying emotion, stress and the coping experience of college students in California identified two main types of coping strategies, emotionally focused and problem focused. Folkman and Lazarus (1985, p. 150) refer to an emotional focus as an attempt to reduce emotional stress by managing the feelings via cognitive manipulations, e.g.

using framing or positive thinking. A problem focus by contrast is a strategy aimed at resolving or removing or altering the stressful situation, which might include taking control of the stress, or seeking information or assistance to handle the situation. In similar vein problem focused coping has been referred to as efforts directed at defining the problem and acting to eliminate the source of the stress (Somech & Drach-Zahavy 2007).

More specifically, in the context of work, family and community, Hall (1972) identified three types of coping strategies: structural role redefinition, personal role redefinition and reactive role behaviour. Structural role redefinition involves altering external structurally imposed expectations, relative to one's role. Personal role redefinition involves changing one's expectations and perceptions of one's own behaviour in a given role, while reactive role behaviour entails attempting to find ways to meet all the expectations of a role (pp 471-486). The changes due to resettlement in the structural roles within Nuäär family life have created stress among men: the impact of this resettlement has not only influenced a redefinition of self and of the personal roles between a man and a woman, but it has also forced community members to adopt various coping strategies in order to comply with external structural expectations of gender roles. The following section analyses the identified approaches the Nuäär have been attempting to take in order to deal with the challenges caused by resettlement in a new country.

Identified Approaches

During data collection, I asked participants, 'When do problems arise as a result of changes in gender roles, and how do you or the Nuäär community solve them?' In response, the participants identified the following renegotiating strategies or forums where negotiation takes place.

- Open dialogue within the household; husband and wife, parents and children,
- Social Support (social connections)

- Religious practice as coping strategy
- Avoidance strategy, especially by men
- Renegotiating gender relations and norms

These themes are some of the strategies that emerged from the three focus group discussions which participants think help them cope with challenges relating to changes and conflicts around gender identities and roles. However, applying these strategies also has potential implications and impacts that may complicate dealing with such changes. By reflecting on each group's understanding of these coping strategies, in the next section I provide some analysis and discussion of the effects and importance of these strategies.

Open Dialogue as Coping Strategy

The participants in both the men's and women's focus groups have identified open dialogue or cooperation within their households as one of the important strategies that brings and maintains the unity of the family. The men and women in the Nuäär community have realised that for them when trying to cope with their children's behaviours conflict between a couple and the lack of open discussion are making their situation worse. They found that cooperation through open dialogue with respect for the woman's integrity is a more important strategy than trying to maintain traditional, hierarchical relationships. Many participants agreed that this open discussion is the only mechanism that helps some of them maintain unity and stability within their families. The following quote illustrates the importance of open dialogue for solving conflict and maintaining stability within the Nuäär family.

> The ways we handle these issues include sharing responsibility, sharing discussions with my wife and recognising or considering the issues or concerns she raises and involving her in decision-making within the family. When you involve your wife in decision-making and you don't see and compare the way women are in Africa, the top-down relationship, you can survive in living together (MP3).

Other researchers have also recognised open dialogue or cooperation as a prerequisite to the success of couples in other immigrant societies (Khawaja et al. 2008; Schweitzer et al. 2006). For example, Schweitzer and colleagues found open dialogue as central to Vietnamese men, who claim that a husband and wife should discuss issues and come to an agreed conclusion in the decision-making process. In their article they argued that in the spousal relationship matters should be discussed and agreed upon equally by both partners. Further research has shown that peaceful routine negotiation, daily conversation and transaction of ideas between partners can produce formidable ground-breaking changes in household operations (Muñoz Boudet, Petesch, Turk & Thumala 2013). In that research, it is emphasised that dialogue and a harmonious relationship have an instrumental beneficial value within households. The Nuäär who participated in my research acknowledged this fact in their group discussions and the above research findings support their point.

The participants described how open discussion had been used several times to resolve some problem within the community. Open dialogue is implemented in two ways within the Nuäär community, individually and in a group context. Individual discussions among members of a Nuäär family always take place when they face a challenging situation. It is one of the cultural norms in Nuäär tradition to give an individual family an opportunity to handle their own issues first before they are exposed to the community. This is because exposing family matters at the initial stage without proper steps taken to resolve them may cause disrespect and shame to the family and to the man who is the head of family. This applies particularly when the issue relates to the situation of men's stress arising from changes in gender roles that threaten their manhood or their ability to provide for or manage their own family affairs.

The Nuäär are very sceptical and careful when it comes to intimate conflict between a wife and husband that has been ignited by changes in gender roles. However, in terms of open dialogue in a group context, in the focus group discussions it was understood that when an internal conflict is exposed to other family members, the couple should

immediately involve their extended family to play an intensive role in resolving the conflict. At this stage open discussion may also involve relatives and elders of both sexes from both sides of the family if it is a dispute between a couple, and in some situations the community leaders as well.

This immediate involvement of the extended family and others to help cope with the changes created by gender transformation in Australia is somehow missing in general practice as a coping strategy. There are number of factors associated with this. First, it is because there are fewer, if any, extended family members in Australia to draw on for openly sharing ideas and encouragement to cope with challenging situations. Secondly, and more importantly, it is because social service support has replaced community based involvement, effectively 'professionalising' the management of these issues, which are always referred to counsellors and social workers for them to support the affected individuals. This quote illustrates the impact of having no extended family members for support:

> If I had problem with my husband, back in Africa, I had to seek assistance from my husband's and my relatives. But here in Australia I do not do that because I do not have relatives here. We lost that opportunity here in Australia. Some even don't have immediate family here, and according to Australia law even if your mom and dad are there you have to go to the police to assist you (FP10).

However the Nuäär men in their focus group agreed that the strategy of open dialogue has helped them create a peaceful environment in which they were able to handle issues around gender roles that create conflict within their families.

Beside openness and discussion, open social interactions with other men to restore a sense of being a man in acceptable ways was also emphasised by the men's focus group as an important part of their coping strategy. This is different from the open dialogue or openness discussed above, because it is a conversation that takes place between the men themselves in their own environment to express their views on how to

recover some feeling of manhood or sense of masculinity in their relationships with other family members in this new environment. The Nuäär men, both those who generally experience a sense of wellbeing and those affected by stress and anxiety created by the various challenges they are facing, meet in the Noble Park Community Centre to play games and interact in public and chat about the political situation back home and their social issues in Australia. This open conversation is somehow like counselling to them. They spend the day joking and laughing and forget about the difficult situations facing them, at least for the day, although they may return to that situation when they leave the Centre. This interaction sometimes is used as an escape from the stressful situation they are facing at home, but it also provides an opportunity for them to work through these difficulties and share their experiences, which may actually help them manage the challenging social issues.

Social Support as Coping Strategy

Social support is one of the coping strategies identified by the group as an important coping resource that can reduce the negative effects of stress. The literature on stress, for example, conceptualises social support as an interpersonal transaction that involves emotional concern, instrumental aid and information; that has been established as a facilitation mechanism; that is necessary for positive adaptation and that safeguards against stress and depression (Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham 2010). It has been argued that the degree of social support an individual experiences in a situation can affect the entire stress-coping process (Somech & Drach-Zahavy 2007). Other research has shown that social support assists people who are affected by stress, depression, anxiety and other social problems, and it can help people to strengthen their social connections (Kwan 2006; Lapp et al. 2010). The participants noted that the Nuäär community members affected by the challenges of resettlement and changes in gender roles experienced high levels of stress, and that many sought social support as a means of coping with this stress.

> My husband and I have been living here for 17 years. When an issue sometimes occurs between us we resolve it by ourselves and through the community, but some families don't handle their problems through the community that is why they call the police. This means that there is no link between the husband and wife because if they have a link they can call the closest person to get support and resolve the problem (FP9).

The participants also reported gaining social support from family, friends and the local Nuäär community as well as from other Australian friends. Furthermore, there is also the connection with family back in Africa, so, for example, when the stress caused by intimate conflict results from the impact of changes in the practice of gender roles, the social connections with family overseas play a greater role. The following quote illustrates how social connections through a phone conference with overseas family members are used as social support to resolve the conflict.

> When people are stressed with family problems, they call their family back overseas and conduct a telephone conference to make sure that both parties are convinced, especially the wife, that if the divorce happens it will not be good for themselves, it will bring shame to the whole family, and will also have devastating consequences on the children. Because where the mum ends up as a single mum it would be extremely difficult for her to raise those children (Community Leader).

Furthermore the multifaceted social support (acculturation, assistance, settlement assistance, and emotional support) provided by Australian service agencies was also admired by the group in the context of helping them make social connections that effectively help them cope with their situation.

> It is true as men we are facing difficulties, but coming here has benefited all of us, men and women, because of the social support we are getting from the

> Australian community and government, and now I can say we are integrating (MP2).

These social networks provide emotional support to those affected by the stress of adapting to a new life, especially to those men who have lost hope due to the loss of their traditional masculinity or manhood and who isolate themselves from their families as a result. To relieve their stress or keep away from their families most of these men spend their time with their peers and friends playing dominos, cards or chess, and are often at the Noble Park Community Centre, where I conducted these interviews. Such networks have become an important mechanism for coping with gender change related challenges. The African associations in Melbourne also play an important role in providing a wide range of services. These local community services encourage social development through community initiatives, community programs and cultural maintenance. The assistance provided to these affected individuals has been shown to foster progress in resettlement and integration.

The Nuäär hold their community as a source of social support and collective identity, which facilitates the feeling of having a sense of belonging and maintaining social status within the community, especially since a man's status is very important for the Nuäär. This kind of social support is considered as extremely important to help those men who have been personally affected by the loss of a sense of masculinity and of the traditional men’s roles.

Nonetheless it is clear that some Nuäär men and women argue that a man's situation is worse in Australia because of changes that favour women. But the general consensus from the focus group discussions indicates that social support as provided through a diverse range of services benefits and helps some Nuäär men to change their current construct of masculine behaviour and to become more flexible in applying gender norms in their spousal relationships.

Religious Practice as Coping Strategy

Another coping strategy the participants emphasised was using their religious beliefs and practices. Many Nuäär are Christians and both men and women have embraced turning to God to help them face the multiple problems of adapting to a new culture. This complements research on two African communities in South Australia (Puvimanasinghe et al. 2014) which found that participating African refugees, women and men who utilised religious belief to make meaning of their survival and salvation, felt this was an important function in their lives. The affected individuals and families who had lost hope for the future put their fate in the hands of God, hoping that their faith would relieve their stress and give them strength for the future. This strategy did not start simply to deal with the post-resettlement challenges: they have been using this approach since their initial displacement in Africa. It is a strategy common to many migrants and refugees for use in their daily challenges.

