Performing Care with People from Refugee Backgrounds: an Intersectional Exploration of Spaces of Care and Care-full encounters in Newcastle, Australia

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Statement of Originality

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University's Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

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Abbreviations

AFL	Australian Rules Football
CCS	Complex Case Support
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
FBOs	Faith-based Organisations
HACC	Hunter African Communities Council
HSS	Humanitarian Settlement Services
MRC	Migrant Resource Centre
MRCO	Migrant and Refugee Community Organisations
NMFC	North Melbourne Football Club
NSS	Northern Settlement Services
OSB	Operation Sovereign Borders
PFRB	People from refugee backgrounds
PH	Penola House
RCO	Refugee Community Organisations
RSO	Refugee Support Organisation
SGP	Settlement Grants Program
W2A	Welcome to Australia
WT	Walk Together

Abstract

Research on the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations has been dominated by inquiries into social exclusion and problematic encounters across difference. As a body of work, it tends to document despair and provides little evidence of 'the hope residing in cities' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2012, p. 240). Yet, many people from refugee backgrounds are welcomed by people taking individual or collective steps to foster social inclusion. The overall aim of this research is to *bring a more hopeful disposition to research on people from refugee backgrounds by employing literatures on care, spaces of care and encounter to examine caring people and organisations.* This thesis explores caring relationships, care practices, spaces of care and care-based encounters with people from refugee backgrounds in Newcastle, Australia. I draw on Conradson's (2003c) framing of care as 'a movement towards another person in a way that has the potential to facilitate or promote their well-being' (Conradson, 2003, p. 508) and the principles of Tronto's (1993) practice of the ethic of care, to offer a critical and hopeful analysis of grounded experiences of giving and receiving care initiated by organisations which support people from refugee backgrounds. I draw on the literature on encounter to explore the possibilities that arise in fleshy and fun care-full encounters with people from refugee backgrounds.

In order to apprehend the messy and complex ways that care is performed, I draw on case studies of four organisations working with people from refugee backgrounds in Newcastle, NSW using a range of methods including interviews, document analysis and participant observation. In contrast to existing spaces of care and encounter research, I immerse myself in formal and informal spaces of care. In doing so I offer new insights into the importance of *hanging out* and spending time with people as a way of comprehending what happens in spaces of care and care-full encounters.

This research examines the complexities of what it means to care within an organisational framework. The role of an organisational ethos in the performance of care is explored in Chapter 6. As other research on spaces of care has found, an organisational ethos is not simply set by mission statements; it is performed by people

working within organisational spaces (P Cloke, Johnsen, & May, 2005). Unlike most care literature, this thesis draws on the experiences of both care givers and care receivers and offers insights into the inseparability of care giving and receiving. Previous research has emphasised that in many institutional care-giving contexts people from refugee backgrounds are called upon to perform a refugee identity – a subject position that enables them to access services, care and support, but that at the same time has precarious and limiting effects on their agency (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010). To explore the inseparability of care giving and receiving and performances from refugees beyond the refugee identity, I turn to caring practices of welcoming and teaching which have been absent from previous academic accounts of the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations. In the organisational spaces I examine, I reveal that welcoming and teaching are not practices reserved for 'host' populations; rather, people from refugee backgrounds also perform care through welcoming and teaching. Drawing on literature on intersectionality, I reveal that in an appropriate organisational context the binary between refugee/non-refugee or care giver/care receiver can be transcended as people build on shared identities as mothers, friends, cooks, football players and people.

In Chapter 7 I build on the existing spaces of care literature to reveal the importance of space in the performance of care. Like previous spaces of care literature, I explore formal institutionalised spaces, but I also contribute to the spaces of care literature by exploring spaces of protest in support of people from refugee backgrounds, and the ways that public parks are transformed into transitory spaces of care. The performances in these spaces extend beyond formal and professionalised interactions, and reflect a recognition on the part of people already living in Newcastle that it is not up to people from refugee backgrounds alone to adjust to difference; rather, it is also up to longer-term residents to perform more inclusive caring spaces and neighbourhoods. The chapter therefore examines how spaces of care encourage performances of belonging, home and hope across multiple scales of home, neighbourhood and nation.

Finally, I explore caring with people from refugee backgrounds through the lens of encounter. My approach to care-full encounters is to move away from thinking that 'meaningful' encounters are only those that can be scaled up (Valentine, 2008). Rather, I place value in the embodied, fleshy and sensuous *moments of encounter*, and in doing so, I am able to reveal moments of joy, happiness and hope that are too often dismissed in the encounter literature. These moments are important because they are full of potential and the possibility of a different way of doing Australia in an extremely intolerant time.

Care is not simple and easy. Caring relationships can be fraught with tensions and difficulties. Nonetheless, this thesis argues that exploring existing practices of care holds the possibility for understanding new ways of living together with difference and creating more inclusive cities. While previous literature has mostly focused on the ways that the presence of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations seems to have created insecurities that undermine individuals' capacity to care, this thesis avoids adopting an approach that is primarily attuned to exclusionary practices. Rather than giving a voice to the people who want to incense and create more hate, this thesis contributes to a more hopeful disposition by focusing on examples in which people demonstrate a readiness to stand up against intolerance through proactive performances of care. As people from refugee backgrounds continue to seek protection in the West, providing a caring narrative that counters the exclusionary attitudes towards their presence is essential for performing more caring and inclusive worlds.

Chapter 1 Introduction

… one of the most significant challenges
for refugees is to re-create a new social world …
to rebuild a community of family, friends,
work-colleagues and so forth (P Westoby, 2009, p. 2).

1.1 Introduction

Care plays a significant role in helping people from refugee backgrounds to rebuild their worlds in new societies. Care involves a range of complex relationships and practices that take place across a variety of formal and informal socio-spatial settings. As its starting point, care involves being attentive to, and responsible for, others (Tronto, 1993), particularly others who may find themselves in challenging times. In practice, care can involve material and/or emotional support that has the potential to facilitate well-being. Providing care to others is not a practice reserved for those in formal care roles; rather, care is performed every day by people everywhere. Care practices and care relations between people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals are important; they have positive implications for refugees, care givers and the wider community. Therefore, the organisations and individuals that express and perform care for people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations play an important role in facilitating well-being.

Research on the experience of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations has been dominated by inquiries into social exclusion and problematic encounters across difference. Contemporary refugee literature has thoroughly described a lack of appropriate settlement services, negative representations of people from refugee backgrounds, the prevalence of racism, and the difficulty that people from refugee backgrounds have in integrating or developing a sense of belonging in new societies. As a body of work, it tends to document despair and provides little evidence of 'hope residing in cities' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2012, p. 240). Yet, many people from refugee backgrounds are welcomed into communities and nations by people who care. Exploring these experiences of care is as important as investigating injustice or

negligence. Following Fincher and Iveson (2012), research should also describe positive experiences that exist, and for many people from refugee backgrounds this includes care-full intercultural encounters involving social inclusion, friendship, building a sense of belonging and home, and finding moments of happiness and hope. We have limited information about hopeful relations and care-full encounters between refugee and non-refugees populations in Western societies. This thesis begins to fill this empirical and theoretical gap by drawing on grounded insights from spaces of care populated by organisations and individuals who make care-full proactive movements towards people from refugee backgrounds. Care is not simple and easy; caring relationships can be fraught with tensions and difficulties. A focus on care can reveal these complexities in a way that simply focusing on exclusion and despair cannot. This thesis argues that care-full movements towards people from refugee backgrounds have the potential to nurture belonging, social inclusion and hope, and it contends that care holds the possibility of facilitating new ways of living together with difference in more inclusive and caring worlds.

This research takes a performative approach and aims to grow more caring, hopeful worlds through research practice. Adopting a performative approach involves thinking through one's role as a researcher in performing worlds, and making decisions about the types of worlds one wants to encourage and nurture (Gibson-Graham, 2006). This research reveals care as a performative practice that shapes our identities, our spaces and our world. This involves taking care seriously, making care and care performances visible and participating in care-full research practice. I reveal how care unfolds across various spaces of refugee care as I volunteer and hang out at refugee support organisations and participate in community events held to support people from refugee backgrounds. I uncover the relational, contextual and everyday ways in which people perform care and reveal moments of transformation and hope. I explore how social inclusion, belonging and a sense of home and hope are revealed in the messy ways that care is performed through material space, everyday practices and fleshy encounters.

In the next section of this chapter I introduce Australia as an appropriate place to investigate care evoked by the presence of people from refugee backgrounds. I then provide a preliminary background description of Newcastle, the regional Australian city where this research was undertaken. The remainder of the introduction will present the aims of the research as well as provide an overview of the thesis and how each aim has been addressed.

1.2 Australia and refugees

Refugee and asylum seeker policy is one of the most contentious issues in contemporary Australia (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2013). How Australia responds to different Others is at the forefront of current political debates – played out through Australia's policies towards, and treatment of, people from refugee backgrounds. Successive Australian governments have erected, shifted and moved real and imaginary borders in order to stop certain types of refugees from entering or belonging to the national space. For example, Australia's migration zones have been redrawn or reimagined several times (Barlow, 2013) to ensure that people who physically arrive in Australia to claim asylum are not legally considered to be in Australia. Moreover, through polices like indefinite mandatory immigration detention, offering only short-term temporary protection visas and controversially detaining, processing and resettling refugees in other countries, the Australian government continues to push the boundaries of their international obligations towards people from refugee backgrounds. As a result, the United Nations Human Rights Council has expressed concerns about Australia's treatment of refugees (Miller, 2015). Despite Australia's exclusionary national framework for dealing with people from refugee backgrounds being globally unpopular, it continues to be supported by the two major political parties in Australia and it appears also to be supported by large numbers of the Australian populace (A. Oliver, 2014).

In Australia, refugee and non-refugee encounters need to be understood in the context of this exclusionary national framework. The 2013 introduction of Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB), a military-led response to protecting Australia's borders from refugees (Government, 2013), demonstrates the steps the Australian government is

prepared to take to prevent refugees from entering the national space. Essentially, the aim of OBS is to stop asylum seekers from reaching Australia by boat, and to deny such asylum seekers resettlement in Australia. It includes policies such as intercepting and turning away asylum seekers approaching Australia in boats, purchasing and deploying lifeboats to turn (and tow) back asylum seekers whose boats are unseaworthy, increasing the capacity of offshore detention centres in Papua New Guinea and Nauru, and denying resettlement in Australia to those in offshore detention, even if they are found to be refugees (Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, 2014). Faced only with media images of asylum seekers being treated harshly and with military force, Hodge (2015) argues that the punitive ways in which OSB is carried out diminishes 'the broader public's capacity to grieve the keener sense of life needed in order to oppose violence' (Hodge, 2015, p. 122). Extending this argument to care, government policies, such as aspects of OSB, limit the Australian public's capacity to care for people from refugee backgrounds.

Moreover, a 2014 reduction in the annual refugee quota from 20,000 to 13,750 demonstrates an exclusionary immigration policy, particularly in the global context of 16.7 million refugees and 1.2 million asylum seekers looking for protection (Refugee Council of Australia, 2015). By reducing Australia's responsibility to provide refuge to this increasing global population of displaced persons, the Australian government sends a message about the types of people that Australia cares about.

Australians response to people from refugee backgrounds can also be witnessed through public discussions about who is responsible for caring for refugees. On the one hand, some argue that Australia should be responsible to its own citizens first. From this perspective, there is a divide between 'us and them' and the 'fair go' synonymous with the 'Australian way of life' is reserved for people perceived to be real or genuine 'Australians'. Discussions here are dominated by concerns about border protection and national identity, and they flow with undercurrents of racism and xenophobia. On the other hand, however, others argue that a 'fair go' should be extended to people from refugee backgrounds too, revealing sections of the Australian populace who are concerned about the well-being of people from refugee backgrounds, people who want to see Australia respond to refugees in more compassionate and inclusive ways.

Notably, amongst this section of the community, there are many people who are not waiting for the national and popular response to change; instead they are taking individual or collective steps towards inclusion and welcome, demonstrating that they do care for people from refugee backgrounds. This is important, because much of the negotiation of difference in Australia actually occurs 'on the ground' in the local-level in spaces where people encounter different refugee Others (Correa-Velez, Spaaij, & Upham, 2013; Curtis & Mee, 2012; Klocker, 2004; Lobo, 2010). People working with caring organisations and the people from refugee backgrounds they care with are explored in this thesis.

1.3 Preliminary background – Newcastle

This thesis explores performances of care evoked by the presence of people from refugee backgrounds in Newcastle. Refugee (re)settlement has been taking place in Newcastle since displaced people began arriving in the post-World War II era. In the last two decades the majority of the people from refugee backgrounds have been arriving from African nations and from Afghanistan. Newcastle is therefore home to people from a variety of different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Despite the diversity of the refugee population in Newcastle, the actual number of refugees is relatively small. Table 1.1 shows the number of humanitarian entrants that have been directly (re)settled in Newcastle over the last decade.[1]

Table 1.1 Humanitarian Entrants Newcastle 2006–2015

Newcastle	2006-08	2009-11	2012-14	2015	Total
Humanitarian Entrants	109	173	405	12[2]	699

Source: Newcastle City Council (2015)

During the research period there was a notable increase in the number of humanitarian entrants being directly settled in Newcastle (see Table 1.1 years 2012-2014). Most of this group were from Afghanistan; they were men who had worked

[1] Direct settlement is a process that sees humanitarian entrants placed in a particular location by the Australian government. Therefore, these figures do not take into account independent secondary movement – where people from refugee backgrounds choose to move to Newcastle after initially being settled in a different location.

[2] The decrease in Humanitarian Entrants to Newcastle in 2015 suggests a change in government policy.

closely with the Australian Defence Force as interpreters in the war in Afghanistan (and their families). Around the same time as refugee settlement in Newcastle was increasing, the Newcastle City Council refused to debate a proposal to preserve its policy of Newcastle as a *City of Welcome* for refugees (Doyle & Osborne, 2013). This suggests that exclusionary policies are practised at a local, as well as a federal level.

Newcastle's role in refugee resettlement in Australia is relatively minor – the majority of people who are resettled by the Australian government are placed in major urban areas or in rural areas where resettlement is a strategy used to increase the population and labour supply of rural towns. Newcastle is not a major urban centre and it is not a rural town, there are very limited employment opportunities for people from refugee backgrounds, and refugee families have difficulty finding homes. Despite this, the Australian government continues to resettle people in Newcastle.

It has been suggested that Australia offers some of the best government-funded settlement services in the world to refugees who come through its official resettlement program (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014, p. 126). The services available aim to cater for the material and medical needs of new arrivals, and to some extent their social needs (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014, p. 126). In Newcastle the initial settlement service is provided to people for approximately six months through a private organisation, Navitas English. Considering that 'one of the most significant challenges for refugees is to re-create a new social world … to rebuild a community of family, friends, work-colleagues and so forth' (P Westoby, 2009, p. 2), the question remains as to whether government-funded services alone can provide the kind of support that people who have been 'uprooted from their homelands and transplanted to a culturally and geographically distant place' (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014, p. 126) may need (or desire). Following Fozdar and Hartley (2014), I suggest that 'in addition to the provision of settlement services for material integration' (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014, p. 140) engagement opportunities need to be expanded so that a sense of belonging can be nurtured for both people from refugee backgrounds and for longer-term residents adjusting to increased diversity. Certainly, alongside Navitas English, Newcastle boasts a range of other organisations that provide engagement activities and many individuals in Newcastle actively pursue such activities which are aimed at supporting, welcoming

and befriending recently arrived and more established refugees. The spaces, practices and experiences that emerge through the performance of care within these organisations underpin this research.

The next section introduces the research aims of the thesis before concluding with an overview of the thesis chapters. It includes a discussion of how (and where in the thesis) each aim is addressed.

1.4 Aims and chapters: an overview

The overall aim of this thesis is to bring a hopeful disposition to research on refugees by employing literatures on care, spaces of care and encounter to examine caring people and organisations. Following Fincher and Iveson's call for 'grounded investigations of enactments of justice' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2012, p. 231) this thesis documents performances of care and social inclusion (rather than a lack of care and social exclusion for people from refugee backgrounds) – providing a view of what hope looks like. After all, if the challenge is to assist people to recreate a new social world (P Westoby, 2009, p. 2) then locating the instances in which this is being attempted and/ or achieved is an important project.

The following five research aims have driven this project.

AIM 1: To explore how a range of organisations established to care for people from refugee backgrounds make certain types of caring performances possible.

AIM 2: To explore how understandings of care can be enhanced through an understanding of care as performed through embodied encounters.

AIM 3: To consider ways in which encounters are valuable even when they are not obviously scaled-up.

AIM 4: To explore how understandings of the experience of people from refugee backgrounds can be enhanced through an understanding of intersectionality.

AIM 5: To consider how research practice involves performing caring encounters and spaces.

Chapter 2: Caring people, organisations and spaces

The overall aim of Chapter 2 is to establish understanding about care and what constitutes caring organisations and spaces. After establishing a holistic definition of care, one that is useful outside of medical and traditional health care settings, I draw from a feminist ethic of care, specifically '*the practice of the ethic of care'* (Tronto, 1993) in order to offer insights into how care is actually practised in the everyday. The key to this discussion is found within the principles of care put forward by care thinkers Tronto (1993), Sevenhuijsen (2003) and Engster (2007) namely, attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness, trust and respect, and the insights these principles can provide into grounded practices of care. I argue for a more nuanced analysis of what it means to give and receive care, which moves away from problematic representations of care givers as compassionate, active participants burdened by their caring roles, and care receivers as passive subjects who lack agency, in order to provide a more hopeful account of care as a co-creation or exchange between people.

The chapter then turns to caring organisations as 'devices' through which people can access or offer care (Barnett, Cloke, Clarke, & Malpass, 2005, p. 30). Caring organisations are a crucial part of the landscape of care. They provide resources, recruit staff and volunteers, and they provide spaces for the expression and practice of care. Geographers have come to understand organisations as performed. With this in mind I explore how caring organisations that provide welfare, care and support to marginalised people are performed into being. Moreover, the care literature reveals that much of this work is done by charitable, volunteer or not-for-profit organisations, many of which are faith-based (P Cloke, Beaumont, & Williams, 2013). Therefore, I consider the role of faith-based caring organisations. However, secular organisations are also an important part of the landscape of care and their roles and their relationships to faith-based organisations are considered.

Chapter 2 concludes by drawing on spaces of care literature. The existing spaces of care literature explores the socio-spatial dimensions that constitute spaces of care. I explore these dimensions and connect the discussion with *the practice of an ethic of care* (Tronto, 1993) and my conceptualisation of care as a *movement towards another*

person (Conradson, 2003c). I also draw from another field of geographical research to suggest that spaces of care are also shaped by material objects (things) that encourage people to *do* things together. I extend the spaces of care literature beyond geographically fixed spaces such as drop-in centres to explore transitory spaces of care, like soup runs (Johnsen, Cloke, & May, 2005b). I then take an additional step beyond the scope of current spaces of care literature, drawing on Milligan and Wiles (2010) to argue that public events where people demonstrate or express care towards marginalised or vulnerable people are also spaces of care (Milligan & Wiles, 2010).

Chapter 2 establishes a care framework for the thesis. It develops a nuanced understanding of care beyond traditional health care environments and relationships. Moreover, it starts to address Aim 1 by considering how care is performed through various organisations, care relations and spaces. It reveals the transformative potential of care and offers insights into how organisations, individuals, everyday practices and materialities shape and are shaped by care.

Chapter 3: Geographies of encounter

Caring with people from refugee backgrounds involves fostering the means of *living with difference.* Chapter 3 is interested in how we *do* togetherness because how we *do* togetherness is bound up in how people care. Chapter 3 begins to address Aim 2 and Aim 3 of the thesis by thinking about the means by which the capacity to *live together with difference* could be generated. Debates about how to understand the processes through which living with difference can be understood and nurtured have centred on the role of encounter. A significant body of encounter literature draws on Valentine's notion of scaling-up, which tends to judge encounters as *meaningful* only by the extent to which they can reduce prejudice 'beyond the specifics of the individual moment' (Valentine, 2008, p. 325). In this chapter I suggest that such an understanding of intercultural encounters is limited, as it underplays the importance of *moments* of the encounter. By concentrating on possible outcomes beyond the encounter, the significance of each encounter can be overlooked. Hence I argue that scholarship on encounter needs to move beyond scaling-up, shifting the focus away from what is to

be reduced from the encounter (prejudice) towards an interest in what is sparked within and through moments of encounter.

This chapter asks what can be learnt if we illuminate the *doing* of encounters. I agree with Thrift (2005) and Amin (2006) who suggest that the mundane, small achievements of 'doing togetherness' that take place at the *moment of encounter* are important in and of themselves. An encounter can be a moment of possibility and hope, an opening up to the Other. Encounters provide people with the 'opportunity to explore their own hybridity through experiencing a variety of different situations and people' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 153). It is not helpful to dismiss the importance of the encounter in and of itself, particularly spaces and moments of encounter that involve relations of care and kindness. A focus on *moments of encounter* enables closer dissection of the moments in which 'care relations are extended' (Gibson, 2009).

My approach here allows for a more hopeful perspective, offering insights into the possibilities of *doing* togetherness, rather than the somewhat pessimistic view that the only encounters that matter are those that can be 'scaled-up' to a predetermined outcome (Aim 3). A framework that places importance on *moments of encounters* must consider everyday embodied practice, as intercultural encounters involve different bodies coming together. Consequently, I turn to the embodied practice of intercultural encounters, or more specifically the fleshy and sensuous experiences that shape and are shaped by intercultural encounters. It is here that I expose a lack of literature about the fleshy and sensuous dimensions of intercultural encounters – particularly when exploring encounters that come into being through care, suggesting that as encounter researchers, *coming to our senses* can be helpful.

Ultimately, my goal is to demonstrate that our bodies and our senses are central to how we respond to difference, and accordingly to what transpires within intercultural encounters. Therefore, immersing my discussion in the fleshy and sensuous, this chapter continues by introducing intimate encounters, and I make connections between intimate intercultural encounters, the fluidity of cultural identities and notions of belonging. I draw on recent and unique research by Michelle Lobo which for the first time reveals the importance of play within intercultural encounters. Lobo

suggests that 'play as a multisensory and spontaneous event that escapes focused attention, reasoned argument, and political debate has the potential to contribute to ways of living with difference that go beyond intentionality and moral obligations' (Lobo, 2016, p. 167). This discussion addresses Aim 2 as it explores how understandings of care can be enhanced through an understanding of care as performed through embodied encounters. In addition, it considers ways in which encounters are valuable even when they are not obviously scaled-up (Aim 3).

Chapter 4: People from refugee backgrounds, care and encounter

Chapter 4 explores how concepts of care and encounter are used in literature specific to people from refugee backgrounds. Building on the arguments developed in the previous two chapters that care, spaces of care and care-full embodied encounters are important for marginalised groups of people, the aim of this chapter is to think through the specificity of the refugee experience. Contemporary refugee research that relates to the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds across spaces in the Western world is dominated by themes of racism and social exclusion experienced by refugees, negative representations of refugees, problematic refugee resettlement services and the difficulties that refugees have in developing a sense of belonging. Whilst I acknowledge that this research is important, a review of this literature exposes a lack of hope-full and care-full narratives in this body of work. Accordingly, this chapter reveals the small number of examples in the refugee literature which bring care into the equation, examples of care-full and inclusive practices. By exploring the refugee literature specific to care, spaces of care and encounter, the additional role of this chapter is to highlight gaps within the literature about refugee care and encounters in 'host' societies, in order to clearly situate my contribution to this discussion.

Furthermore, research about the experiences of refugees in Western spaces tends to articulate the refugee subject as a fixed position. Indeed, in many institutional care-giving contexts people from refugee backgrounds are called on to perform the identity of refugee – it is a subject position that enables them to access services, care and support. However, while it is important to understand that people perform a refugee

identity, it is crucial to also understand that this is not their only identity. When researchers foreground specific social categories, 'we sacrifice recognition of other social relations and lose some of the convolution and messiness of everyday life' (Valentine, Vanderbeck, Andersson, Sadgrove, & Ward, 2010, p. 939). Therefore, this chapter introduces the notion of intersectionality as a way to overcome some of the determinism of previous ways of thinking about identities that 'often unintentionally interpellate individuals or groups into fixed categories as oppressed or oppressor' (Valentine et al., 2010, p. 940).

My intention is not to provide an overview on intersectionality; this has been done elsewhere (see Valentine, 2007). Rather, I aim to highlight in this chapter how research on people from refugee backgrounds can be enhanced through an intersectional understanding. To date, intersectionality has not been widely used to look at the lives of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations. Therefore, the purpose of this discussion is to explore how understandings of the refugee experience can be enhanced through an understanding of intersectionality, addressing Aim 4 of my thesis.

Chapter 5: Methodology: researching care and encounter

In Chapter 5 I present my methodological approach to exploring refugees, care and encounter. I outline a research agenda that is designed to reveal the diverse ways that care is performed across and through a variety of spaces, and a research practice that aims to bring new caring, hope-full worlds into being. I approach care-full intercultural spaces and encounters between people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals by reading for difference rather than dominance (Gibson-Graham, 2006), 'seeking to identify important strands of understanding that have been obscured or undervalued by previous interpretive orthodoxies' (May & Cloke, 2014, p. 894). To achieve this, I explore spaces and relations of care where people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds are moving towards one another in care-full ways. As I have outlined, this research adopts a performative approach, in that research writing and performance bring worlds into being (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Law & Urry, 2004). Using a performative research methodology, I have sought out actually existing

performances of care and I have actively participated in making a more caring society through academic practice (Aim 5).

A qualitative case study approach is employed that uses both discursive and non-discursive research methods. This approach enabled me to capture and explore what organisations and people say about care, and at the same time it can reveal how organisations and individuals actually *do* care. The case study organisations and events are all located in Newcastle, Australia. I focus my research on four refugee support organisations (RSOs): Penola House, Northern Settlement Services, Hunter African Communities Council and Welcome to Australia, as well as on Refugee Week events held in Newcastle in 2013 and 2014.

The research methods employed include participant observation via researcher volunteering and hanging out, alongside more traditional methods of semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The fieldwork took place over a 14-month period. I spent 51 hours hanging out in various spaces of refuge care, and 152 hours researcher volunteering. I conducted 30 semi-structured interviews with people from refugee backgrounds, people who volunteer or work with people from refugee backgrounds and members of the public who attended public refugee support events.

In terms of the research methods chosen, essentially my research methods are guided by other geographical explorations into spaces of care and encounter. For example, participant observation through researcher volunteering has been used in various ways by geographers interested in community groups and spaces of care (see Conradson, 2003c; Darling, 2011; Johnsen, Cloke, & May, 2005a; Jupp, 2008; Williams, 2016). Moreover, Jupp (2008) spent time *hanging out* with people in a community group and both Wise (2010) and Lobo (2014) in their encounter research spent time *hanging out* in public spaces with research participants.

One important aspect of the research is the exploration of embodied and affective moments of encounter, the sensuous and fleshy moments of encounter when different bodies touch, taste, move, play and have fun together. Such moments of encounter offer valuable insights into the ways that people are doing togetherness with difference. With this in mind, I immerse myself in moments of intercultural

encounter. My body becomes an 'instrument of research' (Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray, & Gibson, 2011, p. 17) as I taste, touch, smell, dance, move and play my way through this research process. This approach addresses Aim 5 by considering how my research practice involved performing care-full encounters and spaces. By being present, by participating in the intercultural care-full encounters myself, and by being in the moment, I am able to offer insights into the actual mechanics of trying to foster a living with difference with people from refugee backgrounds that goes beyond what is possible through detached observation or interviews alone.

Chapter 6: Caring organisations, people and performance

This chapter addresses Aim 1 by exploring how care giving and receiving happens through organisations. Refugee support originations (RSOs) provide opportunities and spaces for people to care. This chapter explores RSOs by offering insights into the organisational ethos, rules, practices and people that constitute each organisation. In doing so, this chapter illuminates the argument that organisations are performed and addresses Aim 1 by revealing that the performance of each RSO makes different types of care possible. I reveal that each organisation, in different ways, creates opportunities for people to care *with* people from refugee backgrounds. In doing so, caring organisations empower people from refugee backgrounds to move beyond their refugeeness, through the co-creation of relations and spaces of care, and care-full encounters.

Alongside the important role that RSOs play in the landscape of care, I also introduce and highlight the role of individual carers. As Cloke et al. (2007) argue, despite organisational rules and guidelines informing the landscape of care, an organisational ethos is not necessarily 'carried through into spaces of care' (P Cloke et al., 2005, p. 386). Rather, ground-level caring practices are informed by individual care providers' personalities and ethos, which may or may not be in line with organisational beliefs, or with how people receiving care respond to the care provided. Therefore, this chapter draws on insights from people associated with different RSOs as they negotiate care giving and care receiving within different organisational structures. I reveal stories of the people who established organisations and the types of care and activities provided

to people within each RSO. I draw on examples from the people who are employed, volunteer or pass through different spaces of care (both people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals). I draw on the *practice of an ethic of care* established in Chapter 2 in order to offer insights into how care is actually practised. One of the aims of this chapter is to illuminate the relational nature of care by introducing examples of the practice of *caring with*. Further addressing Aim 1, I categorise different types of care that are performed through each organisation, exploring care performed through welcoming and teaching. Discussions of such caring dispositions have been absent from previous academic accounts of the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations.

Moreover, this chapter takes an intersectional approach to explore how RSOs and people care. It addresses Aim 4 by recognising that people from refugee backgrounds are more than their *refugeeness*. Despite being called upon to perform *being a refugee* to gain access to services in Australia, I reveal organisations, people, care practices and activities that empower people from refugee backgrounds to perform other aspects of their identities.

Chapter 7: Spaces of care: performing multi-scale spaces of belonging, home and hope

This chapter turns to the role of space in organisations' care-full encounters with people from refugee backgrounds. I explore the materialities and social relations that perform spaces of care into being. Drawing on three spaces, Penola House, a Welcome BBQ in a suburban public park, and a large Refugee Week event, Walk Together held in central Newcastle, I uncover the transformative potential of spaces of care. I provide examples where social and material relations that constitute a space of care reshaped people in positive ways (Conradson, 2003c, p. 510). Like previous spaces of care literature, I explore formalised institutionalised spaces, informal and transitory spaces of care, but I also contribute to the spaces of literature by considering public demonstrations in support of people from refugee backgrounds as spaces of care, as well as the ways that public parks are transformed into spaces of care.

The spaces of care literature does suggest that spaces of care are indeed spaces of exclusion or fear for some people (Conradson, 2003c; Johnsen et al., 2005a) and this is an important insight. However, taking a performative approach which aims to grow more caring worlds through research practice, it is a considered and deliberate strategy to focus on positive and transformative experiences in spaces of care in this chapter. Moreover, extending the existing spaces of care literature, this chapter reveals connections between the performance of spaces of care and the performance of belonging, home and hope across multiple scales of home, neighbourhood and nation.

Chapter 8: Care-full, fleshy and fun encounters

The previous two chapters offer valuable insights into the ways that care is performed by organisations and people in spaces of care. Chapter 8 argues that more can be said about care performances and spaces of care through the lens of encounter. To do so, I bring care into the encounter equation, and continue to develop my argument from Chapter 3 about the importance of *moments of encounter*. I explore how people are doing togetherness by focusing on care-full, fleshy and fun encounters.

My approach differs from the approaches adopted in most other encounter research. Rather than talking to people about their experiences and feelings of doing encounters, or simply observing people from different social groups doing encounters, my empirical evidence comes from my own immersion in the field, from my own embodied experience of doing intercultural encounters with people from refugee backgrounds. I reflect on my own experiences of learning new ways of doing togetherness as I use my body as a research tool and perform caring encounters and spaces (Aim 5).

There are scholars who are not convinced of the gains that can be won from intercultural encounters – but I am more hopeful. I am not suggesting that care and encounter be advanced 'as some kind of normative paradigm for successful multicultural societies' (Wise, 2012, p. 39). However, I will argue that paying attention to the embodied, fleshy, sensuous and intimate dimensions provides a more optimistic reading of refugee care and encounters. Moving away from thinking that *meaningful*

encounters are only those that can be 'scaled-up' to a predetermined outcome, I value care-full *moments of encounter* where people eat, move, dance, play and have fun together. In doing so, I am able to reveal moments of joy, happiness and hope that are too often dismissed in the encounter literature. These fleshy, fun and care-full moments are important because they are full of potential and the possibility of a different way of doing Australia in an extremely intolerant time.

Chapter 9: Conclusion: hopeful developments

The concluding chapter outlines the key contributions of the thesis. I provide an update about some of the changes that have taken place across the landscape of refugee care in Newcastle since I concluded my fieldwork. In doing so, I highlight the fluidity and ever-changing nature of refugee care and emphasise the important role that caring organisations, caring people and care-full research approaches play in a world primarily attuned to exclusionary practices that undermine people's capacity to care for people from refugee backgrounds. The thesis conclusion then turns its attention to hopeful developments by providing examples of care, spaces of care and care-full encounters in other parts of Australia and in other Western nations. In doing so, I aim to highlight the wider applications for my research approach.

1.5 Language

Deciding what to call people from refugee backgrounds in Australia is incredibly fraught. The terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' are often blurred in the media and public debates despite each having different meanings in terms of international and Australian law. The 1951 Refugee Convention (as broadened by the 1967 Protocol) indicates that the term 'refugee' shall apply to any person who:

> owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a

> result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016).

An asylum seeker, according to the UNHCR is:

> An individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum-seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which the claim is submitted. Not every asylum-seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee was initially an asylum-seeker (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016).

Despite these definitions, in Australia, the language that surrounds these terms is messy and problematic. Research has clearly demonstrated the negative representations of refugees and/or asylum seekers in media and public discourse, with terms like 'illegals, illegal arrivals, illegal refugees, queue jumpers, non-genuine refugees and economic migrants' (Clyne, 2005; Every & Augoustinos, 2008a, 2008b; Gelber, 2003; Klocker & Dunn, 2003; Pickering, 2001; Saxton, 2003, 2006) being associated with people from refugee backgrounds. These representations are particularly associated with those arriving by boat (Schloenhardt, 2002) and it is this group of people who are most often constructed as Others who do not belong in Australia. Discourses about who belongs and who does not belong in Australia constrain and complicate immigration debates and issues surrounding refugees and asylum seekers.

In addition, although many people may arrive in Australia as refugees, once they have received a permanent visa, they cease to be refugees. They become Australian residents, and many then go on to become Australian citizens. On the other hand, there are thousands of people in Australia on temporary protection visas or bridging visas who have yet to have their claims decided. Moreover, there is another group of people who have been found to be refugees, but Australia still detains them indefinitely in immigration detention centres in Australia, Papua New Guinea and Nauru.

Accordingly, what to call people from refugee backgrounds is an issue that I grappled with from the early stages of this research project. There were certain things that took place during my fieldwork and in my theoretical thinking that assisted me in making the choice to call the range of people mentioned above *people from refugee backgrounds* (PFRB). The decision was assisted in part by Sister Elizabeth Brown from Penola House, who asked me to adjust my recruitment information. Initially, I was going to identify people from refugee backgrounds that accessed Penola House as 'Penola House Service Users'. This was my attempt to avoid using problematic terms like 'refugee' or 'client'. She asked that I change the term to Penola House People, because as the Sister said, that is what they are, people. This suggestion came before my theoretical decision to use the literature on intersectionality; however, it certainly started me thinking more about PFRB being more than their refugeeness. PFRB puts people first, and it aligns with the intersectional approach I have taken in this research which understands that to explore the experiences of PFRB it is important to consider *who else* refugees are, and how this might impact on their experiences of care and their encounters in new societies.

With this in mind, it is also important to discuss what I call people *not* from refugee backgrounds. As this research is based around performances of care, people who are caring with PFRB can all be considered and labelled as care-givers. On the other hand, they can also all be considered members of a 'host' nation. However, by taking an intersectional approach, I also consider *who else* non-refugees are. They may be care-givers, from the 'host' population, but like PFRB they are also mothers, fathers, daughters, young people, elderly people, nuns, migrants, teachers, students and care receivers. Accordingly, I do not have a consistent approach to what I call people *not* from refugee backgrounds throughout the thesis. Rather, as will become clear in the following chapters, I draw on intersecting identities that connect people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds that are not related to their refugee or non-refugee status.

1.6 Conclusion

This thesis reveals care as a performative practice that shapes identities, spaces and worlds. It recognises that care is complex, relational and contextually practised, and that caring people and caring organisations play a significant role in the experiences of PFRB in Western democracies. This thesis draws on grounded insights from spaces of care populated by organisations and individuals who make care-full proactive movements towards PFRB, to reveal positive and transformative care relations, spaces and encounters. Offering a counter narrative to the majority of contemporary refugee research, this thesis brings a hopeful disposition to research on refugees.

In order tell these stories it is necessary to develop a theoretical framework capable of valuing and exploring care and performances of care, and spaces of care, in addition to understanding how best we can foster the means of living with difference. The next three chapters develop a care framework, advocate for an alternative approach to encounter and examine the refugee literature specific to care and encounter by gathering literature on care, space of care, encounter and the refugee experience.

Chapter 2 Caring people, organisations and spaces

2.1 Introduction

Care and caring involve diverse and complex interventions, relations and practices that take place across traditional and non-traditional health and social settings (Yantzi & Skinner, 2009, p. 402). Care interweaves through our relationships and encounters with people close to us, such as family, friends and those with whom we share membership of a community or place (Barnes, 2012, p. 9). Moreover, care can be practised towards 'people whose names we do not know, whom we may never meet, or whom we may encounter only fleetingly' (Barnes, 2012, p. 105). Care is performed in our homes, workplaces, neighbourhoods and nations. It takes place in community centres, schools and sporting clubs, and it happens in parks, shopping centres and other public spaces. Care is intrinsically geographical and fundamental to our capacity to live together (Barnes, 2012).

Most academic research that seeks to understand care is centred on medical and traditional health care practices, settings and relationships, and the focus is usually on medical interventions or therapies that involve practical hands-on care by one person to another where people are unable to do certain things for themselves. Moving away from such understandings of care, my intention is to explore a broader definition of care.

Care is a word that is deeply embedded in our everyday language (Tronto, 1993, p. 102). At its most basic level care implies some kind of engagement (Tronto, 1993). Joan Tronto's definition of care articulates the significance of care to our lives. Citing her work with Bernice Fisher Tronto describes care as:

> *activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible*. The world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we feel to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (Tronto, 1993, p. 103).

What is important about this definition is that care is an *activity*. In other words, it is not enough to take an interest in something or someone – to care requires some kind of action. What Tronto's understanding of care makes clear is that care is an ongoing process that is both practice (action) and disposition (feeling) (Tronto, 1993). This is important because there are many examples of what could be described as doing care, but the 'care work' is being done by people without a caring disposition (Tronto, 1993). For example, Tronto describes a person checking vital signs in a nursing home who may only think of their work in terms of a job (Tronto, 1993, p. 105). Therefore, following Tronto, I will also 'refer to care when both the activity and the disposition of care are present' (Tronto, 1993, p. 105). The broad point being that care is an affective orientation towards someone and also finds expression as a material practice.

What constitutes the 'material practice' of caring for someone is contested. Tronto has a limited view of what activities should be considered care. She argues that 'the pursuit of pleasure, creative activity … to play, to fulfil a desire … or to create a work of art, is not care' (Tronto, 1993, p. 104). Conradson has a broader definition of care, arguing that caring includes emotional and social support, but also everyday interactions that involve humour and play (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). As Horton and Kraftl (2009) note, care is not restricted to grand gestures. Their research about 'implicit activism' argues that 'small acts, words and gestures' that can instigate and reproduce care are just as important as other more obvious and practical care giving tasks (Horton & Kraftl, 2009, p. 14). In this sense, care can be present in everyday and ordinary encounters between people who are attentive to each other's situations (Conradson, 2003c).

With this in mind, this research understands care in a holistic sense as 'a movement towards another person in a way that has the potential to facilitate or promote their well-being' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). Care as a *movement towards another person* helps us to think about the everydayness of care – not confining care to certain practices, activities, relationships or environments. Thus, a range of activities, including creativity and play, constitute care. As I show in Chapter 6, care might also involve extending welcome and teaching.

The overall aim of this chapter is to establish a theoretical framework that offers a way to explore care and what constitutes caring organisations and spaces. To do this Section 2.2 first draws on a feminist ethic of care (Tronto, 1993) in order to offer insights into how care is actually practised in the everyday. Specifically, the section explores key principles of care from Tronto (1993), Sevenhuijsen (2003) and Engster (2007), namely, attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness, trust and respect, and the insights they provide into grounded practices of care. Moreover, in contrast to traditional notions of providing care, I reveal the practice of care as being far from uni-directional. Rather, care is exchange, and it happens when people are open, willing and able to communicate with one another within respectful relationships. With this in mind, Section 2.3 focuses on the people involved in care relationships, care givers and care recipients. I argue for a more nuanced analysis of what it means to give and receive care, moving away from problematic representations of care givers as compassionate, active participants burdened by their caring roles and care receivers as passive, in order to provide a more hopeful account of care practices and relations. Furthermore, because most care literature tends to only explore the experiences of care givers, I suggest (following Wiles) that 'more attention needs to be directed towards understanding the meaning and experience of receiving care' (Wiles, 2011, p. 573).

Section 2.4 extends the discussion to caring organisations. Caring organisations are often the devices through which people can access or offer care (Barnett et al., 2005, p. 30). In using the term caring organisations, I am referring specifically to organisations that provide care and support to marginalised or vulnerable people. Drawing on the body of work about caring organisations, Section 2.4 does two things. First, it establishes an understanding of organisations as performed. Second, it explores the role of faith-based and secular organisations in providing opportunities for people to receive, express and perform care.

Care is intrinsically geographical. Where care takes place matters. Accordingly, Section 2.5 turns to the literature on spaces of care. First I explore the social relations (or care relations) that constitute spaces of care. Second, I explore the spatial dimensions that shape people's experiences in spaces of care, drawing on literature

about the physical characteristics and furnishings that make spaces of care like drop-in centres comfortable spaces for some people, and less inviting for others. Material objects (things) that encourage people to *do* things also shape spaces of care and caring practices. Section 2.5.4 moves away from geographically fixed (and often indoor) spaces of care to explore transitory outdoor spaces of care. Here, I explore public events as spaces of care where people can express care towards marginalised or vulnerable people (like people from refugee backgrounds).

To conclude the chapter, I situate my care research in the wider care literature, noting that existing geographical care literature has contributed valuable insights about a range of caring relationships, contexts and spaces. It has explored how people care for those emotionally proximate to them, like family or friends, and it has also scrutinised the ability of people to care for distant Others – people we are probably never going to meet. However, as a body of work it has had much less to say about care between people who are different, but in the same place. Therefore, I argue that there is a need for more empirical studies like this one that are interested in the processes, practices, relations and spaces of care between *different* Others living in the same place.

To begin, Section 2.2 draws on a feminist ethic of care in order to develop a theoretical approach to care, one that enables a critical and hopeful analysis of grounded experiences and practices of care.

2.2 An ethic of care

The ethic of care, as feminist theorists have articulate it, provides opportunities to analyse activities of care as well as to understand the broader place of caring in human life (Tronto, 2001). Drawing selectively from the ethics of care field, and particularly feminist care ethicist Joan Tronto, my aim in this section is to establish a framework to analyse existing practices of care by bringing attention to how care is performed on the ground, and in doing so to highlight the relational, interdependent and contextual way that care is performed. This framework is then utilised in the empirical chapters of the thesis, especially chapters 6 and 7.

An ethic of care is based on a relational social ontology. It proposes that human life is formed through connectedness with others, and that the development of the self is inextricably tied to our relations with others (Hanrahan, 2015, p. 385). Care thinking, then, understands all beings as connected and dependent upon others for their well-being (Clement, 1996; Lawson, 2007). It proposes that we need each other to lead a good life (Scuzzarello, 2009, p. 5). Care thinking directly challenges the assumed dominance of individualism in our world, and in doing so, moves beyond the conceptualisation of the person as a rational, self-interested and autonomous agent to place interconnectedness at the forefront of how we theorise beings (Conradson, 2011; Held, 2006; Lawson, 2007). As Sevenhuijsen argues people 'can only exist as individuals through and via caring relationships with others' (Sevenhuijsen, 2003, p. 183).

Care ethics, then, understands care as an important component of people's lives, and understands that the practices of care – caring and being cared for – permeate and sustain our lives (Hanrahan, 2015). The examples in much of the care literature are around 'infancy and childhood, illness, old age, and disability' (Hanrahan, 2015, p. 385). Indeed, most of us will not spend our lives completely dependent on others, but we all pass through times of dependency.

Care ethics developed in response to particular situations, practices and people, rather than a set of rules or principles. Care ethics are grounded in the everyday to bring more caring worlds into being (Askew, 2009; Lawson, 2007). It engages with the multiple and complex circumstances that produce the need for care (Tronto, 1993). The virtues of an ethic of care have been theorised, critiqued and contested at length (see Clement, 1996; Held, 2006; Popke, 2006; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Smith, 2005; Staeheli and Brown, 2003; Tronto, 1993). Rather than engaging with these debates, I want to draw on Tronto's (1993) *practice of an ethic of care* to offer insights into how care ethics is useful for understanding how care is actually practised in the everyday.

Many have turned to Tronto in order to understand the process and practice of care. Tronto's work has been used most often in literature based around more traditional practices of care such as care carried out by health practitioners and/or family

members who support people who are not able to do certain things for themselves (i.e. the elderly, infants, people with disabilities, people with mental health issues etc.). My aim here is to explore the principles surrounding Tronto's *practice of an ethic of care* to offer insights into a more holistic and everyday experience of care and caring that is the basis of this research.