The effectiveness of this approach is supported by earlier research on African refugees (Khawaja, White, Schweitzer & Greenslade 2008), that identified the use of faith by refugees from Africa to relieve stress and anxiety. That research found that between 50 and 75 percent of a sample of Somalian and Ethiopian refugees used prayer to relieve their sadness. Another study found that, in some cases, religious beliefs are linked to a style of coping that emphasises enduring the adversities of the present in hope of the future (Laurie 2015). In addition, religious beliefs and practice are also likely to assist individuals to adapt to new difficulties more broadly. Participants estimated that a large number of the Nuäär (about 75%), both men and women, have turned to faith during their pre-refugee and post-resettlement life in order to better cope with the challenges of adapting to a new life in a new environment. From my observations at church services there is always a time allocated to personal and communal reports before the service or church meeting concludes. In these periods, individuals present the problems they face for intercession by the congregation. These include issues related to family conflicts, difficult behaviours by their children, sadness because of the death of relatives back home, sickness and much more. They also include those Nuäär men who may have been banned from their houses through intervention orders because of conflict that may

have been caused by the changes in gender roles. Both men and women hope that God will respond to these challenges, including the loss of masculinity, so that they can endure any stress and anxiety and cope with the situation. Men feel that they are recognised as the head of the family as God prescribed. One of the participants, who is a believer, provided the following advice to the participants about accepting change.

> My advice is very short. As a Nuer man I need to accept the changes. Because, the environment we live in is different from the environment we came from, and the law of this land is different from the law we came from, so the changes must be accepted. Another thing is that the majority of Nuer community members are Christians, so if they apply their religious beliefs, as the Bible when teaching the principle regarding a man and a woman in the house says that the husband is the head of the family, if they are really Christians they should accept that (MP1).

Faith and other religious practices greatly help all community members to cope with challenges posed by the changes in gender roles, and also to achieve their potential in education, language learning, and even socialisation. However, it is worth mentioning that there are differences in how men and women manage this coping strategy. In the group discussions, both men and women recognised that women are more likely to accept and implement religion as a coping strategy, while men sometimes turn to unhealthy activities such as abusing alcohol and illicit drugs, gambling and the other counter-productive activities that are more likely to be engaged in by socially isolated individuals, amongst which is being violent as a way of dealing with the challenges from their loss of manhood and masculinity. However, the participants recognised the effectiveness of religious practice as a coping strategy for both men and women to help them make positive progress towards rebuilding their lives. In the church, people often talk about the rules in the Bible that children have to respect their parents, and women have to respect their husbands and abide by their rules and guidance. That somehow pleases some men although it is less common in practice.

Avoidance as Coping Strategy

Among the identified coping strategies, avoidance was reported as one that has been applied by some in order to maintain healthy relationships and for the sake of their children's future. Avoidance is not a new concept as a coping strategy; it has been explored in previous research. Psychological studies of stress conceptualise avoidance coping as desensitisation, distraction, repression, blunting, non-vigilant, passive, and disengagement (Anshel et al. 2010; Sharp 2013). According to that research, coping by avoidance consists of a conscious decision to physically remove oneself from perceived threatening cues (Sharp 2013). Examples include walking away from the stress source or avoiding a threatening or unpleasant situation. In family situations in the Nuäär homelands, the vulnerable person (usually a woman) can often just walk away from the threatening situation. Likewise in Australia, men who have affected by familial conflict seem to use this approach to avoid confrontation within the family. Thus it becomes a way of distancing themselves from (or minimising the risk of) government intervention.

> I always spend time in Noble Park engaging with many people and sharing information, but also refreshing myself from the problems facing me at home as a man. That is the only way to avoid confrontation and to get some relief and survive. But I know my wife and Nuäär women in general are not happy with the way their men spend time in Noble Park (MPMFG).

The participants endorsed this approach. They viewed it as sometimes the only way to escape from family violence that might see the men end up in jail. Those who are already separated from their families because of intervention by the authorities also use this approach to avoid contact with some family members.

> I come from Alice Springs and am happy to coincidentally be part of this research. I went to Alice Springs simply to avoid frequent confrontation with my wife. Because when a misunderstanding occurs, particularly with what they (women) call their freedom, she will call the police. And I am banned with an intervention order, so if I see her doing what I do not like, I may talk to her and

> that would be a problem. I decided to stay away. That is why I am not happy with the way men are being treated (MPMFG).

This approach also applies to women who do not want confrontation with their spouse. The participants indicated that like the men women also talk about using avoidance for the sake of retaining family harmony. However research has found that there is a level of gender difference in using avoidance as a coping strategy for social problems related to gender roles orientation and perceived mastery (the extent to which people feel they are control of their lives) (Sharp 2013). The Nuäär men find difficulties living in Australian society, which makes it extremely difficult for them to control their lives as men. Research further suggests that the way individuals cope with social problems and stress originates from the way men and women developed gender-appropriate norms as children and the way in which parents reinforced that gender-typical behaviour (Nolen-Hoeksema et al. 1999; Sharp 2013). The literature also found that levels of psychological distress or disfunction were associated with threats to their masculine behaviours, which is when this coping style is often internalised.

According to this theory, there is an internalised drive that pushes individuals to manage their behaviour according to their gender as defined by cultural norms (Sharp 2013). Thus, those Nuäär who traditionally believe in strict sex roles and think they have lost everything due to the changes in gender roles discussed in Chapter 7 are engaged in a gender schematic process that allows them to behave in a way that meets stereotypical gender expectations, as a result of which they develop stereotypical coping methods. Most Nuäär men who are involved in conflict with their families as result of their non-flexibility in the settlement process apply avoidance as a coping strategy. But those who hold less traditional expectations about appropriate gender roles are not so much affected and they seem to be coping well using other coping styles. For example, women and children - as in other immigrant groups - are more passive and flexible on gender norms and are quick to adapt to the new way of life. The quote below illustrates the importance of flexibility in coping with challenges in adopting a new life.

> If you are flexible you can be very good. Women are fast to adapt to the changes because they have freedom and support from the system, so it is good for them. However we, the Nuäär men, already also had freedom in our culture back home, so here men are not enjoying these changes (MP 7).

The effectiveness of avoidance as a coping strategy was also raised as a question by many participants in the group discussions. This is because it has been seen as a source of self-isolation, which is not healthy for the wellbeing of the individual. Those Nuäär men who decide to isolate themselves because of the fear they have of the Australian authorities, who are perceived as often intervening against their interests in familial matters, face challenges because of their disengagement from the community. Avoidance as a coping mechanism also encourages those who have isolated themselves to be without social connections within their community and that often makes them engage in anti-social behaviour such as alcohol and drug abuse. This is particularly dangerous for young people because it makes them more likely to engage in gang activities. There has been research into the heavy alcohol consumption among marginalised African refugee young people in Melbourne which supports this finding. This research identifies the motivations for heavy drinking by young Africans as drinking to cope with trauma, drinking to cope with boredom and frustration, and drinking as social experience (Horyniak et al. 2016). This research also reports a range of health and social consequences for these young people including breakdown of family relationships, homelessness, interpersonal violence and it also talks about the strategies they apply for managing their drinking which include counselling, self-imposed physical isolation and self inflicted injuries. Therefore, drinking or spending time on drinking as a way of avoiding interaction with others is not a suitable coping approach.

Renegotiating Gender Relationships and Norms as Coping Strategy

Living in Australia for many years has changed the thinking of both Nuäär men and women regarding gender roles. The challenges they have experienced have also forced

many to look for ways to sustain a peaceful life within their families. A number of participants reported devising a variety of strategies to negotiate the ways gender relations and gender norms are organised in Australia. Some Nuäär participants have tried to override aspects of gender arrangements according to their traditional norms while others reported adopting change in order to avoid family conflict.

> My role as a man has changed a lot. Now I am doing household work. And if I insist on not doing that or not being flexible to contribute in the house it may cause a problem with my wife. Therefore, there is an impact here (MP2).

Another participant responded to the question as to whether being in Australia has changed his thinking about gender roles and norms, and if so, why, in this manner:

> Yes, 50 percent of my role as a Nuäär man has changed here. Because back home I could only sit watching a woman doing household work, I could not do what a woman is doing, but here now I can do a woman's work - cleaning, cooking, I can change children's nappies - something a man cannot do at home in Africa - and other things (MP5).

The participants acknowledged that they have seen changes to gender roles in the Nuäär community as a result of renegotiating gender relationships and gender norms. There is a greater acceptance of changes in gender roles as illustrated by following quote:

> Since I came to Australia many things in family roles have changed. As a man I cannot do house work in Africa but now I can cook and prepare food and put it on a table, and I don't feel shame (MP5).

As part of the Nuäär, I too have seen changes in thinking about gender roles and the practical implementation of these changes by both Nuäär men and women. Thinking about and adapting to the changes come in different forms. Some are forced to by the

situation because their male-based roles no longer exist and they have no choice but to change and adapt to a new way by helping their wives. The following quote illustrates how a woman witnessed her husband being forced by the situation to adopt new roles in the family:

> When my husband was working he was not even able to open a microwave, but he left his job and it was me working. He was then forced to learn how to cook, help in the kitchen, use the microwave and other things, and pick up the kids. Therefore, he has changed (FG-FP).

Female participants also acknowledged that some men have never accepted these changes and refuse to negotiate because they think everything should be done by a woman. Likewise the female focus group argued that some women do not want to share things with their husbands and so there are problems of mistrust, especially regarding management of family income and resources and the use of bankcards. On the other hand, some women, even if their husbands have changed, do not cooperate with them because of the cultural influence. As discussed in earlier chapters, such Nuäär women are generally those whose mothers came to Australia from Africa and who still maintain close family connections so that their relationships with their husbands concerning gender roles is influenced by their mothers' advice. Since the mothers try to influence them to maintain traditional gender relationships, they do not allow their husbands to demonstrate the changes they have adopted.

> In the beginning, it was a problem because she doesn’t want me to do women's chores. She sometimes even asks me, ‘If your sisters come here and see you washing dishes in the kitchen, what can you say to them? You want them to insult me? I used to say, ‘Don’t worry; when I hear the knock at the door, I will just sit like an African man.’ There was one time she was talking about something with her mother and accidentally mentioned that I was washing dishes. Her mum quarrelled bitterly with her, asking her why she was allowing her husband to wash dishes. She warned her not to do that again because it's an insult (MP4).

However, the view of many of these participants is that accepting Australia as their new, permanent home is an important strategy, one which many embrace and which has influenced their approach towards adapting to the new culture. In this regard, they report that the best strategy to smoothly negotiate the transition is to accept the environment where they live. They believe that the way forward is to accept and even internalise the change and to believe in actively being Australian.

> Let's all have the opportunities; let women play the role that they can play, whether going to school or work, it is something they can do. Let's accept the environmental change as Australian citizens. We should follow what the people of this country are doing because you cannot oppose the culture you live in (MPFG).

The negotiation of new gender relationships and gender roles among the Nuäär was evident and witnessed not only from an individual perspective, but also at the level of the community leadership, which provides advice and encourages Nuäär men and women to accept and adopt the new ways of gender relationships. When the Nuäär first arrived in Australia they were faced with a new environment in which a wife needed to take the opportunity to go to school, or where a man needed to look after their children if she was not feeling well. He would have to cook and, if she did not know how to drive, the husband had to go shopping and bring things home. These considerations were not part of where the Nuäär came from. But in adopting a new life here, these are some of the things that Nuäär men need to accept.

The Nuäär community leaders in their responses emphasised strongly the need for equal contribution to the wellbeing of the family and the community. For example, the leaders in men's focus group provide examples of some evidence showing some women working and supporting their families within their community alongside their husbands. They argue that this experience can be seen as an opportunity for learning, to which both Nuäär men and women should listen for the sake of harmony and peace

at home and for the sake of the future of their children, and therefore it is very important for them to cooperate. Negotiating new gender roles through cooperation will make for a stable and happy home. In their advice, the participants emphasised that both men and women have to adopt the new way of life and accept the changes in gender roles.

The community leaders also argue that since the Nuäär live in this society, they should do what is done in the general Australian society. In their collective view, they urge the Nuäär community to make a greater effort as members of the community and of families to educate and teach each other the new way of life, adding that some cultural norms and values need to be renegotiated according to the new environment. The community leaders also emphasised the need for the Australian government to support their community organisations so that they are able to make positive change during the resettlement process, so as to remove the boundaries between the cultures and help them catch the train of Australia's multicultural society.

In relation to children, as discussed in Chapter 7, the Nuäär community leaders encouraged parents to organise different cultural activities where children can see the different styles of Nuäär drama and performance that are shown during these events. Bringing children to these activities can be a coping strategy that may help them maintain the Nuäär traditions and to use the community to preserve Nuäär culture.

So helping one another by doing housework on a regular basis, understanding each other better, having plans in place for organising the family together with one's partner, working as a team and including each other in all decision-making are the best ways for both Nuäär men and women in Australia to sustain both their life and their culture.

It is clear from the findings that such changes impact on Nuäär men and their roles as husbands and fathers, and this has structurally impacted the Nuäär as a society and the paternal experience of family life within the Nuäär community. Traditionally, fathers are expected to be providers and do outside work, as discussed in previous chapters. However, there are potential benefits for men in becoming involved in routine nurturing

activities, helping in household work, for example, with stay-at-home fathers attending to children, doing the laundry, shopping, and cooking, as well as working (Somech & Drach-Zahavy 2007). Other studies have shown that there is increased media interest in fathers who have reshaped the traditional husband and father roles to include jobs and responsibilities that were once assigned to mothers (Leat 1991; Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham 2010). This flexibility and engagement become an important coping strategy for those families and individuals - mainly men - who have had trouble in transition. Generally, all these identified coping strategies created by the resettlement experiences provide a lead for Nuäär men and women in Australia to negotiate a new way of life in order to acculturate in harmony with their Australian-born hosts.

Summary

This chapter has discussed how the Nuäär cope with the post-resettlement gender relation challenges experienced by both men and women. The ways to address these challenges, both as individuals and as a collective, were considered by the participants. The focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews have identified various coping strategies that have helped the Nuäär cope with these challenges. These strategies include (among others) open dialogue within the household – between husband and wife, parents and children; religious belief; social support; avoidance; and the need to renegotiate gender relations and norms in order to align with their new society's expectations.

Negotiations have been taking place regarding gender norms for several generations. A significant shift in the norms has been witnessed that is not generally a result of conflict between couples but rather due to various aspects, with the result that as they adapt to new social norms the areas of conflict slowly reduce and thus the new norms creep into everyday lives (Muñoz Boudet, Petesch, Turk & Thumala 2013). The evidence from the data reveals that the social norms governing household relationships and roles are changing. There is a widespread tendency towards a greater acceptance of more equitable gender relations and modification of gender roles: almost all the participants

testified to these changes. Many also said that they want more cooperation and open discussions between men and women, and between parents and children, as these are effective coping strategies for the resettlement process.

In general, the participants argue that the Nuäär (and especially the men) in Australia have come to learn that their traditional cultural values in general are undermined by a system that appears to substantially favour one gender within the wider community. Note that this view does not reflect the view of most members of Australian society. Therefore, many men within the Nuäär in Australia think that if they could practice their Nuäär traditions without being blocked or limited by local authorities and the federal government, then they could build a viable community in Australia. However it is clear that there are various challenges to families when adopting and adapting to a new life in a new country. The coping strategies discussed in this chapter are very helpful for the Nuäär in dealing with the challenges they face arising from changes in gender relations in a new environment. The implications of these strategies and their outcomes are an important area for future research into the Nuäär migrant experience.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

Reflecting on the Nuäär Gender Transition Experience

This chapter summarises and offers some final remarks about the insights that this study has yielded on the changing dynamics of traditional gender roles for the Nuäär of South Sudan and Ethiopia as the result of their experience of displacement and resettlement in Australia. The primary aim of this research was to provide evidence-based knowledge and insight into the issues and challenges confronting this immigrant group, with specific reference to the impact of transition and transformation in gendered identities and roles as influenced by the resettlement experience. Broadly speaking, the thesis has demonstrated how the dynamics of changes in social interaction, relationships and the influences of new lifestyles and cultures have affected contemporary Nuäär during their encounters with forced migration, refugee life in transit countries and resettlement in Australia. In particular, this thesis provides a better understanding of how Nuäär men perceive and deal with the changing nature of masculinity and the experience of loss of manhood during the resettlement process. This experience has shaped and reshaped their thoughts about gender roles, masculinity and sense of identity in relation to what it means to be Nuäär in diaspora contexts.

Capturing the Literature and the challenges

As discussed in Chapter 4, the literature on gender and masculinity studies (Antonopoulos 2014; Baron & Kotthoff 2002; Connell 2000; Donaldson, Hibbins, Howson & Pease 2009; Hopkins & Noble 2009; Lindsey 2015; Seidler 2013; Mungai & Pease 2009; Wedgwood 2009), provides an understanding of gender issues in regard to how African masculinities are lived and understood, as well as how the changes brought about by the influence of the forces of modernity has led to the reshaping of traditional ways of life. This literature produces a theoretical lens that emphasises a significant shift in the understanding of manhood and masculinities among the South Sudanese in diaspora and this is relevant to the crisis that many Nuäär men have

experienced during the process of integration into a new society. The literature has deeply influenced my development of the conceptual framework used for analysis of the Nuäär's challenges around gender and masculinity, because it has focussed the analysis much more on the dynamics of lived experience as a social process in which concepts like 'gender' and 'masculinity' can undergo significant transformation.

The study of gender and masculinity has gone through different stages. Early gender theory focused on the question of masculinity through the lens of sex role theory in the 1970s, in which the key idea was to demonstrate the socially constructed nature of masculinity and how its reliance on socialisation and the process of learning sex roles may be harmful to men (Carrigan et al. 1985; Edwards 2006). However, this theory of sex roles was seen to be theoretically limited because it proposed that being male and female is a static, essentialised identity, with fixed and unchanging gender norms and expectations (Bradley 2013).

In essence the performance of masculinity and femininity was based on ascribed fixed gender norms and practices. The understanding of practicing ascribed gender norms was traditionally important for the Nuäär because it is connected to the performance of a construct of masculinity that is always associated with the exercise of power and strict gender norms, and it is these that are now subject to transformation as a result of migration and resettlement. However, the past exercise of power and masculinity over marginalised and oppressed groups and individuals attracted criticism. Masculinity studies re-emerged in the 1980s out of this criticism based fundamentally on the work of Connell who developed the concept of hegemony as applied to the question of masculinity. Connell argues that hegemonic masculinities exerted power and control over other possible concepts and practices of masculinities, particularly those commonly associated with socially subordinated identities inflected by race, class and sexuality, such as Black masculinities, working class masculinities and LGBTI masculinities (Connell 2014a). Further development of masculinity studies was influenced by the post-structural theory of patriarchy in relation to gender in terms of

normativity, performativity and sexuality. The work of Connell and Judith Butler are important examples of this post-structural approach.

These and other gender studies open up opportunities for wider analysis and help in unpacking useful theoretical perspectives of social constructivism. In particular, Butler's notion of performativity can be applied to the construction of the challenges and new gender practices facing Nuäär men and their sense of masculinity to establish how these challenges could be addressed in the process of their adjustment to life in Australia. Migrants arriving Australia are often exposed to masculinities which are ethnically diverse in nature as well as multicultural variants of masculinity in a multicultural setting (Mungai & Pease 2009). This can be difficult for groups like the Nuäär to adapt to as representations of masculinity and the practice of gender roles are influenced by a range of factors including age, geographic location, impact of resistance to change, prior and post migration experience, the media, and subculture. More importantly the status of a man and a woman in the household in relation to gender roles is making change more difficult for the Nuäär in Australia. The changes and transformations that have been taking place in Nuäär society since displacement from their country of origin have changed the role of a man as provider, thus shifting the balance of power within Nuäär family relationships. The integration of this group into Australian society has seen the Nuäär man move away from performing traditional norms such as being breadwinner, sole provider and exercising power over other households.

The issues facing migrant men and women, boys and girls in Australia, such as unemployment, the influence of western culture and values, parental challenges and lack of adequate support in transition, bring the situation of Nuäär society in Australia much closer to Dryden's (2014) notion of social 'flux', in which stable roles are thrown into uncertainty and the norms for social interaction become loosened or less meaningful for a given community. Dryden calls this the 'in between' stage in which the old norms and expectations are lost but new ways have yet to be adopted and internalised. The Nuäär are at this critical point in transition. In this regard it is possible

to argue that the performativity of masculinity, using Butler's framework, is disrupted by things like unemployment. If one of the ways in which Nuäär men 'perform' being a man is to go out of the domestic sphere and work every day then unemployment denies them access to modes of behaviour bound up with being workers and providers that reinforce their identity as a man.