The practice of an ethic of care is complex (Tronto, 1993, p. 127). Tronto (1993) introduces four phases of care that she uses to describe the ongoing process of care: caring about, taking care of, care-giving and care receiving. These four phases of care have been widely used in the care literature as a way to understand that the ongoing process of care involves separate, but inextricably linked phases. Recently Tronto (2013) added a fifth phase, *caring with*. Tronto positions *caring with* as the final phase of care which requires that caring needs to be consistent with democratic commitments to justice, equity and freedom for all (Tronto, 2013, p. 23). Midgley (2016) identifies a distinction between 'taking care of' vulnerable people and 'caring with' vulnerable people. She argues that the practice of 'caring with' involves mutual recognition of an individual's situation and needs, active listening, the development of trust, and expressions of solidarity. Following Midgley (2016) I use *caring with* as a practice that encompasses the values of trust, respect and the importance of communication and dialogue (Midgley, 2016). I discuss the importance of *caring with* in more detail in Chapter 6.

In Figure 2.1 I draw more specifically on what Tronto describes as the four ethical elements of care: attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness. In producing Figure 2.1 '*The practice of an ethic of care'* I have also drawn on care thinkers Sevenhuijsen and Engster as their ideas about the principles of care ethics are also useful for understanding the grounded practice of holistic care.

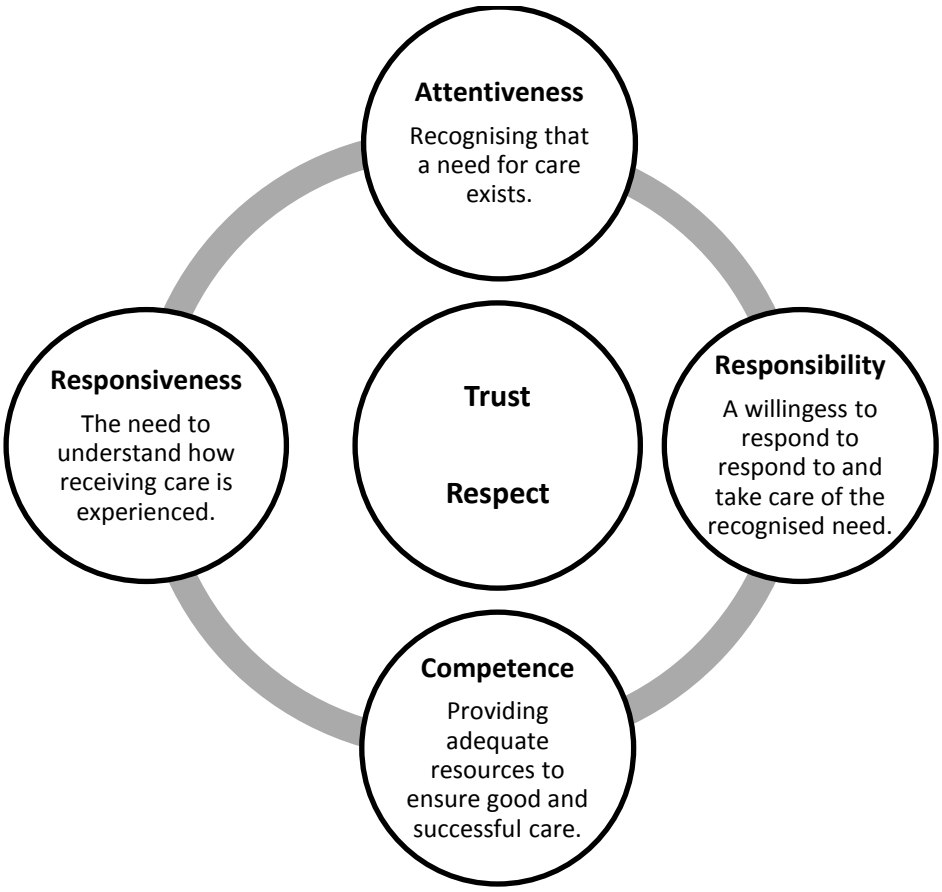

Figure 2.1 The practice of an ethic of care

Source: Tronto (1993); Sevenhuijsen (2003); Engster (2007).

As Figure 2.1 demonstrates, *the practice of an ethic of care* is a continuing process, the principles are separate, intertwined and at once part of the same process. Although the process begins with people being attentive, followed by their being responsible, competent and then responsive, the process continues because in order to be responsive, people must be attentive to the needs of others. As Tronto and Fisher discovered, 'the explication of one of the dimensions of the ethical elements of care has often involved other elements of care' (Tronto, 1993, p. 136). I have also included trust and respect within the centre of the principles of care. Through their inclusion I aim to highlight the importance of relationality within the process and practice of care. Trust and respect make room for the agency of the care receiver and therefore their inclusion acknowledges care as a co-production (rather than a uni-directional practice). Including trust and respect allows consideration of the 'caring with' phase of care

(Midgely 2016). To explore *the practice of an ethic of care* further, I will explore each of the principles separately.

To begin the process of care, there needs to be a recognition that a need for care exists. *Attentiveness* can be prompted by direct encounters with family members or friends, and in situations where people seek help from more traditional care providers. However, it can also be 'prompted by media reports of suffering among people we do not know and are never likely to meet' (Barnes, 2012, p. 20). Attentiveness demonstrates that for the process of care to begin, it is important that people are looking beyond themselves to consider others.

The second principle put forward by Tronto is *responsibility*. There are two points to draw from Tronto's notion of *responsibility*. First, *responsibility* for Tronto is not necessarily about the physical act of care giving. Rather, it may be about providing the resources (facilities, money etc.) so that others can provide care. Responsibility enables care giving to happen. The second key point is that Tronto distinguishes between responsibility and obligation. She argues that if we consider obligation, we tend to look for formal bonds or previously stated duties, and we can therefore conclude that we owe nothing (Tronto, 1993, p. 132). On the other hand, responsibility may see us look beyond formal or legal ties to try and understand what created the conditions that resulted in people needing care. Indeed, our responsibility to care might rest on a number of factors – 'something we did or did not do has contributed to the need for care, and so we must care' (Tronto, 1993, p. 132). Tronto suggests that a more flexible notion of responsibility is more useful than 'obligation as the basis for understanding what people should do for each other' (Tronto, 1993, p. 133).

Tronto's third principle, *competence* is about providing good and successful care. Tronto notes that failing to provide good care can be a consequence of people having a lack of resources. This can take place within 'caring institutions' when there is a failure to provide the necessary resources or support to enable good care (Barnes, 2012, p. 23).

Fourth is *responsiveness*, or the need to understand how receiving care is experienced. Tronto notes that 'to be in a situation where one needs care is to be in a position of some vulnerability' (Tronto, 1993, p. 134). As previously mentioned, we all have times in our lives when we need care, which means that throughout our lives, all of us go through varying degrees of vulnerability (Tronto, 1993). *Responsiveness* is about remaining 'alert to the possibilities for abuse to arise with vulnerability' and the unequal power relations that often exist between caregivers and care receivers (Tronto, 1993, p. 135). Responsiveness requires dialogue and communication, and 'suggests that we consider the other's position as the other expresses it' (Tronto, 1993, p. 136). It is not about the caregiver reflecting on how they would be likely to respond in a similar situation; it is about them being able to understand how the other is responding and what it means to them. Therefore, *responsiveness* requires *attentiveness.*

My inclusion of trust and respect during the whole practice of care highlights relationality. Trust, according to Sevenhuijsen (2003) acknowledges that inequality and vulnerability can be present in many care relationships. It 'emphasises the capacity of care givers and receivers to engage in dialogue about needs and responses in circumstances of inequality' (Barnes, 2012, p. 24). In a similar fashion, respect, according to Engster (2007) is significant as it ensures that people are treated 'in ways that do not degrade them in their own eyes or the eyes of others, and makes use of the abilities they have' (Engster, 2007, p. 31). Respect ensures that care receivers are included as knowledgeable and capable people, that their abilities and strengths are recognised and utilised. If care providers 'fail to treat their users as knowledgeable and capable persons' (Barnes, 2012, pp. 24-25), they are failing to show respect. Trust and respect highlights the need for all people, even those who find themselves as the recipients of care, to be not be considered as 'lesser beings just because they have needs they cannot meet on their own' (Engster, 2007, p. 31).

The aim in this section is to provide a framework for understanding grounded practices of care. My next step is to consider the people involved in care relations. The main points that I intend to make in the following section relate to the representations that often depict caregivers as compassionate, active and burdened by care, and care

receivers as passive, and lacking agency and knowledge. I argue for a more nuanced analysis of these subject positions and call for a more hopeful account of what it means to give and receive care.

2.3 Care givers and care receivers

What if more research provided examples of positive and transformative care giving and receiving experiences? One of the aims of this research is to perform more hopeful and caring worlds into being, and this section moves towards achieving this aim by revealing already existing examples of positive, hopeful and transformative experiences of giving and receiving care. Currently, most care literature tends to focus almost exclusively on the experiences of people providing care, rather than those receiving care (Wiles, 2011, p. 574). Within this body of work, care receivers tend to be represented as burdened victims of care (Wiles, 2011, p. 576), and much of the literature is about how care givers cope as being the givers of care. For example, Wiles (2011) found topics within the care literature included things such as caregivers' stress, measures of care givers' burdens, and 'impacts on health, employment, or other social relationships' for care givers (Wiles, 2011, p. 575). On the other hand, the recipients of care receive far less attention (Parr, 2003) and when their experiences are explored they tend to be narrowly framed within disempowering, negative story lines, and they tend to be represented as passive, dependent, frail, at-risk or vulnerable objects of care.

This section draws on care literature that moves beyond this problematic narrative about the experiences of what it means to provide and/or receive care. I draw on the small amount of literature that reveals the benefits of providing care to people in need, as well as the even smaller body of work that represents care receivers as people with agency, capable of making decisions about their own lives and the care they require or desire.

Providing care can be a deeply satisfying, positive and transformative experience. Table 2.1 is a list of the benefits of caring for people found in the literature. These hopeful and positive accounts of care giving provide valuable examples of hope that

can sit usefully alongside the many examples of care givers' despair (R Fincher & Iveson, 2012).

Table 2.1 Benefits of care

Personal benefits from caring for others
• Provide a sense of pride or satisfaction. • Provide a strong sense of vocation or identification with caring role. • Learn new skills. • Achieve personal growth. • Improve relationships with care receiver. • Alleviate guilt. • Experience a sense of power or altruism. • Experience a heightened sense of well-being. • Experience a heightened sense of achievement. • Acquire new perspective. • Appreciate personal relationships. • Be in the present. • Enhance dignity.

Source: (Lewinter, 2003; Meintel, Fortin, & Cognet, 2006; Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Wiles, 2003, 2011)

In addition, the idea that providing care for people has personal benefits can be seen in the literature about volunteers. Cloke et al. (2007) found in their interviews with people who volunteered in spaces of care for homeless people that there was evidence that people derived benefit from the practice of care giving as a volunteer. Volunteering provided 'companionship, camaraderie, sociability, a boost for self-esteem and for some forms part of a process of personal rehabilitation' (P Cloke, S Johnsen, & J May, 2007a, p. 1099). Importantly, this research also found that 'volunteering can become unreflexively habitual and that its focus can shift away from homeless people per se becoming instead a matter of loyalty to fellow volunteers and/or to the organisation concerned' (P Cloke et al., 2007a, p. 1099). In other words, some volunteers may hold ambivalent views about the people they care for (in this case homeless people) because for them, volunteering becomes more about the people they volunteer with or the organisation they volunteer for. This type of motivation was always intertwined with a some form of identification (Schervish & Havens, 2002) with the plight of homeless people, and that 'the participation of volunteers reflects that identification, not in terms of guilt, but in terms of giving

something of themselves to others' (P Cloke et al., 2007a, p. 1099). For Cloke et al. (2007) this means that motivation, 'is didactically worked out as volunteers bring themselves into contact with the homeless people' (P Cloke et al., 2007a, p. 1099). Care takes place in these moments, providing benefits for caregivers and care receivers alike, through encounters that take place in spaces of care.

When it comes to care recipients, there is significantly less research (Parr, 2003). Even when care recipients are a part of the conversation, they receive very little attention as thinking, feeling, changing, knowledgeable and capable subjects (Wiles, 2011, p. 576). Wiles (2011) demonstrates this with an exploration of geographical literature that *does* focus on care recipients, rather than caregivers. She found that the experience of care receivers is often explored through the lens of vulnerability, where vulnerability is seen as 'fragility and weakness' (Wiles, 2011, p. 573). She suggests that we could gain a better understanding of care through understanding the experiences of care receivers, particularly if their vulnerability is viewed as 'openness, susceptibility, and receptiveness' (Wiles, 2011, p. 573).

Fine and Glendinning (2005) also acknowledge there is a lack of research about the experience of care receiving. They look at the issue through the lens of dependency and the association of the term dependency with the term care. They argue that rather than thinking about care in terms of dependency, we should recognise the interdependency of care relations. In an ethic of care framework, interdependency is a part of the human condition, and people are not lesser beings because they are open to being cared for. Care givers and care receivers are involved in the ongoing co-production of care, where different kinds of physical and emotional care is exchanged (Fine & Glendinning, 2005). Co-production implies both parties have agency, knowledge and strengths. Accordingly this notion of the co-production or the co-creation of care is an important one for recognising that care receivers have agency and are capable of making decisions about their own lives and the care they require or desire.

If one of the aims of doing care research is to improve the experiences of people involved in care relationships, then surely providing examples of where positive and

hopeful experiences are happening is a worthwhile task. The common representations of care givers as burdened and care receivers as passive do not account for the relational ways in which people provide care for one another. More hopeful narratives are needed that reveal the potentially deeply satisfying, positive and transformative aspects of providing care to others, and the active ways that care receivers contribute to the co-creation of care.

In Section 2.4 below I start to think about the crucial role that organisations play in bringing care givers and care receivers together. After all, it is often through caring organisations that people move towards one another in care-full and proactive ways.

2.4 Caring organisations

Caring organisations are a crucial part the landscape of care. By using the term *caring organisations* I am referring specifically to organisations established to provide care, welfare or support to vulnerable and/or marginalised people. In an ethic of care framework, caring organisations are taking *responsibility* for what they conceive to be a need for care. They provide resources, recruit staff and volunteers and provide spaces for the expression and practice of care. Essentially, they are the 'devices' through which individual people can receive and perform care (Barnett et al., 2005, p. 30).

In recent times there has been a shift in how human geographers view organisations. Longstanding perspectives on organisations have emphasised 'the stability, coherence and boundedness of organisational structures' (Pallett & Chilvers, 2015, p. 148). However, more recent insights from human geography emphasise instead the 'unbounded nature of organisational structures, and the messiness of organisational practices' (Pallett & Chilvers, 2015, p. 148). In other words, geographers have come to view organisations as not fixed or stable. Rather organisations are understood 'as objects constantly in the process of becoming – dynamic, multiple, performative and open-ended' (Pallett & Chilvers, 2015, p. 151).

What kind of organisations are providing care to marginalised people? Most caring organisations are charitable, volunteer or not-for-profit organisations, and many of

them are faith-based (P Cloke et al., 2013). However, secular organisations also play a role in the provision of welfare and support, whether directly through the provision of services or material support, or indirectly, through funding to other caring organisations. Accordingly, I will now explore what the literature says about faith-based and secular caring organisations, as both types of organisations are explored in Chapter 6.

Faith-based organisations (FBOs) are often conceptualised as offering conditional care, where there is the assumption that people will have to convert or take part in certain religious activities in order to receive help. On the other hand, it is assumed that secular caring organisations provide less conditional care. However, because secular caring organisations are often reliant on funding from state or other benefactors, they too may place conditions on care. Moreover, there is an argument that many secular organisations that do care work may not do it with a caring disposition – a disposition that is assumed to be present in FBOs. The key point is that neither FBOs nor secular caring organisations are free from critics. And although some may view religious care as problematic and secular care as less problematic (or the other way around) the realities on the ground are far more complex.

Indeed, the distinctions between FBOs and secular organisations are ambiguous and complex. One way this has been demonstrated is through a large body of research, mostly in the UK, that explores partnerships between religious and secular welfare and care providers (P Cloke & Beaumont, 2013). I am not going to engage with all of the insights offered from this body of work; rather, my intention here is to acknowledge that in many cases there is no clear distinction between religious and secular caring organisations. The landscape of care is filled with examples where people of faith and no religious faith come together to offer care, welfare and justice to socially excluded people (P Cloke & Beaumont, 2013). For example, Cloke and Beaumont (2013, p. 28) reveal examples of services organised by FBOs (with specifically Christian ethoses) being open to people who are not motivated by religious faith to join in with 'wider praxis of providing care and support to socially marginalised people' (P Cloke & Beaumont, 2013, p. 28). The result is that people put aside differences involving faith and secularism and come together willingly to address social issues (P Cloke &

Beaumont, 2013, p. 28). Such a 'crossing-over' between the religious and the secular in the public arena, discussed in the literature as 'post-secular rapprochement' (P Cloke et al., 2013, p. 16) helps to challenge previously fixed divides between the religious and secular.

Caring organisations differ significantly in terms of ethos, guidelines and approach. The literature argues that while an organisational ethos is certainly a significant precursor in the landscape of organisational care, ultimately care is practised and co-produced on the ground by individuals – therefore individuals are implicated in how care is performed in far more diverse ways than any organisational ethos ever could account for (P Cloke et al., 2005). As Cloke et al. (2013) note:

> The embodiment of service and care will be strongly influenced by individual performativity which may relate to faith motivation, but which due to differences in personality and circumstances is likely to emerge unevenly and cannot therefore be predicted by the ethos and the precepts of the organisation concerned (P Cloke et al., 2013, p. 17).

The point is that because organisational ethos (faith-based or otherwise) are likely to attract a 'widely varying level of allegiance from staff and volunteers' (P Cloke et al., 2005, p. 386) they will not always be carried through into care performances of individuals volunteers or staff. Indeed, Cloke et al. (2007) found that people performed care spontaneously, in the moment, which suggests that how people perform care is contextual, situated and changes across different spaces and relationships.

In addition to having an organisational ethos, most organisations that provide welfare and support to vulnerable people also have rules and guidelines that staff and/or volunteers are required to follow when providing care to people. One common guideline is about establishing and maintaining 'professional boundaries'. Social work literature defines professional boundaries as 'the limits that allow for a safe connection based on the client's needs' (Peterson, 1992, p. 74). Trimberger and Bugenhagen (2015) suggest that professional boundaries sit at the centre of the relationship between client and social worker, defining, in a sense, how these individuals interact with one another. Transgressing these boundaries, it is argued,

may, at the least have negative impacts on the client/worker relationship, or worse, blatantly threaten or harm the therapeutic relationship (Trimberger & Bugenhagen, 2015). Professional boundaries can be ambiguous and it is not uncommon for people who practise care work to experience situations during their daily practice that complicate boundaries (Trimberger & Bugenhagen, 2015).

In Australia, professional boundaries are imbedded in the way that social welfare and service provision is administered. For example, Direct Care Australia states that care work is personal but 'carers have to maintain professional boundaries' (Direct Care, 2012). Moreover, they argue that professional boundaries serve a dual purpose. On the one hand they 'protect the worker from burn out' and on the other hand, they 'protect the client from having a staff member encroaching on their private affairs' (DirectCare, 2012). However, like the organisational ethos, guidlelines around professional boundaries are not likely to always be carried through into the care performances of individual volunteers or staff. Chapter 6 reveals how people associated with caring organisations navigate their way through, and sometimes around, particular guidelines associated with maintaining 'professional boundaries'.

Section 2.4 has highlighted that through different caring organisations, people perform care in different ways, in different contexts to offer care to a variety of people. Organisations are key devices that provide the context of caring practices. Care is also intrinsically geographical, and where it takes place matters. Accordingly, Section 2.5 aims to offer insights into spaces of care.

2.5 Spaces of care

In this section I focus on the geography literature that is specific to the spaces of care established to offer assistance to people who are marginalised or disadvantaged (as opposed to spaces of medical care). These spaces may offer food, clothing or other material support, they may provide access to or information about services, or they may simply be spaces where people can socialise and find comfort. This literature has explored many marginalised groups through research on day centres for homeless people (P Cloke et al., 2005, 2007a; P. Cloke, May, & Johnsen, 2008); drop-in centres for people with mental health illnesses (Parr, 2000); community drop-in spaces for

people from disadvantaged communities (Conradson, 2003c) and, more recently, a drop-in centre for asylum seekers and refugees in the UK (Darling, 2011, 2014a, 2014b). On the one hand this research has uncovered spaces of care that provide a genuine 'therapeutic encounter' for the people who pass through them, with immediate and/or enduring effects (Conradson, 2003c, p. 507). On the other hand, the literature has revealed spaces of care can be spaces of exclusion or fear for certain people (Johnsen et al., 2005a). With this in mind, the aim of this section, to understand what constitutes a space of care, will be achieved through an exploration of the social, spatial, material and affective dimensions that bring spaces of care into being.

This section begins with a focus on the social. While I acknowledge that not all people are comfortable with certain types of caring, my aim here is a hopeful one, and therefore I pay attention to examples where care relations have been experienced positively. Furthermore, I link the insights offered from the spaces of care literature that focuses on the types care relations that can provide a genuine 'therapeutic encounter' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 507) with my earlier discussion about '*the practice of an ethic of care'* (Tronto, 1993, p. 126) in order to suggest that spaces of care can be transformative and experienced positively when the principles of an ethic of care are being practised.

The types of care relations that emerge in spaces of care are not solely contingent on individual people's 'dispositions and practice' of care. How spaces of care come into being and how they are experienced by people is also determined through the physical space, the design of the building and the furnishings. These aspects of spaces of care have been explored within and beyond geography, however my focus here will be specifically on drop-in type environments, and how the often home-like physical characteristics and internal features make people feel comfortable, and are therefore conducive to positive care relations, interactions and conversations.

Extending this discussion, I then draw from other geographical research to suggest that spaces of care are also shaped by material objects (things). My focus here is on 'things' that connect people through *doing* in spaces of care – such as the 'things' involved in creating, playing or working on tasks together. I suggest that because care can emerge

through interpersonal relations (Darling, 2011, p. 409), material objects that allow or encourage people to interact and connect are an important part of what constitutes a space of care.

I then suggest that the interconnections between the social, spatial and material also shape and are shaped by the affective atmospheres in spaces of care. There is an increasing amount of geography literature about the more-than-material, the things we cannot see or touch. In this section, I draw from this body of work, and literature about atmospheres, to discuss how atmospheres are shaped through the connections played out between 'those individuals present on any given day, the arrangement of the tables and chairs, the dispositions people bring with them, and the materials they carry into the room' (Darling, 2014a, pp. 493-494).

To conclude Section 2.5 I draw on Johnsen, Cloke and May's (2005b) work on transitory spaces of care in order to extend the understanding of spaces of care to outdoor and temporary spaces. Moreover, to provide more 'evidence about the hope residing in cities' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2012, p. 240), I extend the conceptualisation of what constitutes a transitory space of care to include any space 'where caring interactions or an orientation towards caring occurs … such as the use of public space to demonstrate in support of the rights of (sometimes distant) other' (Milligan & Wiles, 2010, p. 740).