However, according to Connell, masculinity is something that has to be understood and practiced in specific social contexts, and because it is socially constructed, it is open to challenge and change. She argues that men are involved in a process of continually constructing themselves. However, inability to control the changes they undergo can make some men express their sense of masculinity in an exaggerated manner towards women within the context of their relative powerlessness (Connell 2003). It is one of the findings from this study that this phenomenon has been taking place with Nuäär men as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia. Nuäär men's inability to transform their perceived loss of traditional modes of masculinity and sense of manhood into positive social relationships within the family and community sometimes makes them turn on their partners, thus causing conflict in the family.

In order to further understand the challenges facing this group, we need to look back at what they have experienced in their lives. Life for the Nuäär has been disrupted by civil wars in their country of origin, and this has been exacerbated by their experiences in transit as refugees in various countries. Many of them have witnessed killing and torture and seen the death of their loved ones and the ongoing effects of having relatives still trapped in refugee camps and in UN protection sites within South Sudan are still affecting this group psychologically and economically. As a result the Nuäär who have reached Australia have suffered many different traumas during their refugee life and while in Australia. This has had an enormous impact on their intimate or familial relationships. Their resettlement indeed has provided a positive improvement in their life because they are now in a safe environment where they no longer experience war and displacement, hunger and poverty, poor accommodation, health problems and lack of access to education and to some extent to employment. Yet the challenges they face

after resettlement, especially the changes in gender roles with the loss of manhood and masculinity, have added more trauma and stress to the men's situation (Dryden 2014).

Levels of stress have increased not only for men but for all sections of the Nuäär community as a consequence of significant change within family structures since moving from their homeland to refugee camps and from interaction with urban society in Australia. These experiences have been associated with loss of self-worth, emotional stress, disconnection and even withdrawal from the community by engaging in unproductive activities such as the use of alcohol and drugs. With that lack or limited support from the service providers, men feel disengaged, isolated and lose their identity as a parent, and with that their hope. The loss of parental control plays a considerable part in this situation.

In Africa, for example, the man has absolute control of family affairs, including over his wife. This is contrary to what they are experiencing in Australia. Clearly, when the Nuäär migrated to Australia, conflict was inevitable. The loss of the traditional strict community norms following Nuäär custom has resulted in a greater independence for women in their families and a change to the balance of power between husbands and wives. This change is very difficult for some couples to deal with.

By drawing on the views of participants and their life stories while living in asylum in different countries in Africa, I realised that their experience in transit has contributed to the transformation of Nuäär life. The impact of their post-arrival experiences, especially those immediately after arrival, when linked to their expectations of being in a new country further contributed to the traumatic challenges that the women and men are facing. However this study shows that these challenges are also linked to the lack of information and limited capabilities that refugees usually have while resettling in Australia society. These dynamics influence change and transformation, including changes in gender roles. The most difficult and challenging situation for the men is the lack of adequate income to provide for their families and to demonstrate that they are meeting expectations as a man and as head of a family. Lack of jobs, which is an issue

for many migrants, has put the Nuäär men in a weaker position within the family relationships and that has contributed much to the problem of masculinity.

The main focus of my study was to investigate the significance and extent of these changes of gender roles within Nuäär families, with a specific emphasis on men's roles as a result of migration and resettlement and the relationship of this to wider debates about gender roles in transition. In this chapter I draw together some of the insights and lessons emerging from previous chapters of the thesis to propose how these changes and shifts can be understood, and what they will contribute to future knowledge about how to manage the impact of these changes by the Nuäär themselves and those who work with them.

The research has helped unpack and analyse the nature, extent and impact of these changes on Nuäär men and women and their families. It has also explored how these changes have shaped changing Nuäär thinking about their identities in Australia, the meaning of shifting gender roles and the influence of these on how traditional practices are negotiated by Nuäär men, women and families throughout the integration process. The obligatory norms of gender differ in Africa and in Australia, disrupting internalised gender norms as well as the ways in which masculinity can be performed.

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study was motivated by my own desire, as a Nuäär community 'insider', to better understand from an academic perspective different aspects of the difficulties and challenges the Nuäär community face in adopting and adapting to a new life in Australia. In particular, I wanted to explore the challenges posed by gender relations and gender roles, the treatment of men and women, the management of children's behaviour and how these experiences and challenges could be addressed.

I was most interested in mapping and analysing the impact of change on the Nuäär with respect to gender roles in resettlement contexts. The Nuäär are not the only migrant community to have experienced and managed changes in the dynamics of family

relationships in a new cultural setting. However the cultural specifics and histories of the Nuäär mean we cannot assume that their experiences, dynamics and transitions will resemble that of other groups, even where there may be some theoretical or empirical overlap. As a result, it became critical to explore the specific experiences of Nuäär families in Australia and to investigate the extent to which traditional Nuäär family models have changed since they settled in Australia. The preceding chapters have unpacked what it means to be a Nuäär 'man', 'husband', 'father', 'lover' or 'son', a Nuäär 'woman', 'wife', 'lover' or 'daughter' and what it means to be a Nuäär male or female child in a changing family situation. The thesis further investigated the changes that the Nuäär have experienced in the broader structures of marriage, family formation and ongoing relationships, and looked into how these changes were explained by the Australian Nuäär themselves, and the impact of these changes since the community's arrival in Australia.

Exploring these questions was often complex and difficult to manage, especially given my role as both researcher and community member. However, to make it manageable, I focused intensively on exploring how gender identification and values, especially concerning Nuäär men's roles, since I myself am a man, were changing in Nuäär families as a result of their migration and resettlement experience. This was an important issue because the Nuäär are new arrivals with different kinds of family and gender relationships who are in the process of integrating into modern Australian society. These different kinds and patterns of relationships were sometimes incommensurate or ran into conflict with mainstream Australian attitudes and beliefs about family relationships, because traditional gender roles in Nuäär society can at times be quite different from the gendered roles adopted within Australian families.

Traditionally in Nuäär families, the status and the roles of men and women are strongly gender-classified as being shaped over time by the pastoral/agricultural setting in which traditional Nuäär society has developed. Women do all the domestic household work, care for children, milk cows, cook, fetch water and serve their husbands. Men's responsibilities include guaranteeing protection, income and security for their families,

looking after cattle, cultivation of crops and fishing. By contrast, the equivalent roles in Australia and more generally in Western cultures have become increasingly equally shared by both husband and wife as the politics of gender have shifted toward greater equality of opportunity and responsibility (Renzaho et al. 2011).

This sharing between a man and a woman in supporting and maintaining households and families, both outside and inside the home, challenges the traditional perceptions of Nuäär manhood. As a result, many Nuäär men have been found to experience an acute sense of challenge when it comes to gender role transitions, while women have tended to experience a greater sense of opportunity. Yet women have also endured problems in dealing with the dissatisfaction and impacts of these changes for the important men in their lives. However, the changes and challenges discussed in this thesis generate coping strategies identified in Chapter 9, and demonstrate Nuäär endurance, resilience and strength in their capacity to adapt to new gender relationships and gender roles practice, despite experiencing many challenges to their traditional gender roles.

Summary of Findings

As I have reflected on the main research questions I posed in this study and the interpretation of the data that has emerged, I have realised that most of my informants have encountered many challenges in respect of changes in gender roles while attempting to adjust and adapt to their new way of life and at the same time trying to maintain their own Nuäär traditional culture and values. My male informants in particular see these changes as affecting men the most, especially those men with strong Nuäär traditional cultural beliefs. The Nuäär cultural structure is always hierarchical, but interdependent relationships within the family, gender boundaries, and the respective responsibilities and obligations imposed by these relationships and their traditionally assigned gender roles are clearly drawn and determined by their culturally-prescribed positions in the family (Gatkuoth 2010; Kelly 1983). These roles and relationships are now changing through the influence of Australian social norms, and the boundaries between the roles of men and women have become more blurred.

One outcome of this blurring is the continuing lack of knowledge and awareness among the Nuäär in Australia of women's and children's rights and issues regarding gender rights and expectations. This has put traditionally minded Nuäär men on a collision course with Australian service providers, including child protection services and those who respond to instances of domestic violence, when it comes to family matters. Some men and women within the community perceive the support and empowerment that women and children receive in regard to their status within the household as placing Nuäär men in a weaker and more frustrating position. In this regard, the data shows that the Nuäär in Australia, particularly the men, feel that their traditional cultural values in general have been placed under threat by a system that appears within the wider community to substantially favour one gender, the women, over the other because of their vulnerability.

This perceived sense of threat may involve on the one hand a lack of understanding by Nuäär men about the vulnerabilities of women and children within families, and a lack of understanding of Nuäär cultural norms and perspectives by non-Nuäär communities and service providers on the other. Participants revealed through interviews and focus groups numerous misunderstandings in regard to Centrelink benefits and systems, as well as by the housing services that assist families, as they seek to provide some equity between men and women. This equity in service provision and policy was seen to undermine gender identities by challenging traditional responsibilities and roles for Nuäär men and women, a claim supported by earlier research on migrant families (Bishop 2011; Gatt 2011). Participants in the men's focus group suggested, for example, that the concept of 'community services' itself contradicts the culture of many refugees and migrants because it eliminates traditional community-based ways of helping those in need and fostering self-reliance, and consequently misunderstands and disempowers Nuäär approaches to problem solving and support.

A number of male Nuäär participants in this study thought that if they could be allowed to practice some of their Nuäär traditions without being blocked or limited by the

Australian system, then they could build a viable adaptive community in Australia which recognises and maintains some features of traditional gender norms while simultaneously adopting some of the new gender norms they have encountered in resettlement.

However, both male and female participants in the study acknowledged that while there are some challenges, positive adjustment has also been taking place within Nuäär life that benefits all families and the community more broadly. As my informants have revealed during the individual interviews and focus group discussions there are Nuäär men who are adapting well, and who are supportive of women exploring new roles. There were a number of Nuäär participants across both genders and all age groups who talked about the importance of meeting some of these challenges in a positive way. As a result of resettlement in Australia, both Nuäär men and women have good access to education. This helps them to better understand the impact and consequences of the changes in gender roles. Today, many have gained qualifications and obtained work. This has greatly benefited the Nuäär community in all aspects of life, making it among the biggest benefits in the resettlement process. This progress in education here in Australia provides Nuäär men with an opportunity to gain a better understanding about the changes that are taking place, and about gender roles and the need for adjustment.

They felt this positive adjustment would shape progress towards a viable future for the Nuäär community in Australia. However, these hopes will not become a reality unless properly effective strategies and approaches are put in place that would allow the Nuäär and service providers in Australia to address these integration challenges collaboratively by allowing both men and women to play a greater role, with more agency, in the adjustment process for gender norms and relationships. This requires an intersectional approach (Jonathan 2009), one in which a range of multilayered social issues incorporating both a range of social influences and the way individuals fulfil their needs and responsibilities (Kolar et al. 2000) related to employment, education, housing, relationships and parenting, amongst others, are incorporated into easing the transition to resettlement. Furthermore, in order to address such challenges, the

approach must deal not only with gender but also with intergenerational roles and expectations: in other words, challenges facing not only men and women but also youth and the elderly within the Nuäär community. In the next paragraph, I outline some key ways in which the performativity of masculinity is challenged in the Australian context and suggest some possible future approaches.

The Way Forward

While the thesis has focused on the experience of Nuäär men in particular, one of the matters that makes life especially difficult, and not only for the Nuäär group but for migrant communities in Australia more generally, is the frequent inability for men to provide for their families due to unemployment (Abdi 2014). Study participants identified unemployment as one of the main factors perceived to be responsible for men losing social status and their position as heads of family. The impact of unemployment or under-employment for newly-arrived communities has been acknowledged by a number of previous studies (Losoncz 2011; Marlowe et al. 2012; Marlowe 2011) as one of the main problems that have limited the ability of men in culturally and linguistically diverse communities to provide for their families and maintain their sense of efficacy and self-respect. This has physical and mental consequences, as many of the participants in the current study have emphasised during the interviews. It has also been considered as one of the key contributing factors to family conflict. Many Nuäär men believe they have improved their skills and education through the opportunities offered during resettlement, yet most participants also reported widespread discrimination in looking for work. Many claimed that they were denied work opportunities, thus keeping them unemployed and unable to fulfil their obligations as head of the family. This might be difficult to address but it requires effort from both community and policy makers. The Nuäär in Australia, individually and collectively, need to work hard like any other Australian citizen or group to build further employability skills and to be proactive in looking for work. Equally, however, policy makers should revisit inclusion policies and find ways to address migrants' unemployment issues directly, especially the experience

of implicit bias and informal discrimination reported across many studies. In addition, inclusive multicultural policies and community empowerment should be practically implemented with respect to all genders. Ongoing engagement of representatives from Nuäär men's, women's and youth groups to discuss the modalities of how to help them would be a good start for service providers towards understanding the areas they should focus on in developing those policies.

Another challenge for the Australian Nuäär community that would benefit from urgent attention is how to deal with issues pertaining to family law and child protection. Many migrants have faced behavioural challenges concerning both children and domestic relationships following the move to Australia (Milos 2011). In this country, as in the Nuäär homelands, it is hard for migrant families with a single parent to raise children. Within the Nuäär migrant group there are many parents, especially mothers, who came to Australia without their partners and they have been experiencing this challenge. It is also important to note that in almost all the homes that I observed the children are not getting along with their families as expected and some, especially the teenagers, no longer live at home with their parents. This is a big concern for many Nuäär families.

The way to address this problem most of the time is through court intervention, but that seldom considers or works with transitions in traditional and cultural norms. The data from this study has shown that there is also a lack of adequate information for the Nuäär about how the legal system works and about the powers and rights of family intervention authorities. Therefore, there is an urgent need to educate the Nuäär in Australia about family law, parenting rights, and also to enhance cultural awareness on the part of authorities. Study participants repeatedly emphasised the need for the courts to consider cultural norms - not only those among the Nuäär, but among all CALD communities. In that regard, revisiting the current legislation and practice guidelines in order to incorporate some CALD communities' core traditional norms is recommended. One possibility to this end would be through targeted recruitment to allow greater participation of representatives from CALD communities in the jury system where the outcomes of criminal and civil cases related to family conflicts are decided. This will

allow some cultural values from CALD communities to be considered in court and may provide a lasting solution in gender-related family conflicts, including child protection. Children are the most affected in family violence; however, in some cases services and interventions can undermine the cultural aspects of collective values that are important to African families. Therefore considering some important CALD cultural norms and values through their participation in the jury system would contribute to the stability of families which eventually will ensure better safety for children.

As informed by Chapters 7 & 8, this research raises important questions and recommendations for policy, practice and research. Among these is how the clashes between the parenting ideologies and practices of the host country and those of newly arrived migrants like the Nuäär community deal with disciplinary practice in regard to controlling children's behaviour. The study found widespread fear in the Nuäär community of losing children through the intervention of Child Protection services and other government authorities, as discussed in Chapter 8. The female participants, through their focus groups and interviews, indicated that in the case of intergenerational conflict, the children themselves will call in authorities and that support is one-sided for adolescent children without considering the context of the conflict. In this regard, the female participants argued that mothers' and fathers' authorities are equally undermined, and not paternal authority alone, as Nuäär men assumed.

From the perspective of both men and women in this study, the way this challenge is currently met by these services in Australia only further undermines parental authority in a phase of resettlement where the family environment is already fragile due to many changes in forced migration and resettlement, including the changes in gender roles.
Further research is needed to explore the extent of this situation and to provide an amicable solution.

However, the findings suggest that intervention in conflict between parents and their children needs to occur with the whole Nuäär community rather than on an individual level, and also needs to engage with difficult issues surrounding discipline and authority

that have emerged in this study. It is recognised that intergenerational tensions and disciplinary issues are not exclusive to the Nuäär, but also characterise many new immigrant groups. Similar themes emerged in studies (Deng 2016, Levi 2014) exploring the presentation of refugee families in the Child Protection system, and suggested similar solutions. Therefore, intervention policies need to be culturally inclusive and to be developed in consultation with the Nuäär community in order to define specific issues and to determine the preferred ways of meeting their needs. There is a great need for policy makers and intervention authorities to empower parents by improving how they can access information and engage in dialogue to understand their children's lives, what is expected from them at school and how young people behave in Australia.

In regard to the challenges as a result of changes in gender roles and the marital relationship, the coping strategies discussed in Chapter 9 would form a base for initial harmony with the Nuäär integration process. However, the most important approach would be an acculturation process where Nuäär would also maintain some traditional norms while adapting their new culture (Berry 2005). The concept of acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change where the ethnocultural communities maintain features of their heritage culture (Berry 2005). This often entails, for example, learning each other's languages, sharing things such as food, dress, and social interactions that are characterstics of each group. According to the data, the Nuäär group seem to be progressing in that direction. For example, many men and women are now communicating better in English with their host society, and enjoying better access to services and employment. In respect of families the changes in gender roles in the household are also improving.

However, there are some implications related to race and systemic racism in the acculturation process which figure in the loss of social status among African migrants in general as an impact of White privileges (Nolan et al. 2011), especially access to employment. The Nuäär noted in their interviews how satisfactory employment is the core of successful settlement for them as it allows men to provide for their families and helps them assume traditional authority as provider within their households. However,

through processing access to employment, and job retention, both men and women participants have reported racist attitudes from some white individuals and institutions which often led them to lose their jobs. Recent research on South Sudanese in Australia (Deng 2016) found that some complications in services delivery are connected to negative stereotypes or hostile societal attitudes toward refugees, which often portray new migrants as passive victims or as a threat to national security. My Nuäär participants, who are also part of the Southern Sudanese group, highlight concerns that they are sometimes discriminated against and treated differently by service providers who seem to display discriminatory attitudes, portraying them as a burden to the host community. These adverse attitudes by a few individuals are reinforced by negative media reports which provide negative information to the host community about new migrants, including Nuäär, in their new environment. These negative stereotypes and discrimination practices by a minority in the host society have an enormous impact on those Nuäär who are struggling with changes and challenges in their families, and can give rise to segmented assimilation outcomes (Portes and Zhou 1993) that have negative impacts for both older and younger generations. A good example is the recent furore around so-called 'African youth gangs', believed to be composed of young South Sudanese and other African migrants in Melbourne, that have dominated the media from 2016 to 2017 (MacDonald 2017). Some of these youths are those who are left their homes as a result of familial conflict triggered by the changes in gender roles. Most are out of school and spend their time with their group in activities that are deemed gang-like, representing downward assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993). The media report their anti-social behaviours in a way that gives a negative representation of the whole community and is fuelled by negative politicisation (MacDonald 2017). This situation contributes to the impact not only on the Nuäär parents but on all South Sudanese communities in general.

To challenge these negative representations by minority individuals and groups, there is a need to strengthen and implement inclusive, multicultural policies and practices. This can be done through pro-cultural training of the service providers and the media on how to approach the new migrant communities and to create effective collaboration and

consultation with their community leaders. This will support better integration and an enhanced ability to cope with changes in gender roles. In addition, it is important for policy makers and service providers to realise the process of equality within structures and resources for integration to help this group and others to participate in all levels of social life as they embark on negotiating new gender roles in practice in Australia.

This research was intended to help enhance knowledge about the challenges faced by Nuäär migrants in Australia, and how to support them while they undergo complex changes in gender roles in their resettlement process. It has been concerned to explore how to ensure that both men and women are treated in a way that they perceive as fair and respectful of their understanding of themselves and their identity. This includes supporting them both individually and as a group so they can adjust to the regulatory frameworks and requirements of their new country. It is important to acknowledge their appreciation of being part of this research and the sense of ownership they have displayed in talking through these issues around gender roles and transitions. Traditionally, as the Nuäär believe in shared ownership and communal property, so that a successful outcome by an individual is also regarded as a success for the community, they consider my research as the property of the Nuäär community. This sense of communal belief make Nuäär men and women enthusiastic and passionate to actively participate in the process of this study. In that regard, my successful completion of this study will be considered as a success of the Nuäär community in Australia, which also makes me proud. It is hoped that the findings of this research will help policy makers and service providers to continue and develop the assistance they already provide, as well as providing an avenue for Nuäär community voices – both men's and women's voices – to be heard and acknowledged on these issues.

Directions for Future Research

Exploration and investigation into the life experiences of immigrant communities, especially the changes in gender roles in transition during the integration process into a host society, is never complete. It is clear that there are various challenges to many

migrant families when adapting to a new life in a new country. This research is a first step towards a larger, more comprehensive body of research on Nuäär masculinity and gender roles in transition as a result of migration and resettlement in another country. I especially would have liked to interview service provider agencies that assist migrant groups and help groups (such as the Nuäär community) in their resettlement challenges. This would have allowed a better grasp and understanding of the extent of their experiences. Focusing only on the group members may have limited understanding of how they deal with these issues.