2.5.1 Care relations

Research on spaces of care has provided evidence that the care relations that exist in drop-in spaces may or may not provide positive experiences for the people who access them. On a hopeful note, Conradson's (2003) research about a drop-in centre on a housing estate in the UK characterised by 'above-average unemployment and deprivation' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 513) found that the drop-in space was a place of support and practical assistance for many of the users. The drop-in centre had the 'immediate and proximate' effects of people feeling calmer, as well as 'wider more enduring effects such as increased confidence to explore new opportunities' (Conradson, 2003b, p. 521). The drop-in centre facilitated positive change for people 'whether in a short material capacity or a broader, whole of life sense' (Conradson,

2011, p. 461). It was a place where people were listened to, and received advice and practical assistance. Importantly, it also provided a place for people to 'relate to others and simply be' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 522). Drawing from Carl Rogers' notion of the 'core conditions necessary for a therapeutic encounter' Conradson found that when volunteer–user relations were imbricated within 'a relation field characterized by congruence, positive regard and empathic warmth' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 521) then positive experiences were likely. Despite this the drop-in centre was not a place that all locals found welcoming. For some people the 'faith based rationale and cup-of-tea sociability contributed to an environment they simply were not comfortable within' (Conradson, 2003b, p. 453).

Other research has also been critical of social relations in spaces of care. For example, Darling used care and the notion of generosity as an entry point for exploring a drop-in centre for asylum seekers in the UK. Darling 'challenges the uncritical affirmation of care and generosity as a response to asylum' (Darling, 2011, p. 409). Darling argues that although care relations are important, they cannot be considered outside of wider political processes; and even well intended practices of care can be saturated with power relations can reproduce exclusions and inequalities' (Darling, 2011). He argues that practices of care can normalise pre-existing unequal power relations by enforcing 'unwritten assumptions' which position care givers (in this case volunteers) as generous 'good' citizens, and Others as passive care recipients. Despite the recognition in Darling's example of the fluidity of care roles within the drop-in centre, as asylum seekers play host and make cups of tea for volunteers, from an ethics of care framework, the integrity of care was compromised because of a lack of responsiveness by certain volunteers. This was evident in the example of a volunteer taking over the 'host' role being performed with gusto by an asylum seeker, and importantly in not recognising the negative effect this had on the asylum seeker's experience in the space. There are some important things to harness from Darling's research. It reminds us to not romanticise care; that spaces of care are not devoid of power relations; and not all care relations are inclusive and emancipatory, despite their stated intention.

In other examples, caring environments are not always 'spaces of ethical commitment and engagement'. Rather, as Parr (2000) argues (in terms of mental health settings)

they can be spaces of exclusion, transgression and boundary formation. In terms of care relations, Johnsen, et al., (2005a) argues that people's experiences in a day centre for the homeless were contingent on how staff and service users interacted 'and the complex relationships between the different groups of homeless people using a centre' (Johnsen et al., 2005a, p. 790). In other words, if social relations and care practices were not 'care-full', the day centre was 'as likely to emerge as a space of fear as a space of care for many homeless people' (Johnsen et al., 2005a, p. 790).

These examples demonstrate the importance of care-full social relations and practices in what constitutes a space of care, particularly one that can provide people with a genuine 'therapeutic encounter' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 507). Extending this argument to care ethics, the core conditions for a therapeutic encounter (a relational field characterised by congruence, positive regard and empathic warmth) can be likened to the relational nature of an ethic of care and the principles of attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness, trust and respect. Therefore, it can be argued that spaces of care can be experienced positively, when the principles of an ethic of care are being practised.

Furthermore, Conradson points out that 'such spaces depends both upon the willingness of some individuals to move towards others and, amongst those being engaged in this way, upon a receptivity to such initiatives' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). What this insight reveals is that spaces of care are 'shared accomplishments' or co-created – they are contingent on people's openness and willingness to move towards one another in care-full ways. Therefore, responsiveness and the associated dialogue and communication inherent in the principles of an ethic of care play a role in the performance of spaces of care.

Although it is necessary to critically analyse care relations within spaces of care, I would argue that we could do more to reveal examples of transformative and positive care relations. We know that spaces can be exclusionary, and we have examples where spaces of care are spaces of fear for some, but we have fewer examples like Conradson's that reveal immediate and enduring positive effects for people who access spaces of care. As Conradson notes it is 'important to cultivate a greater

theoretical and empirical sensitivity to the hopeful and at times transformative relations that emerge within these settings' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 521).

How spaces of care are performed into being is also determined by the physical space, building design and furnishings. Accordingly, the next step is to think about the spatial. What characteristics do spaces of care include that may or may not make people feel welcomed, safe and cared for? What aspects of the building design allow or encourage care-full relations? How are spaces furnished in order to promote the positive social relations that the literature describes as possible? The following section offers insights into these questions.

2.5.2 Spatial dimensions

The literature argues that the physical space, the building design and the layout of furniture play a role in the types of social relations and caring practices that emerge within spaces of care. On one hand, the literature points to design features that act to reinforce distinctions between those providing care and the people who access the space and or service (see Johnsen et al., 2005b). In contrast, other spaces are deliberately designed to reduce distinctions between those providing care and the care recipients (Conradson, 2003c; Darling, 2011).

Literature that explores the influence of building design and the furnishings of service environments exists within and beyond geography (see Cooper, Evans, & Sutton, 1999; Garside, Grimshaw, & Ward, 1990; Veness, 1994). Waters (1992) explored day centres for homeless people and found that the buildings were perceived by the staff and users to be depressing and institutional. Waters (1992) also found that the service provided to the homeless people was dictated by the physical structures and not based on the types of services that homeless people required. Physical and structural characteristics can also reinforce distinctions between the active professional care giver and the passive care receiver. Spaces that do this are formal. They have physical structures designed to separate the clients from the staff, such as formal waiting rooms, high reception counters, and private consultations rooms. They have clear physical boundaries that 'limit depth of access for certain groups and thus reinforce

power differentials between inhabitants of, and visitors to, institutional care setting' (Johnsen et al., 2005b, p. 327).

In contrast, there are examples in the literature of spaces and drop-in environments that are designed to be less formal. Fincher and Iveson (2008, p. 200) argue that this informality relates to spaces being 'home-like in their size' and having particular physical characteristics and internal features that make them feel familiar to people and therefore 'homely'. The informality and homeliness of such spaces make people feel comfortable and at ease; they encourage interaction and conversation as they mess up the distinctions between care givers and care receivers.

For example, the drop-in centre Darling explores has small tables designed to facilitate conversations (Darling, 2011, p. 409). Volunteers and service users share the space, the table and chairs; there are no formal divisions that separate volunteers and asylum seekers. One service user in Darling's research said 'you can come here, sit at any table and just start chatting and you don't need to talk about specific things' (Darling, 2011, p. 410). This comment highlights the way the internal characteristics and furniture encourage people to be comfortable and interact with others whether they are volunteers, staff or other service users. Similarly, Conradson's drop-in space also provided tables and chairs which facilitated conversations between service users and volunteers. Less formal settings play a crucial role in developing caring relations, dialogue, communication and trust amongst all the people that access the space – service users, staff and volunteers.

If design and furnishings bring spaces of care into being by creating informal and comfortable spaces where people can develop care relations, then arguably, other material objects that encourage interaction and communication could also play a role in performing spaces of care. Hence, the next section, draws on geography literature (not specific to spaces of care) to illustrate the possibilities of 'things'.

2.5.3 Material objects – 'things'

Another aspect of spaces of care that are important for this research are the material objects. They may be items placed deliberately by organisations for people to use, they might be things brought into the spaces by staff or volunteers or mundane everyday items like teacups and spoons. Drawing on Askins and Pain's (2011) study of art making instruments used by young people, and Darling's (2014a) exploration of letters received by asylum seekers, I argue for greater consideration of the often taken-for-granted material items that are fundamentally constitutive of people's experiences in spaces of care.

Askins and Pain's (2011) research took place in a community centre and involved young people from African backgrounds and others from British backgrounds who came together through a community arts project (K. Askins & Pain, 2011). Although this work speaks to the encounter literature, the community centre could be conceptualised as a space of care. My purpose for drawing attention to this here relates to the significance of the 'things' that were used during the community arts project that were a part of young people interacting, communicating and *doing* things together in the space. Askins and Pain (2011) argue that:

> the art sessions … could be described as 'chaotic': shouting voices, moving bodies, a whirlwind of activities, not all directly related to 'doing art' but happening in and around the doing of art. At the centre of this art, or rather weaving through it, was the "stuff": the pens, pencils, paper, tubes of paint, pots of water, pallets for mixing, aprons – and the hands, fingers, eyes, mouths, and other body parts engaged with them. It seemed to us that these material objects were central to what transpired over this part of the project: the pens, paints, and so on appeared to suggest interactions, demand communications, and enable conversations across and between the research participants, and researchers and participants – they were *part of* our contact (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 813).

Askins and Pain's research findings acknowledge that the interactions that took place using 'things' were not always positive (or care-full). The key point here though is that the material objects are a central part of people *doing* things together. What I want to draw from this paper is the idea that 'things' can encourage interaction, communication and dialogue. Therefore, as the researchers note, careful attention should be paid to how materials may be utilised and involved in spaces (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 818). They suggest that research that aims to foster an ethic of care might want to pay attention to the use of materials along the way, and the potential connection 'through tactile engagement that the materials open up' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 818).

Darling's (2014) research explored how letters, as material-discursive things, elicit responses when carried into the drop-in centre and read in that social setting. In this case, it is argued that what the letter says and represents (whether a person's application has been approved or not – in other words, whether they can stay in the UK or not) is important but so too is the materiality of the letter itself. Darling argues these letters are 'understood through material-discursive entanglements of things, discourses, and spaces, such that letters are understood through, and help constitute, different atmospheres, spaces, and subjectivities of asylum' (Darling, 2014a, p. 484). Put simply, the letters play a role in what transpires in the drop-in centre (space of care).

In the following section I explore how the interconnections between the social, spatial and material also shape and are shaped by the affective atmospheres that emerge and dissipate in transitory spaces of care.

2.5.4 Transitory spaces of care

The spaces of care literature with a focus on marginalised groups of people largely concentrates on geographically fixed spaces, such as day centres, drop-in centres and community centres (P Cloke et al., 2005; P Cloke, Sarah Johnsen, & Jon May, 2007b; Conradson, 2003c; Darling, 2011). Johnsen, Cloke and May (2005b) were the first to offer insights into outdoor and transitory spaces of care. The spaces were 'soup runs' that were temporarily established to feed people who may have been experiencing

homelessness in the UK. They were interested in the effects of establishing a temporary space of care for homeless people outdoors. While their research offers insights across a range of issues facing homeless people and homeless polices in the UK, the key point that I would like to draw from their research is how the publicness of the space brought 'homelessness and homeless people to the forefront of public attention' (Johnsen et al., 2005b, p. 332). Furthermore, being outdoors, the space of care brought to the public's attention volunteers and staff who were taking action through caring. It became clearly visible that everyday people were offering, expressing and performing care to a group of marginalised and disadvantaged people.

Drawing on the notion of outdoor and temporary spaces of care, I extend the conceptualisation of what constitutes a space of care. Following Milligan and Wiles (2010) who argue that a space of care can be any space 'where caring interactions or an orientation towards caring occurs … such as the use of public space to demonstrate in support of the rights of (sometimes distant) others, etc.' (Milligan & Wiles, 2010, p. 740), I argue that spaces of care can include outdoor public spaces and events. After all, if we return to the initial description of spaces of care as places established to provide social, emotional and/or material support for particular groups of disadvantaged or marginalised people, then public celebrations or demonstrations in support of marginalised social groups are indeed spaces of care.

Such outdoor public events (spaces of care) are brought into being through the same dimensions as geographically fixed spaces. Care practices, materialities and affective atmospheres constitute outdoor spaces of care too. If we consider outdoor spaces of care for PFRB, then festivals, protests, demonstrations and celebrations could be included. These events are all expressions of care, and demonstrate people moving towards others in care-full and pro-active ways. These types of spaces are explored in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.

2.5.5 Caring affects

In order to understand what constitutes a space of care, so far Section 2.5 has explored the care relations and material objects that bring formal/informal, indoor/outdoor and transitory spaces of care into being. In addition to this discussion

it is important to consider the ways in which spaces of care shape and are shaped by caring affects. To do so, it is important to engage with the affective dimensions integral to the experience of giving and receiving care, and the affective atmospheres that emerge and dissipate in spaces where care is performed.

Care and care relations are intrinsically affective. While it is understood that caring for marginalised or vulnerable people can be an emotional experience, the affective dimensions of care relations move beyond the individual emotions that are imbued in care giving and care receiving relationships. Affect exists as a 'relational experience', it is a 'state of becoming' that 'prestructures codified emotional responses to physical experiences' (Dewsbury, 2009, p. 20). Moreover, as Anderson (2016) notes, affect 'consists of bodily capacities to affect and to be affected that emerge and develop in concert' (Anderson, 2016, p. 9), it is about what a body is able to do, what it is currently doing, and what it has done (Anderson, 2016). Accordingly, thinking about affect will help to understanding the embodied experience of giving and receiving care across different spaces.

Different spaces have different affective qualities (Wilson, 2013, p. 630) and each space can 'solicit visceral and emotional effects' (Lambert, 2011, p. 34). Moreover, Anderson (2009) argues atmospheres are continuously 'forming and deforming, appearing and disappearing, as bodies enter into relation with one another'(Anderson, 2009, p. 79). Therefore an exploration of care giving and receiving must consider the affective atmospheres that shape and are shaped by spaces of care. Hence, the empirical chapters of this thesis offer insights about the affective dimensions of spaces in which care is performed.

2.6 Conclusion

Care has long been understood as the provision of what is necessary to ensure the health, welfare or protection of someone or something, with most care research being focused on the relationships and spaces associated with medical and traditional health care experiences. This research explores care from a broader viewpoint, as a *movement* towards another person (Conradson, 2003c). The care framework outlined

here does not confine care or caring to certain practices, activities, relationships or spaces.

Drawing from a feminist ethic of care, this chapter has explored care as including disposition and practice. Care does not have to mean practical hands-on care giving tasks; it can be about small gestures and acts of kindness, and at the least it involves an affective stance and action. *The practice of an ethic of care* was outlined as a way to analyse and understand grounded experiences of care. Attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsibility, trust and respect highlight the relationality of care relations, and practices, acknowledging care as ongoing co-production between those who give and receive care. Moreover, I have identified *caring with* as an important practice when supporting vulnerable people. This chapter has also drawn on spaces of care literature to argue that where care happens matters. Following other research, I have noted that care relations, spatial dimensions and material objects constitute spaces of care. In addition, I have suggested that future explorations of spaces of care should be extended to include public spaces of demonstration where people are expressing care for vulnerable or marginalised others.

Caring for people from refugee backgrounds involves fostering the means of living with difference. Therefore, the following chapter begins to think about care and caring with different Others by exploring the means through which we can live together with difference using literature about encounter. Encounter literature is a useful complement to care literature, as it is interested in how we do togetherness, and how we do togetherness is bound up in how people care. Chapter 3 argues for an embodied and sensuous approach to geographic encounter research, in order to reveal possibilities, intricacies and nuances about living together with difference that care literature alone cannot expose. By bringing care thinking into the encounter equation, we are able to reveal moments of togetherness full of potential, and therefore the possibility of a different way of doing Australia in an extremely intolerant time.

Chapter 3 Geographies of encounter

3.1 Introduction

Caring for people from refugee backgrounds involves fostering the means of *living with difference.* Debates about how to understand the processes through which *living with difference* can be understood and nurtured have centred on the role of the encounter. Much of the work in this area draws on the 'contact' hypothesis developed by social psychologist Gordon Allport (1954). He argues that, under the *right conditions*, interpersonal contact between 'different racial or cultural groups' can increase positive attitudes towards each other and reduce prejudice (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 719). Fundamental to this argument is that people are uncomfortable with the unknown and anxious about encounters with difference, and therefore contact or exposure to the Other enhances knowledge about strangers and may lessen anxiety by producing familiarity (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Phillips, Athwal, Robinson, & Harrison, 2013; Valentine, 2008). Geographical debates on encounters have incorporated insights from the contact theory, at the same time remaining sceptical about whether 'contact' alone is enough to lessen the anxiety produced by interacting with people seen as different (see Valentine, 2008, 2013).

Those critical of contact theory argue that too much emphasis is placed on the positive effects of contact such as reduced prejudice (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). The alternative view is that contact with difference does not always shift people's attitudes or values towards different Others, and in certain circumstances it can harden negative attitudes (Valentine, 2008). Furthermore, Matejskova and Leitner (2011) argue that Allport's *right conditions* necessary for a transformative encounter, such as equal status of the two groups in a given situation, existence of common goals or lack of competition between these groups 'are hardly present in the everyday life' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, pp. 720-721). Rather, '[r]eal-life contact between members of different social groups is always structurally mediated and embedded in particular historical and geographical contexts of power relations between and within social groups (eg. Ahmed, 2000; Leitner, 2012)' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 721). Accordingly, to understand the process through which living with difference can be

understood and nurtured, it is crucial that contact is explored beyond the psychological understanding put forward by Gordon Allport, with more focus on deep contextualised understandings of encounters. Encounters are a richer experience than mere contact, and therefore research that can reveal how encounters unfold in the everyday, in cities across the world, can offer greater insights than the 'contact hypothesis' alone.

Cities are places where encounters between strangers occur. Iris Marion Young (1990) describes city life as 'a being together of strangers' (Young 1990:240); Doreen Massey (2005) talks about the 'throwntogetherness' with others in the city, and Laurier and Philo (2006) describe the city as 'the place, above all, of living with others'(E Laurier & Philo, 2006, p. 193). Much of this writing is associated with the 'cosmopolitan turn' which celebrates the city as a place to forge new hybrid cultures and ways of living together. However Valentine (2008) argues that exactly how this might be achieved in practice has not yet been made clear, and there is still an underlying assumption that cultural conflict can be made to vanish by mixing cultures in public spaces.

Recent work in this area explores everyday public encounters and interactions. Laurier and Philo (2006) note people that live alongside each other share a 'low-level sociability' (E Laurier & Philo, 2006, p. 193). They argue that when people open doors for each other or share seats that these are performances that represent *doing* togetherness. Ash Amin (2006) describes these types of practices as 'small achievements in the good city' that need to be recognised as having transformative potential (2006, p. 1012). Thrift agrees that acts of kindness, compassion and 'mundane friendliness' have the potential to filter into the wider world (Nigel Thrift, 2005, p. 147).

According to Cresswell (1996) space is shaped by 'normative codes of behaviour' and encounters in space encompass expectations about appropriate ways to behave. These 'normative codes of behaviour' serve as an 'implicit regulatory framework' for our performances and practices' (Valentine, 2008, p. 329). According to Valentine, what we do in public space is governed by sets of 'mundane ritualized codes of etiquette' like door opening that cannot always be likened to a respect for difference (associated,

as I showed in Chapter 2, with an ethics of care). Rather, they can represent a tolerance of 'others' in shared spaces (Valentine, 2008, p. 329). According to Valentine, tolerance is dangerous, because it 'conceals an implicit set of power relations' (Valentine, 2008, p. 329). Only the dominant and privileged have the power to 'extend' or 'withhold' tolerance (2008, p. 329). This argument stems from Valentine's (2008) own research about positive and negative encounters across difference which notes:

> Positive encounters with individuals from minority groups do not necessarily change people's opinions about groups as a whole for the better with the same speed and permanence as negative encounters. In other words, in the context of negative encounters minority individuals are perceived to represent members of a wider social group, but in positive encounters minority individuals tend to be read only as individuals (Valentine, 2008, p. 332).

Further, Valentine (2008) argues 'that the extent to which these everyday spatial practices and civilities truly represent, or can be scaled up to build, the intercultural dialogue and exchange necessary for the kind of new urban citizenship that commentators (Isin 2000; Staeheli, 2003) are either already celebrating – or at least calling for – needs much closer attention' (Valentine, 2008, p. 324). In other words, Valentine suggests that even if an encounter with difference leads to mutual respect between two individuals, if it does not result in a reduction of prejudice towards Others beyond the encounter in time-space, it cannot be deemed meaningful. So, for Valentine, the measure of whether an encounter is an effective means of fostering a progressive living with difference is whether or not the encounter can be shown to have a wider impact of relations in the city.

As the previous paragraph notes, a 'meaningful encounter' tends to be measured by an outcome beyond the encounter itself. For example, a 'meaningful encounter' in much of the literature is defined as an encounter that has the potential to change values 'beyond the specifics of the individual moment into a more general positive respect for – rather than merely tolerance of – others' (Valentine, 2008, p. 325). Consequently, the key question for this approach to encounter revolves around 'scaling-up' respect beyond the moment (Valentine, 2008). However, what does

thinking beyond the encounter tell us about the encounter itself? I argue that by concentrating on the outcome or the wider impact for relations in the city of an encounter, the significance of the encounter itself can be overlooked. It assumes that the scale of the embodied encounter is less valuable or important than other scales. I agree with Thrift (2005) and Amin (2006) who suggest that the mundane, small achievements of 'doing togetherness' that take place at the *moment of encounter* are important in and of themselves.

Encounters involve an opening up to the Other; they are moments of possibility and hope, offering the 'possibility of disorientating firmly held habits, stereotypes, and prejudice' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 722). Encounters provide people with the 'opportunity to explore their own hybridity through experiencing a variety of different situations and people in the course of their everyday lives' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 153). I do not believe it is helpful to dismiss the importance of the encounter in and of itself. I am interested in how we *do* togetherness, because how we do togetherness is bound up in how people care. I am interested in encounters as moments where relations of care are extended (Gibson, 2009, p. 1). This care-full approach allows for a more hopeful perspective; it can increase our understanding of the positive transformative possibilities of doing togetherness, rather than the somewhat pessimistic view of the encounter, where the only encounters that count can be shown to be amenable to 'scaling-up'.

Spaces of encounter involving relations of kindness and compassion represent hopefulness (N Thrift, 2008, pp. 218-219). Therefore, more examples of hopefulness, moments of reciprocity and mutual recognition and inquiries into what can be gained through encounters are needed. What if we shift the focus away from what happens 'beyond the encounter' and what is to be reduced from the encounter (prejudice) towards an interest in what is sparked within and through moments of encounter? By suggesting this, I do not propose that research interested in the reduction of prejudice through encounters is unnecessary. Rather, I am suggesting that a shift away from 'scaling-up' provides an opportunity to explore what else is moved or created within moments of encounter. Indeed, to explore such encounters, we may have to look towards people who are less obviously prejudiced, people who are open to difference,

and approach intercultural encounters with an ethic of care. Hence, the empirical chapters of this thesis offer insights across a range of encounters, especially those that are hopeful and positive, where relations of care are extended.