While the coping strategies discussed were very helpful in understanding the challenges Nuäär have faced because of changes to gender relationships in a new environment, the implications of their experiences are important signposts for future research. Although as an insider researcher I have benefited from being able to access important personal information, I have not explored every aspect and nuance of the Nuäär resettlement experience. Further investigation in order to increase cultural awareness of the traditional norms of Nuäär society is important and would be beneficial for both the Nuäär and the wider Australian society.

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Appendices

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Appendix A: Information To Participants Involved In Research Interviews

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled “Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience”.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Bichok Kot as part of a PhD study at Victoria University. Prof Michele Grossman, Deputy Director of the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Victoria University is the Principal Supervisor and Dr Nicole Oke, Lecturer, College of Arts, Victoria University is the Associate Supervisor for this project.

Project explanation

The purpose of this research is to explore the experience of Nuer families living in Australia and investigate the extent to which traditional gender roles have changed since settling in Australia. The research will focus on the impact of changes in gender roles for Nuer men in particular as a result of the migration and resettlement experience. We will also seek the views of Nuer women on these issues. The research will contribute new knowledge to understanding and debates on the Nuer migrant experience and gender roles, and will also inform policy makers and help improve the settlement process for the Nuer community in Australia.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked in a one to one interview with the Student Investigator, Mr Bichok Kot, to share your views on how changes in gender roles as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia have affected your sense of identity and wellbeing since arriving in Australia. You will also be asked to reflect on the transitions you have made in relation to cultural identity and understanding as part of your migration experience.

What will I gain from participating in this research?

There is no existing research dealing specifically with Nuer experience and cultural changes in the Australian resettlement context. This means you will be helping to create new knowledge and better understanding of the Nuer migrant experience with respect to changes in gender roles and dynamics. Your contributions may also help inform policy makers and improve services provision to the Nuer community in Australia. The outcomes of this research may help develop new coping strategies for Nuer individuals and families in dealing with the transitions and changes experienced as a result of resettlement.

How will the information I give be used?

The information you give will be analysed by the PhD student, Mr Bichok Kot, to produce new knowledge through research in the form of a PhD thesis. This thesis will be examined by academic experts in the field of study for which this PhD project is being submitted. The researchers may also draw on the information you give in writing academic articles for publication and/or for conference presentations.

How will this project handle my personal details and information?

The information you share for this study will be treated with strict confidentiality. Your name and other identifying details will not appear anywhere in the PhD thesis or any related articles or conference presentations that are developed through the data collected for this project. Recorded interviews will be kept securely in a digital storage facility at Victoria University, and only the 3 members of the research team listed below will have access to this material. Any hard copies of data such as field notes or transcripts will be kept in a secure locked filing cabinet within Victoria University accessible only by members of the research team. After 5 years, the minimum required time for maintaining research materials, the data collected for this study will be destroyed.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

Some people may find that discussing issues about changes in gender roles, refugee experiences or the resettlement process will make them feel emotional or stressed. If this happens for you, or for any other reason, you may discontinue your participation at any time. If you do decide not to continue participating in this project for any reason, your withdrawal from the project will not disadvantage you in any way.

If you feel that either during or after your participation in an interview, you would like to talk to a professional about any stress or emotional problems you may be experiencing as a result of your participation, then please contact any of the following: Professor Dorothy Bruck, Registered Psychologist, Victoria University (03 9919 2158); Foundation House (Refugee Mental Health Program; Brunswick 03 9388 0022 or Dandenong 03 8788 3333) or Transcultural Mental Health Centre (1800 648 911) using the Telephone Interpreter Service if needed (13 1450). Men who speak Arabic also have the option of contacting the Men's Line Arabic Call Back Service on 1300 78 99 78.

Some people may feel that issues arise as a result of participating in this study that they would like to discuss with a Nuer community elder or leader. The following community leaders may be contacted by you if you feel you need to contact a Nuer community member:

1. Mr Gatjung Choap Chairman of Nuer Community in Victoria, mobile, 0402 930 732 or at nuercommunityinvicoria@yahoo.com.au
2. Mr Jacob Biel Kuel Nuer Community Elder, mobile, 0423 952 763
3. Mrs Nyaluak Kuon Women Leader of Nuer Community in Victoria, mobile, 0469 036 002

How will this project be conducted?

This project will be conducted by the PhD student, Mr Bichok Kot, using face to face interviews, focus group discussions and observation of public events such as community meetings, celebrations, festivals and other community gatherings. The **interviews** will last for approximately one hour and it will be held at a location convenient for you and

the student researcher. Interview session will be recorded to help the researchers analyse the data you provide as accurately as possible.

The Student Investigator will be your main point of contact during the study. However, project oversight will be managed by Professor Michele Grossman, the Chief Investigator.

Who is conducting the study?

The members of Victoria University conducting this research are:

1. Prof Michele Grossman, Chief Investigator, tel. 9919 5011 or Michele.grossman@vu.edu.au
2. Dr Nicole Oke, Associate Chief Investigator, tel.9919 4751 or Nicole.oke@vu.edu.au
3. Bichok Kot, Student Investigator, tel. 9919 7748 or Bichok.kot@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator, Professor Michele Grossman, on (03) 9919 5011 or by email on Michele.grossman@vu.edu.au

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 or phone (03) 9919 4781.

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MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Appendix B: Information To Participants Involved In Research (Focus Group)

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled “Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience”. This project is being conducted by a student researcher, Bichok Kot, as part of a PhD study at Victoria University. Prof Michele Grossman, Deputy Director of the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Victoria University is the Principal Supervisor and Dr Nicole Oke, Lecturer, College of Arts, Victoria University is the Associate Supervisor for this project.

Project explanation

The purpose of this research is to explore the experience of Nuer families living in Australia and investigate the extent to which traditional gender roles have changed since settling in Australia. The research will focus on the impact of changes in gender roles for Nuer men in particular as a result of the migration and resettlement experience. We will also seek the views of Nuer women on these issues. The research will contribute new knowledge to understanding and debates on the Nuer migrant experience and gender roles, and will also inform policy makers and help improve the settlement process for the Nuer community in Australia.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to share your views in a focus group on how changes in gender roles as a result of migration and resettlement in Australia have affected your sense of identity and wellbeing since arriving in Australia. You will also be asked to reflect on the transitions you have made in relation to cultural identity and understanding as part of your migration experience. There will be an all-male focus group, an all-female focus group, and a mixed-gender focus group for young people.

What will I gain from participating in this research?

There is no existing research dealing specifically with Nuer experience and cultural changes in the Australian resettlement context. This means you will be helping to create new knowledge and better understanding of the Nuer migrant experience with respect to changes in gender roles and dynamics. Your contributions may also help inform policy makers and improve services provision to the Nuer community in Australia. The outcomes of this research may help develop new coping strategies for Nuer individuals and families in dealing with the transitions and changes experienced as a result of resettlement.

How will the information I give be used?

The information you give will be analysed by the Student Investigator, Mr Bichok Kot, to produce new knowledge through research in the form of a PhD thesis. This thesis will be examined by academic experts in the field of study for which this PhD project is being submitted. The researchers may also draw on the information you give in writing academic articles for publication and/or for conference presentations.

How will this project handle my personal details and information?

The information you share for this study will be treated with strict confidentiality. Your name and other identifying details will not appear anywhere in the PhD thesis or any related articles or conference presentations that are developed through the data collected for this project. Recorded focus groups discussion will be kept securely in a digital storage facility at Victoria University, and only the 3 members of the research team listed below will have access to this material. Any hard copies of data such as field notes or transcripts will be kept in a secure locked filing cabinet within Victoria University accessible only by members of the research team. After 5 years, the minimum required time for maintaining research materials, the data collected for this study will be destroyed.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

Some people may find that discussing issues about changes in gender roles, refugee experiences or the resettlement process will make them feel emotional or stressed. If this happens for you, or for any other reason, you may discontinue your participation at any time. If you do decide not to continue participating in this project for any reason, your withdrawal from the project will not disadvantage you in any way.

If you feel that either during or after your participation in a focus group, you would like to talk to a professional about any stress or emotional problems you may be experiencing as a result of your participation, then please contact any of the following: Professor Dorothy Bruck, Registered Psychologist, Victoria University (03 9919 2158); Foundation House (Refugee Mental Health Program; Brunswick 03 9388 0022 or Dandenong 03 8788 3333) or Transcultural Mental Health Centre (1800 648 911) using the Telephone Interpreter Service if needed (13 1450). Men who speak Arabic also have the option of contacting the Men's Line Arabic Call Back Service on 1300 78 99 78.

Some people may feel that issues arise as a result of participating in this study that they would like to discuss with a Nuer community elder or leader. The following community leaders may be contacted by you if you feel you need to contact a Nuer community member:

1. Mr Gatjung Choap Chairman of Nuer Community in Victoria, mobile, 0402 930 732 or at nuercommunityinvicoria@yahoo.com.au
2. Mr Jacob Biel Kuel Nuer Community Elder, mobile, 0423 952 763
3. Mrs Nyaluak Kuon Women Leader of Nuer Community in Victoria, mobile, 0469 036 002

How will this project be conducted?

This project will be conducted by the PhD student, Mr Bichok Kot, using face to face interviews, focus group discussions and observation of public events such as community meetings, celebrations, festivals and other community gatherings. The **focus groups** will last for approximately 2 hours, and they will be held at a location convenient for you

and the student researcher. Focus group sessions will be recorded to help the researchers analyse the data you provide as accurately as possible. The Student Investigator will be your main point of contact during the study. However, project oversight will be managed by Professor Michele Grossman, the Chief Investigator.

Who is conducting the study?

The members of Victoria University conducting this research are:

1. Prof Michele Grossman, Chief Investigator, tel. 9919 5011 or Michele.grossman@vu.edu.au
4. Dr Nicole Oke, Associate Chief Investigator, tel.9919 4751 or Nicole.oke@vu.edu.au
5. Bichok Kot, Student Investigator, tel. 9919 7748 or Bichok.kot@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator, Professor Michele Grossman, on (03) 9919 5011 or by email on Michele.grossman@vu.edu.au

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 or phone (03) 9919 4781.

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Appendix C: Consent Form For Participants Involved In Research (Individual)

Project Title:

Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience

Researchers: Professor Michele Grossman, Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Chief Investigator

Dr Nicole Oke, College of Arts, Associate Chief Investigator

Mr Bichok Kot, Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Student Investigator

I agree to take part in the research project titled 'Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience'. By signing this form, I certify that the project has been explained to me, and the Principal Researchers have answered any questions I may have had about the project. I have read and understand the Information to Participants Sheet describing this project, which I understand I can keep. I consent to:

Be interviewed individually by the researcher/s ☐ Yes ☐ No

I consent to the interview I participate in being record ☐ Yes ☐ No

I allow the information I provide to be used without identifying me in further publications such as reports, journals and conferences ☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential and that I will not be identified personally in any way as the result of participating in an interview. I also understand that my identity will not be disclosed in any reports or other written material arising from the project, or to any other party.

I understand that data from interviews will be kept in a secure storage facility and will be accessible only to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to its being used in future research.
I understand that I may contact the Principal Researcher, Professor Michele Grossman on (03) 9919 5011 or Michele.grossman@vu.edu.au if I have any concerns at any time about my participation in this research.

I understand that if I have any questions or complaints concerning how this research is conducted I can contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, P. O Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 or phone (03) 9919 4781.

Participant name (print) _____
Signature _____
Date _____

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Appendix D: Consent Form For Focus Group Participants Involved In Research

Project Title:

Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience

Researchers: Professor Michele Grossman, Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Chief Investigator

Dr Nicole Oke, College of Arts, Associate Chief Investigator

Mr Bichok Kot, Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Student Investigator

I agree to take part in the research project titled 'Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience'. By signing this form, I certify that the project has been explained to me, and the Principal Researchers have answered any questions I may have had about the project. I have read and understand the Information to Participants Sheet describing this project, which I understand I can keep. I consent to:

Be participant in a focus group discussion to be conducted by the researcher/s

☐ Yes ☐ No

I consent to the focus group discussion I participate in being recorded

☐ Yes ☐ No

I allow the information I provide to be used without identifying me in further publications such as reports, journals and conferences

☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential and that I will not be identified personally in any way as the result of participating in focus group. I also understand that my identity will not be disclosed in any reports or other written material arising from the project, or to any other party.

I understand that data from interviews will be kept in a secure storage facility and will be accessible only to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to its being used in future research.

I understand that I may contact the Principal Researcher, Professor Michele Grossman on (03) 9919 5011 or Michele.grossman@vu.edu.au if I have any concerns at any time about my participation in this research.

I understand that if I have any questions or complaints concerning how this research is conducted I can contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, P. O Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 or phone (03) 9919 4781.

Participant name (print) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

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Appendix E: Individual Questionnaires

PhD Research Project: Bichok Wan Kot

Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience

Date last modified: 27th May 2014 (BWK, MG)

Individual interview questionnaire

Demographic information:

1. Interview ID number: _____
   - Age: _____
   - Gender (M/F) _____
   - Suburb and state: _____
   - Marital status (circle one): Single/Engaged/Married/Separated/Divorced/Widowed
2. When did you arrive in Australia?
3. Where did you live before coming to Australia?
4. Do you have a family?
5. In what ways is having a family important to you?
6. Did you have family members in Australia before you came? If so, please provide details.
7. Have any family members joined you since arriving? If so, please provide details.
8. Have any family members departed since your arrival? If so, please provide details.

Impact of changing gender roles on cultural identity

1. What cultural group do you identify with the most? Is there more than one group you identify with culturally?
2. How would you describe the importance of your cultural identity?

3. Thinking now specifically about gender, what does it mean to you to be a Nuer man or Nuer woman?
4. Has your own role as a Nuer man or a Nuer woman changed in terms of your gender since arriving in Australia? In what ways?

Impact of changing gender roles on family life

a. Gender Roles

1. What do you see as the main role of the husband in a Nuer family?
2. What do you see as the main role of a wife in a Nuer family?
3. What do you see as the key roles of Nuer sons and Nuer daughters?

b. Gender Roles and Impact on Relationships

1. Has the relationship between you and your wife/husband changed because of changes in gender roles since arriving in Australia? What has this meant for you?
2. Has the relationship between you and any of your children changed because of changes in gender roles? What has this meant for you?
3. Have you or people you know been exposed to any difficult or problem behaviour as a result of changes in gender roles? (E.g. violence, confrontation, separation, withdrawal).
4. How have you and your wife or others in your family or people you know handled these changes?

Impact of changing gender roles on community experience

1. How do you think the Nuer community in Melbourne has been affected by changes to gender roles for Nuer men, women and families in terms of the following?
    a. access to education
    b. finding jobs/working in jobs, access to social services
    c. contact with the legal system in Australia
    d. dealing with a new culture in Australia

Impact of changing gender roles on coping strategies and resources

1. When problems or issues arise as a result of changes in gender roles, how do you or Nuer community solve these problems?
2. How well do you feel that the Nuer community helps people or families facing problems or challenges caused by changes in gender roles?
3. What do you think being a ‘Nuer man’ or a ‘Nuer woman’ will mean for your son or daughter in the future?
4. What is your advice now for both men and women in relation to changing gender roles and identity in Nuer culture?

Thank you for participating in this project!

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Appendix F: General Topics for Focus Group Discussions

PhD Research Project, Bichok Wan Kot

"Lost in Transition: Changing Dynamics of Traditional Nuer Gender Roles and the Migrant Experience"

Discussion topics for Group Discussions Last modified 26/5/2014 (BWK)

Demographic information: General

1. When did you arrive in Australia?
2. Where did you live before coming to Australia?
3. What cultural group do you identify with the most? Is there more than one cultural group you identify with?

Youth Group

1. What does it mean to you to be a young Nuer man or Nuer woman?
2. How similar or different is your understanding of gender (being a man or a woman) to that of your parents? In what ways are they different or the same?
3. Does your experience of your gender role create any conflict or problems in your relationship with your parents or others in your family?
4. If so, what kind of problems does this create, and how do you handle these?
5. What challenges do you think young people today face in establishing a family?
6. What ways of being a 'man' or a 'woman' would you like to see for your own children in the future?

Men and Women's Focus Groups

1. What does it mean to you to be a Nuer man or Nuer woman?
2. What do you see as the traditional male roles and female roles in Nuer family?
3. Have you experienced any changes in gender roles within the Nuer community since coming to Australia? Can you give examples?

4. What do these changes mean to you as Nuer men/Nuer women?
5. Do you see any positive or negative impacts of changes in gender roles for men and women within the family and community? What are these positives or negatives?
6. If problems arise as the result of changes in gender roles, how do you or Nuer community solve these problems?
7. How well do you feel that the Nuer community helps people or families deal with their problems relating to changes in gender roles?
8. What would you like to see for Nuer men and women in terms of gender roles in the future?

Thank you for your participation in this focus group discussion!

Appendix G: Nuäär Language Version

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH (Focus Group + Interview)

Riät kɛ kui nɛyni tin lạtkɛ lạt ɛ ɛmɛ

Ca ji thiëc mi nhɔki jɛ i bi te rɛy lạt ɛ mɛ.

Ca ji thiëc mi nhɔki jɛ i bi te rɛy lạt ɛ mɛ, min ca ciöt dɛ ŋɔr i “Bath Rɛy Jạạl: Gëër ŋuɔtni ciɛŋ kä mään kɛnɛ wutni rɛy ciɛŋni gɔal Nuäär kɛnɛ ciaŋ höth"

Lạạt ɛmɛ, lạạt kɛ jɛ ɛ ram in gɔạr PhD kä Victoria University kä College Arts kä Victoria University.

Luɔt lạt ɛmɛ

Lạt ɛmɛ, guicɛ ni ciaŋ ɛn ca jek ɛ Nuääri gaɔli kiɛn kä Australia, kä guicɛ mɔ ci rɔ gëër ɔ rɛɛy ciɛŋkä lạạtni mään kɛnɛ wutni kɛ kuic kä ɣöö ci kɛ ben kä Auɛtralia. Kä lạt ɛmɛ bɛ dit ɛlöŋ kä mɔ ci rɔ gëërɔ kä wutni kɛ kuic kä ɣöö ci Naath höth ɛ cikɛ ben cieŋ kä Australia. Kä ba car mään Nuääri gör bä kɛ kuic ruac ɛmɛ. Kä min ba jek kɛ kɔr lạt ɛmɛ bɛ naath luäk kɛ ŋäc ciɛŋni tin ci rɔ gëër kä ciaŋ mään kɛnɛ wutni kɛ kuic kä ɣöö ci Nuääri ben cieŋ kä Australia, kä bɛ kumɛ luäk bä kɛ ɣöö derɛ Nuääri luäk idi rɛy ciɛŋkä diɛn kä Australia.

Ɛŋu mi ba thiëc ni ɣä i bä lạt?

Jin ba ji thiec rɛy duolkä min ti thin, kɛ ɣöö bi ŋäc du lat kɛ min ci rɔ gɛɛr kä ciaŋ mään kɛnɛ wutni kɛ kuic kä ɣöö ci Nuääri ben cieŋ kä Australia, kɛnɛ min ci jek ɛ la jin rɛy ciɛŋkä tekä du. Kä ba ji thiec bä kɛ ŋäcdu kɛ mɔ ci rɔ gɛɛr ɔ kä ciaŋ Nuääri me wal kɛnɛ ben diɛn kä Australia. Bɛ tekɛ bun ti bi duɔl göli, buɔ̱n wuɔtni, buɔ̱n mään, kɛ buɔ̱n ŋuɛ̈ɛ̈tni ti te nyär kɛnɛ dhɔɔl thin.

Duɔl män ba both ɛ ciek mi ŋäc thok liŋlith kä ba kuany kä kuar mään Nuäari. Kä ciek ɛ ba kuanyɔ, bɛ ciek mi dɔŋ nhɔk ni ɣöö de thiec ɛ ciek thiec. Kä ɛ keni lät ɛmɛ ni tuok ba ji lạt tin dial tin ba lạt kɛnɛ luɔt lạt gɔ̱rkä nɛmɛ kɛ thok naath (Nuer) kɛnɛ thok liŋlith

(English), kä ba kɛ thiec kɛ ruac kiɛ deriɛ kuɛn bä ɛ ca ŋɔr. Kɛ kuic ɛ mɔ jin ti kɛ luaŋ kɛ ɣöö bi kuany kɛ thok in nhɔki ɛn deri caru lat kɛ jɛ. Mi ci nhɔk ni ɣöö bi nhökdu kɛ ta du rɛy lat ɛmɛ lar kɛ thok ɛ ca gɔr, ba min ci lar thur kɛ rɛydiw min la jɔw ɛ thur, kä tɔw ɛ gɔa.