For that reason, the rest of this chapter moves towards an understanding of encounter that foregrounds hopeful and care-full possibilities. Section 3.2 will explore spaces of encounter discussed in the encounter literature, from micro-publics to multicultural neighbourhoods. I argue that the significance of these spaces of encounter lies behind the potential for them to be repeated encounters, and hence become part of the fabric of the city, potentially a 'new norm' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 818). Section 3.3 will then turn to the more recent idea of exploring engineered encounters in which different people are deliberately brought together with the specific goal of breaking down boundaries and increasing social harmony amongst groups of different Others. I will highlight that although the literature about engineered encounters acknowledges that they can be positive and transformative, these benefits are often ignored because the research is framed around questions of scaling-up. It is at this stage that my inquiry shifts towards what I argue is missing from much of the encounter literature – a focus on the embodied encounter itself. Section 3.4 explores multicultural festivals and food encounters to offer insights into fleshy and sensuous experiences that shape and are shaped by intercultural encounters. Continuing along a more embodied and sensuous understanding of intercultural encounters, Section 3.5 introduces intimate encounters. Here, the body is also prominent as I argue that intimate intercultural encounters enable people to reinvent themselves as they embody other forms of being. Moreover, I reveal how intimate and repeated encounters can highlight a shared responsibility, where the burden is not placed solely on the newcomer, and rather, people from the 'host' nation share responsibility to adjust to difference. Section 3.6 takes encounter research in a playful direction. While continuing to highlight the fleshiness of encounters and the importance of moments of encounter, I draw on recent research from Lobo (2016) about 'playful encounters'. Fun and play has been neglected in the encounter literature until very recently. However, Lobo (2016) argues that because play 'escapes focused attention' it has the potential to contribute to ways of living together with difference that go beyond intentionality. In other words, the spontaneity

of play can 'disrupt rules and mutate codes that typically restrict the movements of bodies and add to the conviviality of place' (Chacko, Lobo, & Tay, 2016, p. 159).

3.2 Spaces of encounter: micro-publics and multicultural neighbourhoods

Geographers are interested in the 'where' of the encounter. There is no doubt that diversity is negotiated in everyday public spaces – but because these spaces can be 'territorialised by particular groups' or they can be spaces of transit with very little contact between strangers, they may not hold the most potential for intercultural encounters (A Amin & Thrift, 2002). Consequently increasing attention has been given to mediated encounters – or encounters with some kind of intent or shared purpose.

Fincher and Iveson (2008) turn here to the idea of conviviality. Conviviality is about encounters with a certain kind of purpose. More than random encounters on the street, conviviality occurs when 'urban inhabitants can explore shared identifications (in addition to identities) through shared activities' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 155). Conviviality is connected to Ash Amin's (2002) notion of micro-publics. Micro-publics appear in spaces where people from different backgrounds come together for organised group activities, such as cafes (E Laurier & Philo, 2006), workplaces (Ash Amin, 2012), food courts (Wise, 2011), schools (Noble, 2009; H. F. Wilson, 2013), university campuses (Andersson, Sadgrove, & Valentine, 2012) and children's centres (Parks, 2015). According to A. Amin (2002) micro-publics provide people with an opportunity to 'break out of fixed patterns of interaction and learn new ways of being and relating' (cited in Valentine, 2008, p. 331). Furthermore, the effectiveness of micro-publics is also related to their being spaces of repeated encounters, where encountering difference becomes normalised.

Many geographers agree that micro-publics have the potential to transform social relations. Mica Nava (2006) extends micro-publics to include more abstract sites like shopping centres as well as 'spaces organized around purposeful activity like a baby clinic, the gym, and the dance floor' (Nava, 2006, p. 68). R Fincher and Iveson (2008) add libraries as spaces of encounter that if designed correctly 'have considerable potential to facilitate encounters in cities' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 199) by

offering free and equal access to safe spaces to individuals and groups. In this sense, these encounters are not as random as encounters on the street but are not as formal or organised as micro-publics like sports clubs or groups. They also have the potential to be repeated.

The literature about micro-publics and convivial encounters (those with some kind of shared purpose) has noted their transformative potential as people break out of fixed relations and explore shared activities and identities. As Amin notes:

> Their effectiveness lies in placing people from different backgrounds in new settings where engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments. They are moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction (A. Amin, 2002, p. 970).

Parks' (2015) research into interethnic encounters in children's centres in England found the centres provided new migrant parents/carers opportunities 'to experience a particular version of the local community which facilitates encounters that are less "stressful and uncertain"' (Valentine, 2008, p.331) than encounters in the wider community.

Neighbourhood encounters have also attracted attention from people interested in encounter, diversity and social cohesion. Specifically, multicultural neighbourhoods have been explored as sites of encounter, both public encounters with strangers and interactions with those who are not quite strangers, such as culturally different neighbours. Some recent examples have explored suburban Melbourne (Lobo, 2010) and Sydney (Wise, 2009, 2010) and residential areas in the UK (Eric Laurier, Whyte, & Buckner, 2002).

From this body of work we can begin to see the transformative potential of such encounters. For example Wise (2005) argues that intercultural encounters with neighbours such as waving to one another, smiling or making small talk, despite being fleeting and not very intimate, are important – they are 'micro moments of hope'

(Wise, 2005, p. 183). Lobo (2010) agrees by suggesting that 'relationships with neighbours are often brief and casual encounters, but also convivial experiences that satisfy curiosity, create surprise and provide feelings of security and comfort' (Lobo, 2010, p. 93). While not all encounters have transformative potential, the work of Wise and Lobo illustrates encounters of kindness and compassion, and people exploring shared identities, and learning new way of *doing* togetherness.

While there is much to take from explorations of micro-publics and neighbourhood encounters, the reality for some people is that intercultural encounters are not part of their day-to-day lives. With this in mind some researchers have turned towards engineered encounters or 'contact zones' where culturally different groups of people are deliberately brought together with the specific goal of increasing social harmony. This research is explored in Section 3.3, and I reveal that because engineered encounters are often analysed by focusing on an outcome beyond the encounter, the positive, hopeful and joyful moments the occur at the moment of the encounter are often overlooked as insignificant.

3.3 Engineered encounters

A small number of scholars have recently turned their attention to the possibility of engineering contact. Such encounters involve groups of culturally different people who have been intentionally brought together in ways that may provide them with opportunities to break out of fixed patterns of interaction and learn new ways of thinking and relating. In this section I will briefly introduce three examples: an inter-faith project aimed at Jewish and Muslim youth; an immigration integration project which orchestrates encounters between asylum seekers and non-asylum seekers, and an art-based action research project involving young people from African and British heritage in the UK. Each example is aimed at reducing prejudice and conflict, and each draws on 'contact theory' in various ways. All three examples discuss scaling-up but approach it in different ways. The first two examples conclude that despite positive encounters occurring between different individuals, the potential for 'scaling-up' is limited. The third example articulates a more hopeful perspective by taking a closer look at what takes place during the encounter – the materialities, the physical and

embodied experiences of the encounter, and by thinking differently about moments 'beyond the encounter'.

The first example is an analysis of *The Project* 'which sought explicitly to bring together young people from two different communities who have limited opportunities to meet in everyday life through an interfaith (Muslim/Jewish) cricket project in a British city' (Mayblin, Valentine, & Andersson, 2015, p. 2). The aim was to evaluate the effectiveness of engineered contact zones in developing 'meaningful contact' between two different faith communities (Mayblin et al., 2015, p. 3). (Note – meaningful contact for these authors is still firmly dependent on the capacity for encounters to have wider impacts on relations in the city). The researchers argue that three dimensions of contact are necessary for the future development of interfaith relations, and so they engineered these three types of contact. Firstly, they require opportunities to explore difference together (in this case through focus groups); secondly, they require spaces for shared common activities (in this case a cricket game); thirdly, they require *banal sociality* where participants hang out with one another whilst watching the cricket games.

The research concluded that *The Project* 'was relatively successful at enabling the participants to bridge across their differences, disrupt negative or misinformed reconceptualization of each other and enable them to find some points of commonality' and importantly, the research revealed that 'banal sociality matters' (Mayblin et al., 2015, p. 9). In this case it was 'hanging out' and watching cricket games together where 'participants identified their own natural affinities and found particular shared identity positions which [have] contributed to destabilising the significance of difference' (Mayblin et al., 2015, p. 9). However, despite recognising that there were transformative moments during *The Project,* the researchers suggest that these moments only have 'limited impact'. They found little evidence to suggest that these were 'meaningful encounters' as they were not 'sustained or translated at a scale beyond the specific time-space of the contact zone' (Mayblin et al., 2015, p. 9). The research emphasised that unless these encounters can be 'embedded into longer-term, structural policy interventions to address the fundamental issues of socio-economic and generational inequalities' they will continue to have limited impact

(Mayblin et al., 2015, p. 9). Certainly I agree that encounters do not take place in a vacuum and hence wider social structures and policy interventions are important. However, I would also argue that the tendency to focus on 'scaling up' and a more general reduction in prejudice beyond the moment of encounter ignores what is sparked within the encounters. For example, the researchers briefly mention that despite not warming up together, some of the cricket players and younger people from both religious communities played on a jumping castle 'jostling, shouting and having fun together' (Mayblin et al., 2015). Although Mayblin et al. (2015) note that this appears to be 'real' engagement, this scale of encounter is not valued in the same way as other scales; it is not, in its own right, considered meaningful. I would argue that these moments of encounter matter, and should not be so easily dismissed.

The second example of an engineered encounter occurred within an immigrant integration project in East Berlin. In this case the immigration integration project was a building where asylum seekers (Russian) and non-asylum seekers (German residents) lived alongside one another in a building complex which, as well as accommodation, offered a range of services and activities. The services included consultations, translations, language courses; the activities included social and cultural activities such as weekly breakfasts, intercultural dinners and weekend dance evenings (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 725). Notably, none of the activities were imposed on people; participation was voluntary.

The authors wanted to examine the potential for encounters to decrease negative stereotypes, prejudice and conflict (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 717). In alignment with the above example *The Project* (and with Valentine's approach) this research was searching for evidence of 'meaningful contact' and scaling up, evidenced by the project coordinators' hope 'that through positive individual encounters, negative assessments will give a way to ever more positive and equitable attitudes towards Russian-speaking migrants' in general (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 734). They have two main findings. First, that fleeting encounters that took place in 'public or quasi-public' spaces often reinforced pre-existing stereotypes (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 717). Second, that encounters that took place in micro-publics, where people were working on common projects in the neighbourhood centre engendered 'empathy and positive

attitudes towards individual immigrants' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 717). The latter encounters in 'micro-publics' were deemed to be transformative when they were 'sustained and close encounters' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 717). In other words, the researchers acknowledge that *repeated* encounters that enabled people to get to know each other more intimately were transformative. Moreover, it is revealed that some of these encounters led to friendships that went beyond the space of the encounter. The development of these friendships can be likened to the co-creation of care in that the researchers note that these friendships required 'space and effort from both parties' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 729). However, despite revealing transformative moments, because such encounters continued to be viewed in terms of their potential to have wider impacts of relations in the city, they were dismissed as being less important. Accordingly, the hopeful possibilities that abound within 'close and sustained encounters' are at best relegated to the background, at worst, dismissed entirely.

The final example from Askins and Pain (2011) articulates a more hopeful perspective. Their art-based action research project brought together 'young people of African and British heritage in Northeast England' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 803) to participate in art practice and activities. This research revealed a more promising conversation around encounters and argued that 'scaling-up' did occur. However, it is important to note that Askins and Pain's conceptualisation of 'scaling-up' is not necessarily the idea of a more general and wider reduction in prejudice – rather, they argue that the encounters were scaled-up because relationships that had been forged during the art-based project continued after the project was completed. By placing less emphasis on reducing general prejudice towards a particular group and making more visible something that was sparked or created within the encounter (friendships) Askins and Pain are able to tell a more hopeful story. Furthermore, Askins and Pain highlight the significance of repeated encounters. As was the case with *The Project,* the importance of encounters being repeated is clear. Transformative changes in relations between people are more likely to occur when the encounters become 'routinized and a new norm' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 818).

Askins and Pain pay attention to what takes place during the encounter itself through exploring the materialities, everyday practices and embodied experiences of individuals during the encounter:

> The physical and embodied experiences of making art and using art-related materials may prompt or enable new social relations, and these encounters are both remembered reflexively (discursively) and reflexively (through the body) (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 817).

Their findings around materialities and embodiment can be linked to the argument made previously about 'spaces of care' which demonstrates the central role of objects and things in what takes place in spaces of care. Somewhat different from other materiality literature which argues that it can be the very mundaneness of objects that engenders specific social relations, Askins and Pain found during their research project that 'contact between actors … appeared to stem, instead, from the objects not being mundane' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 813). They note that the young people were encountering art materials and objects that were unfamiliar to them, and perceived by the young people to be valuable. And because the art materials needed to be shared amongst the members of the group, interaction of some kind was necessary (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 813).

The young people in Askin and Pain's study were taking part in activities that were not only creative, they were fleshy and interactive. The encounters involved moving together, sharing together, creating together, and negotiating materials and emotions together. The young people passed each other objects, their bodies interacted and touched, they looked each other in the eyes, they talked to each other, felt, saw and smelled one another. In other words, the fleshiness of *doing* (art) together was important and transformative. It is this fleshiness that I suggest is discounted by other encounter research that places more meaning in the (disembodied) notion of scaling-up.

Engineered encounters can be successful, hopeful, fun and full of possibilities. Without romanticising 'contact' Askins and Pain recognise these encounters as 'emergent, transitory, fragile, and yet hopeful' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 803). However, what is

viewed by researchers as 'meaningful' plays a central role in how encounters are viewed and interpreted. On the one hand, what we can pull from the 'engineered encounter literature' is an alignment with Valentine's (2008) argument that encounters can reveal shared identification which destabilises the significance of difference, but these encounters are viewed as less significant because they are difficult to 'scale-up'. However, if we think less about an encounter's potential to have wider impacts on the relations in the city, and pay more attention to the fleshiness of moments of encounter, the potential for encounters to bridge difference is illuminated. This fleshy approach makes visible encounters that are hopeful and transformative – even if only for the duration of the encounter.

The following Section 3.4 draws on Askins and Pain's call for more attention to the physical and embodied experience of intercultural encounters. Drawing on examples from the literature which explore multicultural festivals, suburban neighbourhood encounters and street markets, the possibilities of physical and embodied encounters, what I have called *fleshy encounters,* are explored.

3.4 Fleshy and sensuous encounters: coming to our senses

Having just argued that there are indeed other ways to approach encounter research, I want to now reinforce this point by providing some examples that emphasise the fleshy embodied practices of intercultural encounters. Whether encounters are fleeting, random, repeated, convivial or engineered, how bodies perform togetherness matters. What are people doing – physically? How are they moving? What activities are they participating in? How are they responding to other bodies, to sounds, sights, smells and touch? To think through these questions, I will draw on literature exploring intercultural encounters and multiculturalism that pay particular attention to fleshy and sensuous experiences that play a central role within intercultural encounters.

This section reveals that *doing* together, sharing fleshy and sensuous experiences with different others, enables us to learn new ways of being and relating. People experience difference and togetherness through hearing sound and music; through smelling, tasting, and experiencing food together; and through the fleshy, sensuous and intimate practices of dance, performance, movement and leisure activities. Focusing

on the fleshy and sensuous moments of encounter, we are better able to see examples of individuals opening up to Others, exploring shared identities and learning new ways of *doing* togetherness. Each of the following three sections explores a different type of fleshy and sensuous encounter. The first explores how people experience multicultural festivals; the others provide two examples of suburban neighbourhood encounters that involved food and finish with the practice of 'eating at the same table'.

3.4.1 Festive encounters

Multicultural festivals are spaces of intercultural encounters. Embraced by local authorities in many places, multicultural festivals are a strategy often used to promote cultural diversity in a particular place (Permezel & Duffy, 2007). It has been argued that as sites of encounter, multicultural festivals are events that 'will promote greater tolerance and understanding of ethnic minority communities and cross-cultural understandings' (Ruth Fincher, Iveson, Leitner, & Preston, 2014, p. 43). However, not everyone agrees that multicultural festivals can be so transformative; in fact many critics suggest that multicultural festivals only deal with difference on a superficial level (see Hage, 1998). This view argues that the performances that make up multicultural festivals such as national costumes, food, music and dance offer a shallow representation of the complexities of cultures (Permezel & Duffy, 2007, pp. 368-369). Furthermore, some critics argue that such performances of 'multiculturalism' assume a core national culture, and are in fact a means of enforcing white power that attempts to regulate other cultures (see Hage, 1998). While these critiques are important, they neglect the fleshiness of encounters between different Others that take place during festivals. Rather than only thinking about how various cultures may be represented or the 'success' of the festival as a top-down tool for a 'multicultural agenda', an additional question could be: How are people *doing* intercultural encounters at multicultural festivals? How are people performing individual and shared identities?

Permezel and Duffy (2007) use the experience of participating in a multicultural festival to look beyond the intended purpose of a multicultural festival (to promote cultural diversity). Although their initial reading of the festival revealed similar critiques to those seen above, they paid closer attention to the fleshiness of what people were

actually *doing* at the festival. They became particularly interested in the embodied experience of participating in the festival; specifically the bodily senses that were stimulated through hearing and performing music. They explored the 'relationships between the space and sounds of the festival and the bodies of the participants' to argue that music is a resource for individuals and groups to perform identities – that the emotions music stimulates play a role in creating and maintaining various 'performative environments in which people interact' (Permezel & Duffy, 2007, p. 371). Their research reveals festivals with music as places where people can perform and experience 'communal identities' and that by experiencing music together, people are able to better understand their relation to place and to Others. This fleshy and sensuous approach to understanding people's experiences at multicultural festivals reveals moments of joy and hope that are simply not possible if the research is only focused on the festival as a top-down tool for implementing a multicultural agenda.

The fleshy and sensuous experience of participating in a festival can 'produce a more authentic form of being together against the taken-for-granted rhythms and routines of everyday life' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 173). People at festivals are free to explore 'potential identities' rather than being confined to prescribed roles and identities (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 173). The multicultural festival is revealed as a site of social cohesion (Permezel & Duffy, 2007, p. 367) as bodies move and individual and shared identities are performed in place.

Following Permezel and Duffy's (2007) research, it is important to acknowledge the fleshy and sensory experiences of bodies in places and to think carefully about how intercultural encounters can be shaped and are shaped by embodied responses. Accordingly, I will now follow this thinking to reveal other ways that our bodies and senses can mediate intercultural encounters – this time through food. The following section will first explore fleshy and sensuous encounters with different food smells, tastes, flavours and appearances, before moving to an exploration of encounters with different others that involve eating, cooking, exchanging and exploring different foods together.

3.4.2 Food encounters

Food has often been written about from the point of view of a critique of 'middle class cosmopolitan elites and their "multicultural eating habits" within diversity studies' (Wise, 2011, p. 84). Arguments put forward suggest that through food, ethnic difference is simply consumed in such a way that the Other's difference is 'eradicated and decontextualized' (Wise, 2011, pp. 84-85). As Rhys-Taylor argues:

> At its worst, 'eating the other' (hooks 1992, p. 21) has been characterised as a form of violence and oppression in which the flavours of the marginal other are reduced to an exotic morsel for spicing up mainstream culture (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 395).

However, there are other ways that we might view the role of food in mediating cultural differences. Following Duruz (Duruz, 2002, 2008, 2010), Wise argues that it is important 'not to assume eating the cuisine of the other is simply another expression of racism or colonialism as this misses the ambivalence of encounter and the fluidity of identity' (Wise, 2011, p. 107). Following this argument to explore diversity through food requires a closer look at what is taking place during food encounters, the embodied and everyday practices that are a part of these encounters, and the identities which are being performed. Consequently, another way to think about food within diversity studies is through the body and the sensory experiences that constitute intercultural food encounters. As Wise notes:

> It is because food is taken into our bodies through the gut, the palate, through aromas, and visual invocations of visceral feelings, making us porous, that it is experienced and responded to so intensely; and has such power in re-orientating one's sensual habitus. Sometimes this orientation is away from the Other, at others it can help transcend or bridge difference (Wise, 2011, pp. 106-107).

In making this comment, Wise introduces the sensory and embodied aspects of food. She argues that on the one hand food can reinforce boundaries but on the other hand it can create 'hybrid or transversal identities' (Wise, 2011, p. 83). She argues that 'It

can be the subject of both disgust and desire, mediating cultural difference in multicultural settings' (Wise, 2011, p. 83). So the question becomes: Through what means does food have significance for social cohesion? How can food play a role in blurring the boundaries of cultural identities?

One avenue of inquiry has been to think about our sense of smell. Wise (2010) and Rhys-Taylor (2013) both explore food through the sensory experience of smell, Wise in a multicultural neighbourhoods in Sydney and Rhys-Taylor at a UK street market. Both look at the role that food smells play in bringing new transversal identities into being. Wise's (2010) research feels its way through various sensory modes of being that mediate intercultural encounters. Her findings focus on long-term Anglo-Celtic elderly residents in a suburban Sydney neighbourhood. The neighbourhood has rapidly become 'multicultural', with many Chinese immigrants becoming residents and business owners. Wise found that new and 'foreign' smells (amongst other sensory experiences) are a recurring point of intercultural discomfort for the long-term residents (Wise, 2010, pp. 928-929). In other words, elderly people felt uncomfortable when they encountered 'foreign aromas' in the neighbourhood where they had lived for many years.

Rhys-Taylor also notes that there can be a link between food smells (and flavours) and negative responses to difference. He suggests that food smells 'provide markers through which migrant groups' cultural differences are identified by more established groups, often with negative consequences' (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 394). However, not all cross-cultural interactions in Rhys-Taylors' exploration of a UK street market were inherently problematic. In fact he argues that 'odour and taste play an important role in the development of convivial metropolitan multiculture' (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 404). Through two senses (smell and taste) Rhys-Taylor found that people who regularly visited the street market became familiar with a variety of smells and they developed 'an embodied familiarity with a melange of sensoria and sensibilities' (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 404). The integration of different smells and flavours into everyday life was found to 'smudge the boundaries of the culture embodied by regular visitors' (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 399). In other words, people were performing new 'multicultural' ways of being through their sensory responses to food.

The difference between the food encounters that occurred in the multicultural neighbourhood examined by Wise (2011) and the street markets is that social interaction took place within the market environment. The market was a place where trans-cultural relationships formed between the vendors and customers, and interactions were taking place between diverse customers. Stall holders shared food with neighbouring vendors of different ethnicities and customers talked to stall holders about their food preferences but also explored and tried new foods. Rhys-Taylor (2013) describes people smelling and tasting their way through each other's everyday lives, exchanging knowledge through sensory experiences – smelling, tasting and touching, *doing* togetherness through food.

Exploring how culture is experienced and negotiated on the ground in everyday embodied situations like these reveals 'complexities and ambiguities' that are difficult to recognise within dominant models and research on multiculturalism (Wise & Velayutham, 2009, p. 2). Moreover, this research moves away from the critique of 'eating the other' to pay more attention to the fleshy and sensuous practices and everyday experiences of negotiating cultural difference on the ground. The research demonstrates that although our sensory experience of food smells can orientate us away from different Others, if it is coupled with convivial social interaction more positive encounters are possible. Indeed, in many cases cultural boundaries are blurred through sensory experiences as new transversal identities are performed through the senses during moments of encounter. Furthermore, this research reveals moments of dialogue and exchange between different others were made possible through different food objects and smells. In other words, food was a catalyst for intercultural conversations and cross cultural knowledge exchange – food encounters made opening up to Others possible.

This conclusion leads to a deeper journey into the possibilities within food encounters. And that is where the next section will travel. The discussion will shift to food encounters where the food is shared, exchanged and experienced together. More than encountering food smells and tastes in neighbourhoods and markets, this discussion is about commensality: the deeply embodied and sensuous practice of 'eating at the same table'.

3.4.3 Eating at the same table

Food appears regularly in community cohesion interventions aimed at bringing people together and fostering intercultural conviviality (Wise, 2011). Preparing, sharing and consuming food is an important practice that brings families and friends together – although it is somewhat less apparent within encounter literature as an embodied practice that can blur cultural identities.

Because food is deeply embodied and yet so symbolic of difference, it often appears in intercultural 'interventions' or engineered encounters aimed at bringing people together to foster community cohesion across difference (Wise, 2011, pp. 83-84). These can include encounters at multicultural food festivals or intercultural luncheons organised by community groups or church groups (Wise, 2011, p. 105). These types of encounters are often critiqued for the naive assumption that 'eating the food of the Other' will automatically have positive outcomes (Wise, 2011, pp. 83-84). However, food encounters that appear to be transformative have particular characteristics that enable positive intercultural experiences. Therefore, it is important to explore what practices and contexts underpin positive intercultural food encounters when Others 'eat at the same table'.

Such encounters are more than fleeting encounters with food smells in multicultural neighbourhoods, or with food smells and food vendors and customers in public street markets. They are more than a lunch or dinner where new migrants invite, or are invited by, long-term residents and a 'complete feast' of one's culture is presented (Wise, 2011, p. 101). These encounters are intimate and personal, arising out of convivial situations where people prepare dishes that represent themselves and their culture to share with others. Something a little different emerges out of a convivial feast of commensality – because when diverse individuals exchange their food with one another they are, in essence, exchanging a part of themselves with one another. As Wise notes:

> it is the shared meal, in a situation of ordered reciprocity and hospitality that incorporates hybrid others in a bodily way, through the consumption of the

> Other's food, in turn establishing, at least for the duration of the meal, a sense of 'we-ness' in difference (Wise, 2011, p. 102).

Wise is highlighting the significance of the body and the importance of the moments of encounter in and of themselves. She values the sense of 'we-ness' in difference, even if it is only 'for the duration of the meal'. Moreover, she introduces the notion of reciprocity and hospitality as a means of incorporating others in a bodily way, through food, thus enabling moments of togetherness with difference and shared identities.

One example of commensality comes from school children in Greg Noble's (2009) research. Noble (2009) tells a story of two young school children who exchange their lunches, swapping a beef sausage and a curry puff. For Noble (2009) what is happening in this banal moment of the school lunch is an 'exploratory gesture of cultural transaction' (Noble, 2009, p. 58). He argues that it is the exchange itself that is significant, as it is 'the cementing of a bond of friendship' (Noble, 2009, p. 58). He argues that this encounter is at some distance from the critique of the culinary cosmopolitan elites; rather 'there is a broader recognition of the social and cultural importance of food in creating cultural meaning, social bonds and senses of personal identity' (Noble, 2009, p. 58). Following Berking (1999, p. 65) Noble argues that food-sharing is a basic form of interdependence and cohesion demonstrated in hospitality towards strangers through food and having meals together (Noble, 2009, p. 58). As I showed in the previous chapter, a recognition of interdependence is fundamental to care. By exploring food sharing and hospitality, Noble reveals the 'collective fashioning that comes out of shared practice, out of doing something together' (Noble 2009, p. 62).

Another example comes from the Australian food tradition of 'bringing a plate', where people prepare, exchange and share food at social gatherings. Food gifting and exchange has been recognised as a way to foster relationships across difference. Bringing along a homemade plate of food, food that represents your culture or identity, to share with others at a function or community gathering is a deeply embodied practice. In Australia 'bringing a plate' is a tradition associated with the older generation of white women who would bring a plate of home cooked food such

as cakes, sandwiches, lamingtons or biscuits to 'ladies' social gatherings (Wise, 2011, p. 100). It is a tradition that is important for this discussion in two ways. First, it brings forth notions of hospitality and reciprocity and ideas about 'giving one's labour (and thus, a 'little bit of me') to the group' (Wise, 2011, p. 100). It is therefore a practice of care.

Second, this practice enables non-dominant forms of host-guest relations, and therefore offers the possibilities of encounters that blur the distinction between care-givers and care-receivers. 'Bringing a plate' food encounters are designed so that interactions with Others involve some kind of reciprocity; that is, everyone is asked to bring something and contribute to the meal. Through Wise's (2009, 2011) research we see these types of encounters as having 'an emphasis on mutuality and inter-subjective engagement and included interactions as much between minority community members as between minority and majority cultures' (Wise, 2011, p. 32). Wise argues that the emphasis on mutuality evens out the host-guest divide that can be apparent when people host social gatherings (and which often reflects the unhelpful host-guest dichotomy within the wider 'multicultural' narrative).

Food sharing and eating together is also a catalyst for conversation and storytelling. Sharing food with others opens up the possibility for dialogue as food-related stories are shared, stories about homelands, families and recipes. People prepare food that represents their culture and this provides an opportunity to discuss where the dish originates, and perhaps the family stories that may accompany the dish – people can discuss and compare different traditional flavours, dishes and cooking methods with people from other cultural groups. Preparing and sharing food also enables mutual admiration as people try each other's dishes and admire the cooking skills of one another. Cross-cultural knowledge is exchanged, and when this happens in intimate settings like 'eating together' it can enhance feelings of belonging to a community as 'the material and sensuous qualities of food interwove in an embodied way with feelings of belonging and intersubjective relations' (Wise, 2011, p. 97). Such encounters then hold the hopeful possibility of becoming care-full encounters across difference.

Similarly, Johnston and Longhurst (2012) tell a story of positive food relations between migrant women in their own kitchens. The fleshy and sensuous experiences of cooking and eating together helped the women to establish affective ties across difference. Feelings of belonging surfaced when the women were cooking, eating and sharing food stories (Johnston & Longhurst, 2012, p. 325).

'Eating at the same table' promotes cross-cultural knowledge exchange, enabling new relationships of togetherness to be forged and a sense of belonging to be nurtured. Furthermore, sharing food with different Others highlights the fluidity of cultural identities as boundaries are blurred and opportunities for opening up to the Other are created. These fleshy moments should not be discounted – even if they do only last for the duration of the encounter, they are examples of people *doing* difference, learning new ways of being together. They are examples of what else is possible within encounters with different others. For this reason, food encounters are discussed at length in the empirical chapters to follow.

Moving away from food, but continuing with the fleshy dimensions of encounter, the following section concentrates on intimate encounters. Here, the body is prominent and encounters are explored that go beyond fixed cultural representations and interventions. It will be argued that intimate intercultural encounters lead to powerful identity and belonging negotiations as people reinvent themselves and embody other forms of being (Wulfhorst, Rocha, & Morgan, 2014). By acknowledging the importance of embodiment to encounter research, we are more able to locate hopeful possibilities within care-full encounters with different Others.

3.5 Intimate encounters: sharing the responsibility

This section introduces the notion of intimate encounters, while continuing to develop the argument that the fleshy and sensuous moments of encounter are important in and of themselves. Moreover, it begins to make connections between intercultural encounters, the fluidity of cultural identities and notions of belonging. To highlight these connections, I use examples that explore performativity and bodily practice – specifically examples using dance.

To begin I turn to the practice of the Brazilian 'dance-cum-martial art' Capoeira in Australia. In this example the researchers point to the ways that the practice of Capoeira enables people to reinvent themselves and embody other forms of being (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1798). Furthermore, following Wulfhorst et al. (2014) I argue that it is through intimate encounters like these that people not only revisit who they are, but also where they belong (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1813).

The focus of Wulfhorst et al. (2014) paper is on the intimate encounters between Brazilian- and Australian-born masters of Capoeira and non-Brazilian students in Australia. The researchers draw on Wise's 'everyday sensuous multiculturalism' to coin the term 'intimate' multiculturalism. Intimate multiculturalism looks at 'private and semi-private spaces in order to understand symbolic transactions between those of diverse backgrounds' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1802). So far, we have seen that encounters can be unplanned or planned, fleeting, engineered or repeated, but here the focus turns to the intimacy of encounters. Intimate encounters are those which result from a deliberate 'decision to enter a cultural contact zone, to invest in its operation' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1803). In this case the encounters are between non-Brazilian students entering the space of Capoeira practice and the Sydney Capoeira community.

While Capoeira is a practice taken up by many for fun and fitness, Wulfhorst et al. acknowledge they are more interested in a deeper level of commitment to the practice. They focus on non-Brazilian students whose relationship with the practice sees them 'become part of a Capoeira community' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1802) as their relationship with the practice 'demands their presence and commitment in and out of the class' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1802). Through the practice of Capoeira at this level of commitment, students 'change their bodies, lifestyles values and world-views' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1802). The research argues that through these types of changes, whether they are simply learning a new move in Capoeira or more dramatic 'changes to habits, tastes or body shapes,' students 'embody a foreign cultural manifestation' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1802). Capoeira, and the various cultural practices associated with the practice, involve people actually *doing* culture

together (Noble 2009) as new bodies and cultural identities are performed within and through the Capoeira encounter (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1802).

What makes Wulfhorst et al. (2014) research different (and important) within this discussion is its focus on the identities being performed by white Australia students. The researchers are not focused on the identities performed by the Brazilian teachers in Australia (the minority). Rather, their findings point to the ways that intimate encounters enable 'Australians' to reinvent themselves, to question their belonging to one national imagined community and to embody other (more Brazilian) forms of being (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1798).

Encounter or diversity literature that incorporates aspects of belonging tends to concentrate on the experiences of the Other – such as whether a new migrant is able to feel a sense of belonging to a new place or community. Much of this body of work involves the settlement experiences of new migrants and explores their journeys towards belonging (or not belonging) in their new communities. It has been argued that in a sense, new migrants find a sense of home/belonging by 'growing new body parts' (el-Zein, 2003, p. 239). Extending this argument, Wise rightly points out that it should not only be migrants who 'grow new limbs but all of us who inhabit diverse contact zones. We need to grow new bodies, new sensory responses, and emotional, affective grammars: in short, nothing less than new bodily ways of being in multicultural suburbia' (Wise, 2010, p. 935). Connecting this to the discussion on Capoeira, I argue that the intimate practice of Capoeira provides those involved, particularly the Australia students, with the opportunity to 'grow new bodies, new sensory responses' – in other words, new ways of being in multicultural Australia (Wise, 2010, p. 935).

What is important for my discussion that needs to be drawn from this research are the possibilities associated with close bodily contact and intimate interactions. On the one hand it has been argued that 'at close quarters corporal habits and norms (eye-contact, gestures, kinaesthetic practices, rules concerning proximity and touch) can often hinder intercultural exchange because of discomfort experienced by the parties to that exchange which arise from misreading those habits and norms' (Wise 2010

cited in Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1805). Capoeira, on the other hand, involves close bodily contact of a different kind. The practice of Capoeira demands an acute awareness of one's own body in space, and its relation to another body. These intimate and repeated encounters involve levels of trust, close bodily contact and a familiarity with one another that is not often present in less intimate or fleeting intercultural encounters. As Price (2012) notes 'bodies emerge … through sensory mingling's with other bodies' (Price, 2012, p. 581).

People perform new shared identities through the relationships formed and the fleshy intimate practices that are established around the dance-art itself. A sense of belonging (to something other than Australia) is performed into being. In this case, the research suggests that the Australian students perceived themselves as 'other than Australian'. Through intimate encounters with Brazilian people, Brazilian culture and Brazilian food, and through learning Portuguese, the border between 'us' (the Australian students) and 'them' (the Brazilian Capoeira masters/teachers) becomes porous. Identity boundaries that may have appeared fixed, such as ethnicity and nationality, become fluid as new transversal identities are performed that 'do not obey the contours of ethnic boundaries and communities' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1812). It is through intimate encounters that 'people revisit who they are and where they belong' (Wulfhorst et al., 2014, p. 1813). More research could explore how 'host' or 'majority' individuals experience intercultural encounters, how they perform new identities and belongings. Such examples could be added to the many research examples that emphasise the 'newcomer,' and it could be acknowledged that the responsibility to adjust to more diverse societies should be shared.

Through these examples, the connections between encounter and care are exposed. Care does not happen outside of encounter. Fleshy, sensuous and intimate moments of encounter are imbued with care, and people caring *with* one another. Encounter literature provides a unique understanding about how people do togetherness, and this is connected to care, because how people do togetherness is bound up in how people care.

3.6 Fleshy and fun encounters

In this final section I draw the discussion about fleshy encounters towards fun and play. Just as Conradson (2003) argues that within the spaces of care literature, ideas of 'fun and humour' are important to care but are neglected, I argue that within encounter literature ideas of fun or play have also been neglected. Insights into encounters that involve fun tell us things about how people do togetherness in playful ways. Many of the examples I have already discussed in this chapter involve fun or play, whether it is a person attending a festival, sharing a meal with someone, performing Capoeira or being creative, there are elements of play involved, but play is rarely the focus of the analysis. Therefore, in this section I am interested in exploring ideas about learning new ways of *doing* togetherness through fleshy *and* fun encounters.

Lobo (2016) has recently contributed to moving the encounter literature in this direction with her insights into 'playful encounters'. Her work focuses on encounters in ordinary spaces, a 'drop-in open-air café-community garden-Op shop' (Lobo, 2016, p. 163) in Darwin. She argues that the mechanics of play are central to the encounters that take place in the drop-in space. Her research suggests that more attention needs to be paid to 'playful events or spontaneous multisensory encounters' (Lobo, 2016, p. 163) in fostering the means through which we can live together with difference.

Lobo notes that because the 'embodied and spontaneous events of play' contrast to the serious, moral and productive work, play is not valued (Lobo, 2016). However, she argues that play is crucial to social change because 'it is the process through which eruptive/disruptive energy or affects that permeate an event can be reconfigured and transformed without focused attention from humans' (Lobo, 2016, p. 166). In other words, when encounters involve affects where people are being spontaneous and having fun, there is the potential to contribute to events of 'delight' and 'wonder'. She argues that these moments of play encourage 'responsiveness and speculative thought rather than moralising judgments about how we might live with difference' (Lobo, 2016, p. 166). Drawing on Haraway, Lobo (2016) argues that 'even though play may not be about making a living, it "discloses living" through a focus on affects of joy, care,

love, and curiosity that escape human calculation and control, but allow us to engage in events of "becoming with" others' (Lobo, 2016, pp. 166-167). With this in mind, stories of fun and playful encounters are spread throughout the following empirical chapters.

Lobo's 'playful encounters' demonstrate the spontaneity of doing togetherness, and the importance of not trying to predict the wider outcomes of encounters that are essentially unpredictable moments. And they demonstrate the importance of acknowledging that even if the fun, or a sense of 'we-ness' only lasts for the duration of the encounter, it is still important for the people experiencing these moments – the joy, care, love; the delight and wonder; the 'becoming with others' matter. It is through a more embodied approach to encounter that these moments can be revealed.

3.7 Conclusion

Encounters are important in and of themselves, not just when they are obviously conducive to 'scaling up'. By paying attention to the fleshy and sensuous moments of encounter, we are able to capture hopeful (and sometimes care-full) moments that are too often dismissed in the encounter literature. When we pay attention to our bodies, how we move together, eat together, share and play together, we explore how we *do* togetherness. Through embodied intercultural encounters, people perform new cultural identities and new belongings. A care-full embodied approach to encounter research reveals new caring and hopeful ways of doing togetherness with difference.

So far in this thesis, I have developed an argument that care, spaces of care and encounter are important for building hope for more just cities. The following chapter turns to the experiences of PFRB to think through the specificity of the experiences of PFRB and the care performances, spaces and encounters that emerge through their presence.

Chapter 4 People from refugee backgrounds, care and encounters

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I developed an argument that care, spaces of care and fleshy and fun encounters are important for marginalised groups of people and the wider community. These ideas were developed drawing on literatures pertaining to people who are perceived to require or desire care, such as people who are homeless, new migrants or others who may be experiencing marginalisation or social exclusion. Contemporary research that relates to the experiences of PFRB in the Western world is dominated by themes such as racism and social exclusion experienced by PFRB; negative representations of refugees and asylum seekers in media, political and public discourse; problematic refugee resettlement experiences and barriers faced by PFRB accessing services (for some examples see Correa-Velez et al., 2013; Grillo, 2005; Hubbard, 2005a, 2005b; Klocker, 2004; Klocker & Dunn, 2003; O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008). Most of this literature directs attention to the challenges PFRB face, but in doing so the literature tends to perpetuate the idea of PFRB as vulnerable and dependent. In addition, while providing insights into the complexities of resettlement and exclusionary practices, the literature fails to attend to the intersubjectivity and interdependence of PFRB and other individuals or groups. Therefore, the complex webs of caring in which people seek connection and support in new societies have been largely overlooked. In this chapter I turn to the literature on PFRB to explore how the insights from this literature can inform a hopeful approach to understanding the experiences and encounters of PFRB in spaces of care.

Section 4.2 draws on literature that offers insights into the organisations and people who actively pursue activities aimed at supporting, welcoming and befriending recently arrived and more established PFRB. While many organisations and people who care for and about PFRB in Western nations are discussed in the literature, their practices are not conceived of in the literature through a care framework. Accordingly, in Section 4.2 the practices and activities of organisations and people within this body

of work are reframed as care, in order to link this body of work to care thinking. In doing so, I consider what a more care-full approach can bring to research surrounding PFRB, drawing inspiration from the work of Kye Askins in particular.

Then Section 4.3 explores spaces of care research specific to PFRB. In this section I draw on Darling's series of papers about a UK drop-in centre, as it is the only work that comprehensively explores spaces of care specifically designed to support PFRB. In this section I also draw on Lobo (2010) and Ager and Strang's (2008) research by reframing the friendly neighbourhood encounters between PFRB and other individuals that their research describes as performances of care that constitute the neighbourhood as a space of care for PFRB. These examples are used to argue for a broader view of what constitutes a space of care for PFRB.

Section 4.4 explores encounter literature specific to PFRB. As the previous chapter argued, there is an extensive body of work about intercultural encounters, but few theorists (with the notable exception of Lobo) have used encounter to write about PFRB. Therefore, I draw on literature about PFRB who participate in activities with other individuals. This research is focused on social cohesion, integration and notions of belonging. However, drawing on my argument from the previous chapter about the importance of the encounter itself, these papers, approached a bit differently can offer insights into the possibilities of fun and fleshy refugee encounters.

To conclude this chapter, Section 4.5 draws on an aspect of refugee literature that I suggest is problematic for a hopeful approach to researching care, encounter and refugees. Most research that is attempting to understand the lived experiences of PFRB in the West locates the refugee as a fixed subject position. The implications of this are, firstly, that it can perpetuate the idea of PFRB are eternally dependent; and secondly, it ignores who else PFRB are. After unpacking these issues, I argue for an intersectional approach to refugee research as a way to overcome some of the determinism which pervades ways of thinking about refugee identities. To date, intersectionality has not been widely used to look at the lives of PFRB in Western nations. Therefore, the purpose of this discussion is to explore how understandings of

the experiences of PFRB can be enhanced through an understanding of intersectionality, addressing Aim 4.

To begin, Section 4.2 explores existing literature about people and organisations, including governments, who pursue activities to support, welcome and befriend PFRB in Western nations. I illustrate the possibilities for approaching these activities differently through the lens of care.

4.2 Care and people from refugee backgrounds

Western democracies are becoming increasingly unwelcoming towards PFRB, both those who arrive at their borders and those living in their midst (Reed, 2006). Governments are moving further away from a humanitarian (and caring) response and closer to a security response to PFRB. For example, as Chapter 1 noted, Australia's OSB established a 'military led response to combat people smuggling' in an effort to protect the border from asylum seekers entering the national space (Government, 2013, p. 2). This response includes the controversial policy which instructed 'the Australian Defence Force to turn back boats' when asylum seekers arrive in Australian waters (Government, 2013, p. 5). UK policy and legislation also adopts a restrictionalist stance, with an emphasis on 'securing borders' (Phillimore, 2012, p. 525). The reluctance of governments to provide 'care' for PFRB is also evident in their treatment of PFRB after they arrive in the country. For example the UK government implemented legislation restricting access to social welfare for asylum seekers (Phillimore, 2012) and the Australian government outsources its international responsibility to many asylum seekers by sending them to immigration detention centres outside of Australia that have been found by the Human Rights Commission of Australia to be dangerous environments with 'numerous incidents of assaults, sexual assaults and self-harm involving children'(Australian Human Rights Commission, 2014, p. 13) .

On the other hand, both the Australian and UK governments provide services and support to PFRB, albeit only those with particular immigration statuses. According to Fozdar and Hartley (2014) Australia offers some of the best government-funded settlement services in the world to refugees who come through its official resettlement program. The services available aim to cater for the material and medical

needs of new arrivals, and to some extent their social needs (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014, p. 126). Despite this support from the government or government funding organisations, the question remains whether these services alone can provide the kinds of support that people from refugee backgrounds may need or desire. Fozdar and Hartley (2014) suggest that 'in addition to the provision of settlement services for material integration' (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014, p. 140) engagement opportunities need to be expanded so that a sense of belonging can be nurtured for both PFRB and other individuals adjusting to increased diversity. Against this backdrop, non-government organisations that provide opportunities for people to care for PFRB in a range of ways are increasingly important.

PFRB will often need or want support and care from organisations and from people who are willing and able to assist them in navigating their way into a new society. Although governments do provide some types of support, care comes in many forms such as material, financial and emotional support, friendships and advocacy. Much of this type of care is informal and performed through organisations by volunteers and employees. Although there is a large body of work that explores organisations that support marginalised and vulnerable people, literature that specifically explores organisations that support PFRB in Western nations is more limited. Moreover, literature that frames this kind of support for PFRB as 'care' is even more uncommon.

While not framed through a lens of care, the largest body of work in this area relates to the organisations and people who actively pursue activities aimed at supporting, welcoming and befriending recently arrived and more established PFRB. It focuses on FBOs and faith-motivated people. FBOs have a long history of supporting people fleeing war, poverty and persecution, and they are increasingly important in the current situation for 'those arriving in, or attempting to remain in, Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia' (Goodall, 2015, p. 2). FBOs play key roles in supporting PFRB. First, they provide places of safety and refuge, and offer various types of material and emotional support (Goodall, 2015). Second, they play a significant activist roll, calling on congregations to be more inclusive (Goodall, 2015, p. 2), as well as lobbying government for more inclusive and 'caring' refugee and asylum seeker policies (E. Wilson, 2011).