Ɛŋu mi bä jëk mi cä rɔ mat kä lat ɛmɛ?

Thiɛlɛ mi ca gɔɔr ni wen kɛ tin ci rɔ gëër kä ciɛŋ Nuääri ni me kukɛ cianŋ tuok kä Australia. Kɛ kuic ɛmɛ luotɛ ni ɣöö jin bi naath luäk kɛ jek ŋäckä mi pay tuɔk kɛ cianŋ ɛn ci Nuääri jɛ ben jek kä ciɛŋ mään kɛnɛ wutni kɛ ben diɛn kä Australia. Luäk du bä derɛ kumɛ kɛnɛ muktäpni tin luakɛ naath luäk kɛ ɣöö ba Nuääri nyuɔr ɛ gɔa kä Australia.

Kä min ba jek kä lat ɛ mɛ, derɛ naath kɛnɛ gɔal Nuääri luäk kɛ dup ciɛŋni tin we Naath thin rɛy ciɛɛŋ kä mi pay jek kɛ ɣöö ci Naath ben kä Australia.

Kä tin bä lat ba kɛ lat i di?

Tin bi lat ba kɛ guic kä ba luɔt diɛn car ɛ ram ɛn gɔɔr gɔar ɛ mɛ ɛ la Bichok Kot, kɛ ɣöö bɛ kam raar ɛ la wargak min gɔɔrɛ ɛ la PhD. Wargak ɛ mɛ ba we guic ɛ gɔaar tin dit tin ci thuok kä jɛn guath gɔɔrkä nɔmɔ cäŋ ɛn ca thuk ɛ ca thöp kä University. Kä ram ɛn gɔɔr lat ɛ mɛ derɛ tin bi lat gɔɔr ɛ bɛ kɛ kam raar ɛ la wargak ni ti ba kuɛn kiɛ ti ba lat guath duɔli.

Kä bi lat ɛmɛ ciɛŋkä kɛnɛ tin bä lat rɔm i di?

Ruaacni tin bi lat kä bi nyuak kɛ naath ba kɛ rɔm kɛ tiit mi diit ɛ löŋ. Ci ciötdu bi jɔc rɛy wargakni tin ba gɔr kiɛ tin ba lat guath duɔɔli.Ruacni tin ba käp kɛ thurɛ ba kɛ tɔw guath mi cakɛ de jek thin kä Victora University, kä bi ka nɛɛn nɛy daŋ diɔk ti ca ciööt kiɛn gɔɔr piny wargakä nɛmɛ ɛ la tin lat kɛ lat ɛmɛ, kɛ kuär män ɛn ba kuany bä. Kɔpi ni kɛnɛ wargakni tin ca gɔɔr guath lat ba kɛ gak rɛy duɔrkä kä University, bi ka nɛɛn nɛy tin latkɛ lat ɛmɛ kä rɔ. Kɛ kɔr runi daŋ dhiec ba kɛ bath ɛ University. Kä jɔwdu kiɛ wargak ɛn ci nhɔk lat ɛmɛ ba tɔw gölka cɛ bi te kɛɛl kɛ wargakni tin kɔŋ kɛ ɣöö ca jek.

Kɛ riɛk ti ŋuni de tuɔk tɔ kɛ tą rɛy lą̈t ɛ mɛ?

Thą̈aŋ naath dɔŋ de kɛnɛ jëk i cɛ rɔ luɔt kiɛ derɛ bëëc nöŋ mi ruac naath kɛ ciɛŋ tin ci rɔ gëër kä ciɛŋ mään kɛn wutni, kɛ ciaŋ rɔpɛjiith kiɛ puɔ̱ɔ̱t, kiɛ tuk ciɛŋkä wec mi dɔŋ. Kä mi cɛ tuɔk kä ji,ti kɛ cuɔŋ kɛ ɣöö dëri rɔ ką̈p cuɔŋ kɛ pëk ɛ ci görɔ. Kä mi ci rɔ ką̈p cuoŋ thiɛlɛ riɛk mi deri jek kɛ ɣöö ci rɔ woc rɛy lą̈t ɛ mɛ.

Ɛn ŋuɔt kä ɣöö rami lät lą̈t ɛmɛ i ca bi ŋäc, ba tit ɛ löŋ. Duŋdɛ ɣöö ca de ŋäth ɛlöŋ ɛn ca ney tin tey rɛy lät ɛmɛ kɛnɛ tin bi kɛn kɛ lat tää, kɛ ɣöö tin b lat ba kɛ jäkä nɛy tin bi kɛ we luɔc. Kɛ kuic ɛmɔ dɔŋ de ŋäc kɛ kɔr nɛyni tɔtɔ. Görɛ ɣöö biɛ ŋäc inɔ.

Kä mi ciɛ jëk i ci tą du rɛy lą̈t ɛmɛ ji nöŋ riɛk ɛ göri luäk, kiɛ dëri kiim guil, deri we kä Prof Dorothy Bruck kim nɛyni ti te wickiɛn kɛ riɛk kä Victoria University (03 99192158), kiɛ derri nɛy ti cɔali Fuandation House (Duël waal nɛ ni ti puɔ̱ɔ̱t ti bɛc wiäthkiɛn cɔl kä Brunswick kɛ telephone 03 9388 0022 kiɛ Dandenong kɛ telephone 03 8788 3333 kiɛ duel wal nɛ ni ti bɛc wiäthkiɛn kɛ telephone (1800 648 911), kä mi göri luɔc thok bi telephone ɛmɛ yɔ̱ɔ̱t (131450). Wutni tin ŋą̈ackɛ thok jalaab, dë kɛ nɛy tin la naath ɛ cɔal jɔk kɛ thok Jalaab thiëc kɛ telephone 1300789978 ɛmɛ.

Kä thaaŋ nɛy ni tin ciɛ jek i ci ta diɛn rey lat ɛ mɛ kɛ nöŋ riɛk, de kɛ ruac kɛ kuär Nuääri,

Lą̈t ɛmɛ ba lą̈t idi?

Lą̈t ɛmɛ ba lą̈t ɛ ram ɛn gɔ̱ɔ̱r PhD, Mr Bichok Kot, bɛ lą̈t kɛ thiecni naath kɛ̈l kɛ̈ɛ̈li, kɛ ruac kɛ bun kiɛ duɔ̱li naath**,** kɛnɛ guic ciɛŋni, kɛ buɔl kɛnɛ duɔ̱ɔ̱li Naath rɛy wec. Ruac duɔ̱ɔ̱li dɔŋ ba lą̈t kɛ thaak ni rɛw, kä ba lat guath ɛ ca nhɔkɔ ɛ nɛy dial tin bi te thin. Ruac nɛy ni tin duɔl ba käp kiɛ ba thur kɛ radiɛw thurɛkä ruac, kä ba tin ca lat we car ɛ gɔa kä ba kɛ loc kɛ pekdɛ.

Ram ɛn gɔ̱r lat ɛmɛ ɛ jɛn ram ɛn bi a röm kɛ naath tin te rɛy lat ɛmɛ. Ɛŋa Lät lą̈t gɔ̱rkä nɛmɛ ɔ?

Nɛy tin lą̈t kɛ lą̈t ɛmɛ kä ji Victoria Universrity

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Nuäär Version

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH (Focus group)

Wargak mi thiec ɣöö mi nhɔki jɛ i bi jin ɛ ramkɛl rɛy lạt ɛmɛ

Ciöt lạt gọrkä nɛmɛ

Bath Rɛy Jạạl: Gëër ŋuɔtni ciɛŋ kam mään kɛnɛ wutni rɛy ciɛŋni gɔal Nuäär kɛnɛ ciaŋ höth

Ɣä cä nhɔk i bä tey rɛy lạt ɛ mɛ min ca cɔli “Bath Rɛy Jạạl: Gëër ŋuɔtni ciɛŋ kam mään kɛnɛ wutni rɛy ciɛŋni gɔal Nuäär kɛnɛ ciaŋ höth". Kä thany dä kɛ wargak ɛ mɛ, nyuothɛ ni ɣöö ca ɣä lạt min luot lạt ɛ mɛ jɛ, amäni min de thiec ca luɔcä ɛ kuär lạt ɛ mɛ. Ɣän cä kuɛn kä wargak ɛn min luɔt lạt ɛ mɛ jɛ, ɛ cä ŋäc, kɛ kuic ɛmɔ cä nhɔk i bi ɣän ɛ ram kɛl mi bi te.

kä duɔl buni min ba both ɛ gọọr ɛn lät lạt ɛ mɛ ɣä ɣëy

Cä nhɔk i ba tin latä kä duɔl ɛn tä thin thur ɣä ɣëy

Cä nhɔk i ba tin bä lat gọr ɛ ba kuɛn ɛ naath ɛ ca ciöt dä lar, ɣä ɣëy

Ɣän cɛ we lɔcdä ɛn ɣöö tạ rɛy lạt ɛ mɛ kɛ ɣöö cä nhɔk, kä cä ŋạc ide ni päl bä mi ciänɛ gör, kä thiɛlɛ mi de tuɔk kä ɣä. Ɣän cä ŋạc ɛn ɣöö tin bä lat ca kɛ bi nyoth kä ca ɣä bi ŋạc kɛ ɣöö i ɛ ɣän ram kɛl kä ji duolkä, kiɛ thiecni, ɛni mi kɛ nɛy tin te nɛy kɛɛl kä rɔ. Kä cä ŋạc bä i ca ɣä bi nyoth rɛy wargakni tin ba ŋọr. Duŋdɛ ɣöö cä ŋäc bä i ca duɔr de met tää ɛ bɛ tey ɛ ca ŋäc kɛ ɣöö, A) nyuak nɛy ŋɔak rɛy duolkä ɛ la ney ti ŋuan, B) Tin cä thöp dɔŋ bakɛ jäkä ram mi bi kɛ we luoc. Ɣän cɛ we lɔcdä ɛn ɣöö ba tin cä lat tɔw ɛ gɔa kä bakɛ bath kɛ kɔr runi daŋ nhiec ɛ Victoria University. Kä cä ŋạc bä ɛn ɣöö mi tạ kɛ thiec, kɛ diɛr kiɛ kuok, kɛ lạt ɛ mɛ, dee nɛy tin guic kɛ riɛk lätni titi cët kɛ (Ethics and Biosafety, Victoria University Human Research Ethics committee, Victoria University) lạr lär.

Ciötdu ----------

Thanydu ----------

Cäŋ ----------