The majority of PFRB arriving in the West are non-Christian people arriving in nations with predominantly Christian refugee support organisations (Goodall, 2015, p. 6). Following the discussion in Chapter 2, FBOs are often critiqued because of an assumption that they wish to proselytise (Goodall, 2015, p. 6). However, views in the literature about the extent to which this happens on the ground are mixed. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Ager (2013) argue that there is a danger of evangelising, but others suggest that the danger is often exaggerated (May 2004). Despite these misgivings, I tend to agree with E. Wilson (2011) who suggests that FBOs have an ability to relate to PFRB who hold strong beliefs – because of a shared, if different, commitment to faith, such organisations can be sensitive to people's spiritual well-being (E. Wilson, 2011, p. 549).

Importantly, voices from within Christian churches have begun to think about the types of issues that may be associated with faith-motivated support for PFRB. For example, Snyder (2007) argues that *doing your duty* as a Christian can be problematic. Snyder (2007) suggests that the idea of *duty* can be problematic because it can result in paternalistic care that reinforces negative representations of PFRB as needy and passive. As Snyder notes:

> One of the dangers of responding out of a sense of duty is that it can encourage us to view the link between church supporters and asylum seekers as one-way traffic. 'We' are the people who support or serve 'them'. 'We' are actively doing good and 'they' are passively receiving. This perception ignores the fact that our encounters with asylum seekers can change us and that as Christians we are called to engage in radical and mutual hospitality (Snyder, 2007, p. 352).

Critically, Snyder argues that she is not suggesting that PFRB are viewed as 'abstract' others who exist to provide opportunities for volunteers to grow. Rather, she makes the point that people 'doing their duty' must engage with PFRB as 'concrete human beings, embedded in a network of socio-historical relations' (Snyder, 2007, p. 357). Although the activites Snyder discusses are not specifically framed as care, there are links between *the practice of an ethic of care* and Snyder's arguments. First, despite what motivates people to care for PFRB, it is crucial that processes and practices of

care are *attentive* and *responsive* to the person receiving the care. Second, the research demonstrates a recognition from Snyder, an 'ordained, white, middle-class, British woman' (Snyder, 2007, p. 351), that care relations are not uni-directional. In her research, people who work or volunteer with asylum seekers speak of receiving more *from* the people that they support than they give *to* the people they support. Moreover, she notes that volunteers talk about 'asylum seekers' generous hospitality, their contribution to our cultural life and the joy of sharing in the birth of a baby or a child's successful first day at school' (Snyder, 2007, p. 353). She highlights the sense of community and belonging that volunteers gain whilst caring for PFRB and argues that being a part of a refugee support group gives volunteers a place to belong as much as it does for the asylum seekers (Snyder, 2007, p. 354). In other words, supporting PFRB can be just as transformative for the volunteer as it can be for the people receiving care. Following this, my research explores the transformative potential of care with PFRB.

The second key role for FBOs is through activism and advocacy. Although these practices are not framed as care within the FBO literature, my understanding of care considers activities such as protesting against tough policies and lobbying governments towards more inclusive and caring refugee and asylum seeker policies as acts of care. In Australia, church leaders and congregations have been vigorously outspoken in their opposition to the immigration detention regime (Brett, 2014). One example of this is a multi-faith movement called Love Makes a Way, which holds peaceful protests in the offices of politicians across the country, protesting harsh refugee and asylum seeker policies. It is estimated that 138 people from this movement have been arrested across 24 protests, with approximately half of them ending up in court (Anderson, 2015). A European example discussed by Beaumont and Cloke (2012, p. 95) is a nationwide grass roots campaign in church parishes and other congregations in Sweden that 'triggered the parliament and the government to decide on temporary asylum for 20,000 asylum-seekers' (Beaumont & Cloke, 2012, pp. 95-96). The campaign was supported by Islamic congregations and non-religious NGOs, and even involved employees and volunteers in many parishes hiding PFRB.

Despite these types of actions not being conceptualised in the literature as care, it is clear that FBOs are increasingly filling the gaps left by reduced services, assistance and welfare, and harsher immigration policies. In many cases political activists have come from within FBOs, and FBOs themselves have increasingly become welfare providers. In some cases governments actively seek to involve FBOs in the support of refugees (Eby, Iverson, Smyers, & Kekic, 2011; Nawyn, 2005). Clearly, FBOs play a significant role in the landscape of refugee care through care and caring activities. If an ethic of care framework was used, FBOs would be seen to be taking *responsibility* for PFRB by providing resources and opportunities for people to move towards one another in careful proactive ways.

Moving away from literature about FBOs and refugee care, there is much less research that relates to non-religious and non-government organisations and people actively pursuing activities aimed at supporting, welcoming and befriending. Goodall (2015) notes that there is still considerable discussion as to whether or not there is really any difference between FBOs and secular organisations (Goodall, 2015). They can certainly be similar in their organisational structures, and 'many staff or volunteers may not be of the particular faith related to the organisation' (Goodall, 2015, p. 6). On the other hand, people may volunteer for a secular organisation but be personally motivated by their religious ethos. The literature demonstrates these types of debates about the blurring of the boundaries between FBOs and secular organisations are ongoing. However, a review of the literature also reveals a significant lack of insights about secular non-government organisations caring for PFRB in Western nations. Indeed, there is ample discussion about the role of governments in providing or not providing support (or care), but hardly anyone has explored non-government, non-religious organisations that pursue activities aimed at supporting, welcoming and befriending PFRB. It is unclear whether this represents a gap in the literature, or whether it reflects a reality that outside of governments, FBOs are the key groups who are attentive to and taking responsibility for caring for PFRB.

There is also research that focuses on the types of programs and activities that are established that allow volunteers to move towards PFRB. For example, based on information provided by twenty-five volunteer organisations in Australia, Canada,

England and the United States, Behnia (2007) explores befriending programs and reveals the important role that they play in supporting newly arrived refugees. Befriending programs have been shown to help PFRB cope with the 'stress of adaption to a new society' and they 'encourage refugees to get on with their life and provide them with information, advice, practical help, and companionship. Befrienders also assist refugees by extending their social support networks' (Behnia, 2007, p. 17).

Another example from Australia explores the work of a volunteer group called the Friends and Tutors of the Sudanese and Burundi in rural Victoria. Focused on the idea of the autonomous volunteer, this research reveals that refugee resettlement in rural Victoria was 'accompanied by significant and generous responses by local communities in the form of volunteer involvement' (Sawtell, Dickson-Swift, & Verrinder, 2010, p. 544). The research noted that the volunteer activities (tutoring, friendship, advocacy, practical, emotional support) were autonomous and operated outside of the formal volunteer roles often imposed by governments or organisations (Sawtell et al., 2010, p. 544). In this case, the lack of bureaucratic constraints was what attracted many of the volunteers, as well as the opportunity to form friendships and enact social justice principles (Sawtell et al., 2010, p. 547). There are various ways that people provide care to PRFB in their communities, and research that highlights the way that people *do* care on the ground is important.

Similarly, Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007) explore the practices of volunteers working with Afghan refugees and asylum seekers in Western Australia. The researchers found that some volunteers (who were assisting by tutoring English) had problematic understandings of their relationships to Afghan refugees and of their roles in the lives of these people. Some of the volunteers had a desire to protect the refugees, and in some cases even likened their care relationship with the refugees to a parent-child relationship, which the research argues demonstrates that the 'tutors were seeking to maintain a position of superiority' (Lange et al., 2007, p. 39). They noted that:

> interactions between the English language tutors and the Hazara tended to reinforce and maintain a power differential between the two groups, with the

> tutors in a more powerful position, not only because of their English language ability, formal citizenship status and sense of belonging, but also because of the ways in which they interacted (Lange et al., 2007, p. 39).

The Afghan people in this research did not passively accept being 'infantilised' by volunteers (Lange et al., 2007, p. 39) and resisted unequal power relations. Resistance came in different forms from the Afghan refugees, for example:

> many Hazara knew very little about the private lives of their tutors and rarely made such enquiries. However, their tutors knew, through asking questions, a lot about their students' personal circumstances including how much they earned, what they paid for their car and what they did socially. Some Hazara, protective of their privacy, resented this intrusion into their private lives and acted to change it (Lange et al., 2007, p. 39).

Research has argued that PFRB can exercise control over their lives in circumstances like this by choosing whether to 'enter into, maintain, or withdraw from a relationship' Knudsen (1995, p. 27). One man, acting on a lack of trust he felt towards his tutor, refused to continue with English lessons because his tutor was asking 'immigration questions' and questions about his wife. These examples correspond with research by Daniel and Knudsen (1995) who argue that in relationships between refugees and those helping them, '[t]he refugee both trusts and is mistrusted' (1995, p. 1). Lange et al. (2007) also contend that 'those who help refugees are both trusted and mistrusted' (Lange et al., 2007, p. 40). Clearly, building responsive relationships of trust and respect is a crucial part of supporting refugees, as the ethic of care research discussed in Chapter 2 indicates. Therefore, this thesis explores how trust and respect are nurtured in relationships with PFRB that are enabled through caring organisations in Newcastle.

Another form of resistance from Afghan refugees in Western Australia was evident in the discussions that they had among themselves:

> On occasion, they referred to the tutors as 'sick, lonely people' who 'did not have much work to do', who needed to feel wanted and whom they did not

> want to offend. This discourse indicates that the Hazara were able to reassert their adult status, their humanity and their self-worth, at least among themselves, by constructing certain tutors as people who needed the Hazara to fulfil their own need for acknowledgement (Lange et al., 2007, p. 40).

The view that some of the tutors needed PFRB to fulfil their own needs for acknowledgement has been noted before:

> Harrell-Bond (1999, p. 150) suggests that refugee helpers often need the refugees more than the refugees need the tutors. This was demonstrated in the Australian documentary, Storyline Australia: Molly & Mobarak (Zubrycki, 2004), which is about Hazara refugees living in the New South Wales country town of Young. At least one of the English tutors in that documentary made the point that there would be 'a hole' in her life if the Hazara men she was tutoring were to be deported (Lange et al., 2007, p. 40).

While the reasons that people reach out to PFRB are important, the above examples demonstrate that even well-intentioned care can be problematic. People who want to help PFRB often unwittingly reinforce unequal power relations through the ways that they *do* care – which may or may not be linked to why they care. What it is important to draw from this research is the insight that can be gained by exploring how people *do* care. Exploring how people *do* care can reveal things about the lived experiences of PFRB receiving care that cannot be revealed by research that focuses on why people care, or by research that focuses only on the organisations facilitating the care.

So far, I have established that refugee research tends to focus on the role of governments and FBOs in providing various types of support and care for PFRB, and that there is little said in the literature about non-government secular organisations and refugee care. Moreover, I have suggested that a focus on grounded practices of care can offer valuable insights into the lived experiences of PFRB and those who care for them.

However, despite the evidence that care is relational, and that the relationships between carers and PFRB can be mutually beneficial, the literature about these

relationships tends not to focus on positive or hope-full examples. Rather, the literature is filled with examples of problematic and patronising relationships, and relationships that reinforce unequal power relations. The literature does tell us that PFRB appreciate the help provided, and that support can benefit them, and it does tell us that carers often receive a lot personally from performing care for PFRB. But these types of stories are generally told alongside longer tales of problematic care. Therefore, I want to finish this section by drawing from the only scholar who uses geographies of care and hope to think through the experiences of PFRB and other individuals – Kye Askins (K Askins, 2014, 2015). Drawing on two papers from Askins, I highlight her unique approach to refugee literature that foregrounds positive, caring, and mutually beneficial relationships between PFRB and other individuals. The first example tells a personal and positive story of care and friendship – the story of Miriam and Rose (K Askins, 2014). The second example (K Askins, 2015) is about a befriending scheme in the UK which emphasises 'being together' and personal relationships developed through informal care activities. By focusing on the activities that PFRB and other individuals perform together, Askins draws on geographies of encounter, embedded in notions of care.

The story of Miriam and Rose

Miriam and Rose became friends through a scheme in the UK that pairs refugees with longer-term residents (Askins 2014). Miriam is a refugee from Iraq and Rose is a retired nurse who spent much of her working life overseas. Over three years, the women developed an intimate friendship and a close bond. Askins' (2014) paper explores how the women 'connect through an emotional and embodied mode of interaction: gentle hands on shoulders, smiles, laughter, tears and frustrations' (K Askins, 2014, p. 354). What I draw from this paper is the recognition that Miriam moves beyond 'performing the script of "refugee"'(Hyndman 2010, p. 456). By demonstrating a willingness to engage with local people Miriam disrupts 'how those constructed as needing "welcome" and/or "care" may be reiterated as power-less' (K Askins, 2014, p. 354). The women are both moving towards each other in care-full ways, their unfolding relationship involves 'a set of mutually caring practices' (K Askins, 2014, p. 354). Miriam describes Rose as being like a mother to her, and Rose considers Miriam to be

a great friend and supporter to her, 'like a daughter'. Miriam and Rose are actively performing identities through reciprocal care practices 'in a profoundly feminist sense (Beasley and Bacchi 2007) yet it 'remains fragile, emergent, powerful [and] hopeful' (K Askins, 2014, p. 354). This is a story that acknowledges the vulnerability of both carers and refugees, but considers vulnerability 'as enabling openness through which alternative relations may be performed in positive ways' rather than vulnerability as being 'fragile and weak' (K Askins, 2014).

Being together

'Being together' (K Askins, 2015) considers the complex geographies of care evident in befriending schemes. Using care thinking, Askins emphasises the interconnections and interdependencies between individuals. Askins' approach is a hopeful one, as she attempts to understand 'the practices and conditions that engender and foster positive intercultural social relations' (K Askins, 2015, p. 471). While Askins acknowledges issues surrounding the constructions of care receivers as power-less and care givers as empowered, she reveals that there is something else going on at the West End Refugee Service (WERS). She argues that the relationships at WERS between refugees and those supporting them 'resonate with a feminist ethic of care, embedded in interconnection and relationality, wherein people support each other' (K Askins, 2015, p. 473). Askins discusses the importance of 'a will to engage'; in other words both the refugees and the befrienders want to enter into these relationships. I link this understanding to my notion of care as a movement towards one another that has the potential to facilitate positive change.

With the exception of Askins' path breaking work, what is missing from refugee literature are explorations of the co-creation of caring relationships. In order to further break down stereotypes and disrupt constructions of PFRB as needy, more stories like Miriam's and Rose's need to be told. We often hear stories about when refugee resettlement and participation is not working – but what about the stories of care relationships that are mutually beneficial, mutually accommodating, positive and hopeful? The point is that care relations between PFRB and care givers from 'host' nations are complex and contextual – but the static representations of refugees,

asylum seekers, care-givers and faith motivated carers in the literature ignore the fluidity of care relationships, which makes it difficult to see PFRB as active participants and co-contributors in two-way care relations. More attention needs to be paid to mutual respect, mutual accommodation and two-way, relational care performances between PFRB and those that pursue activities to support, welcome and befriend them. The empirical chapters of this thesis help fill this gap.

4.3 Spaces of 'refugee' care

The next step is to consider the spaces established to support PFRB. Despite growing academic attention on 'spaces of care' for marginalised people, the literature specifically focused on spaces of care for PFRB is small. In fact, Darling's (2010, 2011, 2014, 2014) series of papers is the first and only comprehensive exploration of spaces of care established for PFRB.

In Chapter 2 I explored Darling's work to develop my argument about the importance of care relations, materialities and atmospheres in shaping spaces of care. Rather than restating these points from Chapter 2, in this section I highlight the research findings that demonstrate the positive implications for PFRB that Darling's space of care (drop-in centre) provides. It must be noted that the positive aspects of the space of care are not the key focus of Darling's work; rather, problematic care relations were foregrounded. But I want to draw on the hopeful, and Darling's point that spaces of care can be places where people feel comfortable and at ease. A participant in Darling's research described the informal drop-in centre as feeling '*like a home*' (Darling, 2011, p. 410). Having a space to feel at ease is of particular importance to PFRB living in the West, because comfort is not necessarily what they experience in other urban spaces, or in their dealings with the state (Darling, 2011). One participant in Darling's research was able to access an informal space where the people he encountered cared and helped him in whatever way they could. Although Darling does not address this directly, this feeling of 'home' was enabled by the care practices, materialities and atmosphere that constituted the drop-in space.

Bearing in mind that Darling's research is the only literature that explicitly explores a space of care specifically for PFRB, my next argument is drawn from wider sources. In

Chapter 2 I introduced transitory outdoor spaces of care for homeless people through Cloke, May and Johnsen (2005b), however in refugee literature there is no explicit discussion that looks at these types of spaces. Therefore, I draw on some useful examples of work that gestures in this direction by exploring research about neighbourhood interactions between PFRB and other individuals.

Lobo's (2010) research in Dandenong (a Melbourne suburb with 50% of residents born in non-English speaking countries, most of whom are humanitarian entrants or refugees) argues that relationships that people have with their neighbours (often involving brief and casual encounters) are friendly experiences that provide people with feelings of security and comfort. These encounters can be reframed as fleeting or 'small' performances of care that constitute the neighbourhood as a space of care. Lobo's research argues that for PFRB, recalling moments when they receive care enables them 'to develop or maintain a strong emotional attachment' to the suburb they live in 'even though the neighbourhood is constantly changing with the arrival of new settlers' (Lobo, 2010, p. 96). These care performances build hope, joy and belonging – and I argue they also constitute the neighbourhood as a space of care.

In the UK, research has also suggested that an important part of making PFRB feel at home in their community is the friendliness (care) they receive on a daily basis (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 180). Ager and Strang (2008 p. 180) argue that:

> Being recognised and greeted in the neighbourhood was greatly valued. Small acts of friendship appeared to have a disproportionately positive impact on perceptions. Friendliness from the settled community was very important in helping refugees to feel more secure and persuading them that their presence was not resented.

This statement demonstrates the importance of feeling welcomed in your neighbourhood, and these examples draw attention to the neighbourhood as a space of care for PFRB. However, Darling's work is still the only example in the literature that comprehensively explores spaces of care specific to PFRB. More literature about how different spaces of care are being performed with PFRB at different scales is needed.

So far in this chapter, my aim has been to clearly position my contribution to the refugee literature. I have done this by revealing that only a small amount of research explores practices and activities aimed at supporting, welcoming and befriending PFRB after they arrive in Western nations as care. Although there is literature that explores the organisations and people who actively pursue these activities, their relationships with PFRB are not conceptualised as care or caring. Accordingly, there is much room for research, such as this, that incorporates care thinking. Care thinking can offer insights into the complex web of caring in which people (both PFRB and other individuals) seek connection. Care thinking recognises the intersubjectivity between PFRB and other individuals, and it can highlight the mutually beneficial and hopeful aspects of caring for PFRB. Furthermore, I have highlighted, through Darling's work on spaces of care for PFRB, that such spaces can have real positive outcomes. For people finding their way in a new society, having spaces that make you feel comfortable and at ease is significant. However, the lack of research on these spaces of care specific to PFRB means that our understanding of how PFRB and other individuals experience these spaces is limited. I have also argued that what is considered as a space of care for PFRB also warrants further research. Drawing on research about neighbourhoods and smalls acts of kindness and care, I suggest that spaces of care can be performed at multiple scales, but again, more empirical research into these types of spaces is needed to offer insights into how neighbourhoods, or even nations, may constitute spaces of care for PFRB living in new societies in the West.

My next step in this chapter is to turn to encounter literature specific to PFRB. Certainly, the research by Lobo and Ager and Strang discussed in this section can be positioned as encounter literature, as it thinks through ideas about how PFRB and other individuals encounter each other in the spaces of neighbourhoods. A closer look at refugee encounter literature reveals another gap in the refugee literature. Despite examples like the ones above, most intercultural encounter research is more generally about migrants – not necessarily people from refugee backgrounds. Again, the only exception is Kye Askins' work (K Askins, 2014, 2015) which I will draw on first in Section 4.4. Then I will draw more broadly on some useful examples of work that gestures in the direction of refugee encounters.

4.4 Encounter research with people from refugee backgrounds

Geographical intercultural encounter research is generally about migrants; few research papers specifically explore encounters between PFRB and other individuals. The exception is Askins' work that draws on geographies of encounter to uncover transformative intercultural encounters. Her research about befriending schemes in the UK that bring PFRB and other individuals together (discussed in Section 4.2) is the only literature that is specifically about encounters between PFRB and other individuals. Embedded in an ethic of care, the research foregrounds the relationships that people form with one another through a befriending scheme in the UK. She highlights that the people in these caring relationships, the refugees and the befrienders, recognise 'the ways in which they are different' but also develop their relationships 'through commonalities they share' (K Askins, 2015, p. 473). The research also argues that the positive and transformative relationships being formed through the befriending scheme are assisted by the informality of the activities that people perform together in their local area – such going for walks or to cafes, being invited to each other's houses, cooking meals together and shopping together (K Askins, 2015, p. 472). In other words, doing mundane activities together is an important part of what makes these relationships successful.

Furthermore, Askins argues that the types of relationships and encounters explored through the befriending scheme are 'remaking society at a local level' (K Askins, 2015, p. 474). They are different from other encounter research, in that 'they are not fleeting encounters, where people share public space without necessarily engaging beyond surface level; neither are they prosaic interactions of workplace or education' (K Askins, 2015, p. 474).

There are a few points that I would like to draw from Askins research. First, she recognises that people's involvement in the scheme is about their desire to belong 'and (re)make local place and community in inclusive ways' (K Askins, 2015, p. 475). Critical here is both refugees' and befrienders' desire to belong. Askins argues that belonging is 'performed through relationships that are enabled by and mutually co-

productive of everyday geographies' (K Askins, 2015, p. 475). The scheme required a commitment from both parties as they moved towards one another.

Another insight from this research is the importance of everyday activities and spaces. The befriending scheme involved banal, embodied, everyday activities that took place in homes, neighbourhoods, cafes, local parks and local shops, and Askins argued that this was crucial as:

> These mundane spaces allow for, and demand, shifts in perceptions of Self and Other, nudging established discourses of alterity, and anticipating new social relations: they are prosaic places where people discover each other as multifaceted, complex and interdependent (K Askins, 2015, p. 476).

Finally, as the title of Askins' paper indicates, the emphasis is on *being together* and the personal relationships that are developed through activities in the local area. This point is what separates Askins' work from other encounter research that is focused on scaling-up. Put simply, Askins concentrates on the *being together*, on the moment of the encounter itself – and expectations or concerns about what comes next are not prioritised. Despite Askins' unique, care-full and hope-full approach to encounter literature, she makes the point that her future research 'intends to explore the ways in which individual relationships can challenge dominant discourses of difference and exclusion in the region' (K Askins, 2015, p. 476) – in other words, how they can be scaled-up. Like others, she acknowledges that we cannot assume that 'meaningful encounters are broadly transformative and decrease interethnic conflict' but unlike others, Askins adopts a more hopeful approach to further research by suggesting that a closer examination of 'geographies of interethnic friendships' are necessary to further academic debates about 'community cohesion and integration in the UK and elsewhere' (K Askins, 2015, pp. 476-477).

As this research is the only example of care-full refugee encounter research, it can certainly be argued that there is room for more research that uses encounters to explore the lived experiences of PFRB. Next, I will draw on some useful examples of work that gestures in the direction of refugee encounters. These research papers are not about encounter per se; rather, they focus on sporting and leisure activities that

PFRB participate in, where they come into contact with other individuals focusing on social cohesion, integration and belonging. Drawing on my argument from Chapter 3 about the importance of the encounter itself, and the possibilities of fleshy encounters that involve play, these papers, approached a bit differently, can offer insights into refugee encounters.

Encounters through sport

There is a wealth of literature related to refugees participating in physical activity through organised sport in new societies. This body of work is predominantly about young refugees and explores ideas around social cohesion, integration and belonging (Krouwel, Boonstra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006; P. Oliver, 2007; Olliff, 2008; Spaaij, 2012, 2013, 2014; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009; Walseth, 2006, 2007). It is not my intention here to review refugee literature that uses an integration and social cohesion framework, but I do want to spend a moment pointing out my how this approach differs from my focus on care and encounter.

Integration- and social cohesion-focused research which deals with PFRB and sport tends to focus on what PFRB lack or need – it is PFRB that need to learn how to integrate, it is PFRB that need to find ways to belong, it is PFRB that must adjust to increasingly diverse spaces. There is an assumption in these approaches that the presence of particular groups of PFRB creates social disharmony, which locates the problems with the PFRB themselves (Neumann, Gifford, Lems, & Scherr, 2014, p. 11). All of the responsibility is placed on the refugee subject. Such an approach perpetuates the idea of PFRB as eternally vulnerable and dependent, and leaves positive stories of refugee participation unseen. As was discussed in Chapter 3, encounter literature often places the responsibility on the newcomer to find a sense of belonging by 'growing new body parts' (el-Zein, 2003, p. 239). Shifting this argument to a focus on PFRB rather than migrants, it should not only be PFRB who have to 'grow new limbs' – the responsibility lies with all of us who 'inhabit diverse contact zones' (Wise, 2010, p. 935).

The literature on sport is scattered with examples of sport being a comfortable and fun way to spend time and socialise with different others. However, the possibilities of

these fleshy encounters tend to be downplayed in the literature. For example Spaaij's research about young Somali refugees playing soccer in Melbourne, framed within a social cohesion model argues 'the social bridges created and maintained in the sports context tend to be relatively weak and largely confined to match day' (Spaaij, 2012, p. 1535). In other words, Spaaij is implying that because the 'social bridges' created are largely confined to match day, they are less meaningful than they would be if they were extended beyond the soccer game itself. Furthermore, Spaaij argues that 'few close and durable bridges are created between Somalis and the host community' (Spaaij, 2012, p. 1535). Again, the focus here is on post-encounter moments and relationships. Despite the acknowledgement that there were indeed 'social bridges', these potentially positive stories are sidelined as the research highlights how the encounters did not lead to expected 'successful' encounter integration outcomes. Following my arguments already made about encounter, the problem that I have with this analysis is similar to my concerns in the previous chapter, which relate to the notion of encounters only being meaningful when they are scaled up or when they are at a different scale. Spaaij's use of an integration framework that emphasises social bridges beyond the encounter itself can indeed offer insights into the experiences of PFRB, but I argue that an approach that places little significance on the importance of the moments of encounters is missing valuable insights into encounters between PFRB and other individuals.

Another argument that is made in some of the refugees and sport literature is that inter-ethnic sporting encounters can reinforce boundaries between people. The premise here is that tensions arise due to the 'competition that is inherent to sport and because inter-ethnic tensions may be imported into these sports activities (Krouwel et el. 2006)' (Spaaij, 2012, p. 1536). For me, coming from a more hopeful perspective, we could also speculate that inter-ethnic sports encounters could blur the boundaries of ethnicity. What if we consider people as coming together with a common interest (like Amin's arguments about micro-publics)? What if we focus on sport as a fun and fleshy activity that provides PFRB and other individuals the opportunity to perform identities based on a shared interest in sport? What if we consider playing sport together as an opportunity for people to negotiate space and

other bodies in close proximity? What if we consider these fleshy encounters as spaces where people are generally recognised for their abilities, rather than their ethnicity? What if we consider the ways that sport neutralises difference? As Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) argue, in the practice of doing sport 'ethnicity may be bracketed or postponed as a dividing line. What counts more in such situations is the technical skill to play well. In that sense, sport provides a way to neutralize ethnicity' (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009, p. 1213). What if we have more hopeful stories of sport providing a space in which people 'can express themselves through bodily practice, construct and perform identities, and craft emotional closeness to, or distance from, other people (Walseth, 2006a; Walseth & Fasting, 2004)'? (Spaaij, 2014, p. 1). What if less emphasis is placed on what happens after the game and moments of encounter take centre stage?

The sport literature tends to be based around organised or formal sporting activities. Perhaps more research about less formal recreational activities that may involve sport, or other forms of physical activity and fun, could provide more positive stories. The Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues (CMYI) in Australia suggests that 'recreation opportunities where the key focus is fun – such as camps, hip hop programs, arts and storytelling workshops, excursions, cooking and life skills – can be just as effective (if not more effective) in terms of settlement support as structured sport competitions'(Olliff, 2008, p. 56). Currently, there is a 'lack of comprehensive research into the current and potential impact of different forms of social group activities (including sports, arts and recreation) on young people's integration and settlement trajectory' (Olliff, 2008, p. 59).

One example from Olliff (2008) about sporting activities between PFRB and other individuals is an informal soccer competition. The competition also included a social component of a barbeque and family activities organised after the soccer games. Although this research focuses on social cohesion and integration, Olliff (2008) argues that informal activities also have benefits. The research recognises sport and recreation as a site for PFRB to build trust, obtain therapeutic outcomes and build capacity. Sport and recreation is seen as an entry point for broader participation, as a diversionary strategy and as a way to promote health and well-being (Olliff, 2008).

However, despite possibilities of informal sporting encounters, the research focuses on the positive outcomes post-encounter. Furthermore, by focusing on what PFRB need to do (e.g. build capacity) it again places the responsibility on the refugee subject to adjust.

Olliff argues that 'higher participation rates in non-organised sport reflect the importance of informal, social games that are often played between friends and at community events. These social games are commonly how sport is played overseas in refugee camps and other countries' (Olliff, 2008, p. 53). So there is definitively more that can be said in the literature about less formal physical and fun encounters/activities – where PFRB and other individuals come together. In Chapter 8 I focus on the role of informal sporting and recreation activities in offering possibilities for intercultural encounters with PFRB.

4.5 A care-full and intersectional approach to refugee encounters

This chapter has revealed that much of the literature about PFRB directs attention to the challenges they face, but in doing so it tends to locate problems with the PFRB themselves and perpetuates the idea that PFRB are eternally vulnerable and dependent. Moreover, research about the experiences of PFRB in Western spaces tends to articulate the refugee subject as a fixed position reinforced by contemporary policy instruments. In many institutional care-giving contexts, PFRB are called on to perform the identity of refugee – it is a subject position that enables them to access many services, care and support. Moreover:

> Practitioners and refugees alike present refugees as victims utilising trauma stories to gain moral sympathy from the general public and to secure the kind of public recognition that attracts funding and resources. Refugees join a politics of recognition in which they vie with other disadvantaged groups to secure their share of public resources. In this process, refugees come to regard themselves as objects, to be acted on by others rather than as a subjects and agents of their own destiny (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 11).

Westoby and Ingamells (2010) note, for example, that PFRB in Australia quickly learn that 'identifying themselves as vulnerable is a pathway to resources', yet this can lead to PFRB being 'caught in processes that have precarious effects for agency' (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 1).

PFRB living in new societies face particular unique issues that other migrants do not face because of their immigration status. However, PFRB are certainly not a homogenous group. The literature recognises this to an extent. This is demonstrated by research papers about the experiences of different groups of people in different areas. For example, there has been research about Hazara PFRB in Melbourne (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015), Sudanese women from refugee backgrounds in Sydney (Hashimoto-Govindasamy & Rose, 2011), Somali women from refugee backgrounds in Hamilton, New Zealand (Guerin, Diiriye, Corrigan, & Guerin, 2003), African students from refugee backgrounds in Sydney (Naidoo, 2009) and African Australians from refugee backgrounds in Murray Bridge, South Australia (Taylor-Neumann & Balasingam, 2013). But again, these national or ethnic groups are not homogenous groups of 'refugees', and despite research recognising that refugee men, refugee women and refugee youth may have different experiences, research rarely recognises *who else* refugees are.

Therefore, while it is important to understand that people perform a refugee identity, and caring institutions may be part of encouraging such performances, it is crucial to also understand that this is not their only identity. As Valentine and her colleagues argue, when researchers foreground specific social categories, 'we sacrifice recognition of other social relations and lose some of the convolution and messiness of everyday life' (Valentine et al., 2010, p. 939). Following Valentine et al. (2010), to explore the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds it is important to consider *who else* refugees are. Therefore, I want to argue for an intersectional approach to refugee research. Intersectionality is a way to overcome some of the determinism of previous ways of thinking about refugee identities, in order to render visible *who else* refugees are (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2015, p. 416).

Some refugee research has begun to adopt an intersectional perspective. For example Vervliet, De Mol, Broekaert, and Derluyn (2013) explore the experiences of unaccompanied refugee mothers through an intersectional lens. The research reveals that refugee mothers understand themselves first as mothers, while policies emphasise their status as refugees. The paper explores the implications of this for caring practices in social work. The authors argue that by taking an intersectional approach their research is able to clarify the 'present limitations of the current migration and care policies for this group' (Vervliet et al., 2013, p. 16). Moreover, they suggest that an intersectional perspective might not only be valuable for researching refugee populations; it may also provide a useful framework for social workers supporting people in their daily practice, and for care organisations to improve care policies.

Intersectionality has not been widely used to explore the lives of PFRB in Western nations. This is not to say that researchers do not consider the fluidity of refugee identities. For example, approaching research on refugees and sport a bit differently, Palmer (2009) uses the example of young Muslim women from refugee backgrounds playing soccer in Australia to explore the politics of identity. Although intersectionality is not explicitly used, this paper explores the 'multiple, intermeshing and contradictory identities' produced and performed by the women, and acknowledges the fluidity of the women's identities, and the way they articulate their social identities across various spaces and through different activities (Palmer, 2009, p. 35).

Sanchez-Lambert (2015) provides another example of research that uses an intersectional approach to refugees and asylum seekers' experiences in the West, looking at the place of gender in refugee support services in the UK. The research aimed to determine the place and meaning of gender in the 'refugee support field'. Sanchez-Lambert understands gender in an intersectional way as referring to the ways people identify themselves or are identified by others 'in terms of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, (dis)ability or whatever is relevant to them' (Sanchez-Lambert, 2015, p. 10). Sanchez-Lambert argues that the inclusion of intersectionality was a crucial research tool in that it 'left space to recognise when people are unfairly

categorised by external forces, but also when they self-categorise', recognising individuals' agency (Sanchez-Lambert, 2015, pp. 10-11).

An intersectional approach is a valuable addition to refugee literature. In the chapters that follow, I will be open to exploring the complex ways that intersectionality plays out in the lived experiences of PFRB.

4.6 Conclusion

While the literature on PFRB for the most part continues to focus on the barriers that PFRB face, and the things PFRB *lack*, it is my intention to move beyond the problematic understanding of PFRB as eternally vulnerable and dependent, as I develop the argument that caring for one another opens us up to possibilities, potentialities, hope, joy and a more caring society. Within this context my intention is to approach the presence and experience of PFRB in new societies through a different framework – through an intersectional lens of care and encounter.

For these reason, this research project moves past the 'refugee' as an isolated subject of analysis to examine how PFRB and those who care with them are relationally performed through the process and practice of care. By using a care framework, I am able to reveal the interdependencies and contingencies associated with living and caring for one another that have tended to be overlooked in refugee and intercultural encounter studies, and in doing so, I contribute something new to refugee literature. I argue for a care-full approach to research about the experiences of PFRB that pays attention to the complex ways that intersectionality plays out in the lives of PFRB. I reveal care-full moments of care, co-created by PFRB and other individuals. After all, if 'one of the most significant challenges for refugees is to re-create a new social world … to rebuild a community of family, friends, work-colleagues and so forth' (P Westoby, 2009, p. 2), then locating the instances in which this has been achieved is an important project. The following chapter explores how care practices, relations, spaces and encounters in organisations that care for PFRB are investigated in this research.

Chapter 5 Methodology: researching care and encounter

5.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the evolution of the methodological approach of the thesis. In order to apprehend the messy and complex ways that care is performed, a qualitative case study approach was employed that uses both discursive and non-discursive research methods. This research approach is able to capture and explore what organisations and individuals *say* about care, and at the same time it can reveal how organisations and individuals actually *do* care.

Section 5.2 begins this chapter by discussing research as a performative practice, and my desire to bring more caring worlds into being through my research practice. In Section 5.3 I discuss the research methods used in order to apprehend care, spaces of care and encounter. The methods are qualitative and include traditional discursive methods such as the analysis of documents and semi-structured interview transcripts, alongside ethnographic methods including participant observation via researcher volunteering and hanging out. Moreover, drawing on more recent approaches within encounter literature, I embrace the notion of using my body as an 'instrument of research' (Duffy et al., 2011, p. 17), incorporating the embodied knowledge of care-full encounters. This discussion captures the sensuous nature of participant observation, as I eat, taste, smell, touch, dance and move with research participants.

In Section 5.3 I reflect on the research process, beginning with the literature on cross-cultural research. I then discuss reflexivity, and the importance of applying care ethics throughout the research process. Following Herron and Skinner (2013), I argue that applying care ethics throughout the research process enriches reflexive practice and enhances the integrity of qualitative research (Herron & Skinner, 2013). Then, to finish Section 5.3, I draw on previous research about spaces of care to suggest a case study approach for researching care, encounter and spaces of care is appropriate.

In Section 5.4 I outline my case studies, starting with an explanation about why Newcastle NSW was an appropriate place to conduct this research. I then provide more detail about each of the organisations and events chosen as research sites. Each research site was initially chosen because I viewed it as an formal, informal or transient space of care. However, I later viewed these fixed categories as inappropriate because each organisations and event incorporated informal, formal and transient spaces of care.

In Section 5.5 I outline the research I conducted. The fieldwork took place over a 14-month period and included four refugee support organisations and 10 refugee support events. I spent 51 hours hanging out in spaces of refugee care and 152 hours research volunteering, and I conducted 30 semi-structured interviews with PRFB, individuals who volunteer and/or work with PFRB, and members of the public who attended refugee support events. Section 5.6 concludes the methodology chapter and leads into my empirical discussions in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

5.2 Performativity of research

This research takes a performative approach and aims to grow more caring worlds through research practice. Adopting a performative approach involves thinking through your role as a researcher in performing worlds, and making decisions about the types of worlds you want to encourage and nurture (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 2008; Law & Urry, 2004). Performative understandings stress that rather than uncovering a pre-existing and static world, research actually acts to help produce worlds (Law & Urry, 2004). The research process, therefore, is not a set of procedures that are followed to find out 'truths' about the world we live in. Research does not represent a reality; rather, it can change and interfere with our sense of the real – it enacts the social, it makes things different (Law, 2004). Research methods, therefore, are performative: 'they have effects; they enact realities; and they can help bring into being what they discover' (Law & Urry, 2004, pp. 392-393). As Gibson-Graham (2008) argue:

> By researching certain things in certain ways, in putting forth certain findings and validating certain ways of knowing and being, research helps to produce

> certain realities, while silencing and dismissing others. This notion of knowledge has clear ethical implications for researchers who, rather than disinterested and detached observers, become by definition important participants in their research and what it creates (Gibson-Graham2008).

The main aim of this research project is to bring a hopeful disposition to refugee research by adopting a care-full and hope-full approach. Following Gibson-Graham (2006), I read for difference rather than dominance, and seek to 'identify important strands of understanding that have been obscured or undervalued by previous interpretive orthodoxies' (May & Cloke, 2014, p. 894). As I revealed in Chapter 2 there is a tendency within care research to focus on the dependency and lack of agency of people receiving care. Chapter 3 detailed encounter research that is preoccupied with scaling up, and is focused on what is *missing* rather than what is *sparked* within encounters. Chapter 4 demonstrated that research on the experiences of refugees in Western nations has been dominated by inquiries into social exclusion and problematic encounters across difference.

I want to propose an alternative approach inspired by Fincher and Iveson (2008), an alternative voice, one that troubles pessimism and reveals hope. To do so, rather than expose problematic care relations and problematic intercultural encounters, I have deliberately chosen to expose care-full spaces, caring relations and positive intercultural encounters. I have chosen to uncover moments of possibility and hope. I do not do this in an attempt to ignore the very real problems that PFRB face when navigating their way in new societies. Injustice and carelessness are a part of some of the stories that I tell. Rather, I do this because of my desire to make visible moments of possibility and hope that are also a part of living together with difference. As Thrift (2003) argues, taking a performative approach is surely a good way of trying to form an understanding of a series of different (care-full) moments of life which, in the past, have too often been ignored in academic writing (N. Thrift, 2003, p. 2020).

5.3 Researching care, caring performances, spaces of care & encounter

Care is performed by organisations and individuals who make caring movements 'towards another person' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). These caring *movements towards* another person happen in multiple ways, through embodied practice, and through written or verbal expressions of care. Whether care is performed through embodied practice or through discursive practices, it is important to understand that all care performances are performative. As Chapter 2 explained, caring organisations and spaces do not exist prior to care performances. Rather, it is the performance of care itself that brings spaces of care and caring organisations into being. It is therefore important to explore what organisations and individuals *say* and write about care and encounter, and to explore how organisations and individuals actually *do* care and encounter. In order to do so, a qualitative research methodology has been employed that can provide the tools to access the dynamic, complex and messy ways that care is performed both discursively and non-discursively. I will now outline the ethnographic methods employed, starting with participant observation via researcher volunteering, participant observation via hanging out, and sensuous scholarship (or using my body as a research tool). After that I will discuss document analysis, semi-structured interviews, reflexivity, cross-cultural research and the case study approach.

5.3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography provides a means to uncover people's everyday practice and performance. Ethnography 'treats people as knowledgeable, situated agents from whom researchers can learn a great deal about how the world is lived' (P Cloke et al., 2004, p. 169). Ethnographic research relies on participation and an embodied experience in the field that enables researchers to understand diverse practices that constitute everyday life (Herbert, 2000).

There are different ways in which ethnography may be practised, although all types of ethnography are reliant upon the practice of participant observation (Herbert, 2000, p. 551). Ethnography is not objective observation; rather, it is about participating in the everyday life and goings on of a group (Herbert, 2000; Eric Laurier, 2003). According to

Laurier (2003), 'the best participant observation is generally done by those who have been involved in and tried to do and/or be a part of the things they are observing'. Participant observation is a way to develop understandings through being a part of the 'spontaneity of everyday interactions' (Kearns, 2005, p. 195). In order to observe, participate and perform care I adopted the research methodology of participant observation via *researcher volunteering* and *hanging out*. The following sections explore both of these approaches in more detail.

5.3.2 Participants observation – researcher volunteering

Participant observation through researcher volunteering has been used to provide embodied insights into unfolding and real life experiences of people involved in particular communities or settings (P Cloke et al., 2004, p. 169). Researcher volunteering has been practised by scholars interested in drop-in centres, community groups and other community spaces (see for example Conradson, 2003a; Conradson, 2003c; Darling, 2011; Johnsen et al., 2005a, 2005b; Jupp, 2007, 2008; Williams, 2016). For example, Conradson (2003b) volunteered in a community drop-in space in the UK in order to research care relations and the material dimensions that constitute the space as 'caring'. Likewise, Darling (2011) volunteered in a drop-in centre for asylum seekers in order to explore the 'how the interactions and relations brought forth in the drop-in centre served to produce a space associated with ideas of welcome and generosity' (Darling, 2011, p. 408).

Researcher volunteering is an important practice for those embarking on performative care research, as it provides the opportunity for the researcher to perform care in multiple ways and to participate in care-full encounters with research participants, individuals and organisations. As Williams (2016) notes, researcher volunteering 'enables the researcher to actively contribute to constituting and reproducing an organisation' (Williams, 2016, p. 4).

Researcher volunteering can also be important for researching care and encounter because of the relationships that can be built through the practice. For example, Williams (2012) notes that the relationships between volunteers, staff and members, and the connections made with the broader neighbourhood during researcher

volunteering, reveal how care plays a role in shaping 'urban commons' or spaces of care (Williams, 2012, p. 94). Williams reveals that during her time researcher volunteering, 'meaningful friendships grew … that unsettles conventional understandings of researcher and researched' (Williams, 2012, p. 95).

Williams (2012) also raises important questions about researcher volunteering. For example, when the boundaries between researcher and the researched become blurry during extensive periods of researcher volunteering, there are additional things that need to be considered and reflected upon – specifically, the question of 'what is not within the bounds of the research and what is' (Williams, 2012, p. 95). Williams (2012) notes that the researcher's own ethics play a major role in 'guiding what worlds are performed, what stories are shared, what stories are silenced and how respectfully and ethically research subjects are treated' (Williams, 2012, p. 95). Accordingly, as I will discuss later, practising an ethic of care and being reflexive are important parts of researcher volunteering.

5.3.3 Participant observation – hanging out

Another useful tool for ethnographic research is participant observation through hanging out. Jupp (2008) talks about hanging out with people involved in community groups, and how this form of embodied participation brought awareness to the 'micro-level feelings and interactions' (Jupp, 2008, p. 335) that other forms of participation may not capture. In other words, it is the informality and mundaneness of this type of participant observation that constitute it as hanging out.

There are examples of participant observation through hanging out scattered through the encounter literature, specifically literature interested in understanding intercultural encounters. For example, Wise (2010) explores interethnic living in the Australian suburbs during a two-year ethnographic project. During this time Wise spent time hanging out in local shopping malls and on the high street; she participated in ordinary activities at various clubs, including a local lawn bowls clubs, a church and seniors' groups. She also took part in other ordinary activities like shopping with research participants, and spent time with research participants in their homes and at local fairs and fetes. Another example is Lobo's (2014) encounter research in public

spaces in Darwin which used participant observation to explore affective energies and sensory bodies, to offer insights into exploring how racially differentiated bodies live with difference (Lobo, 2014). Participant observation was conducted at 'beaches, bus transit centres, open-air markets and shopping malls' (Lobo, 2014, p. 102). For Lobo's participants, spending time in these public spaces is indeed an ordinary and everyday activity – accordingly, participant observation in this case involved hanging out in public spaces with research participants.

Outside of care and encounter literature, hanging out has recently been re-asserted as a 'relevant, important and ethically desirable' research method in the field of 'forced migration studies' (Rodgers, 2004, p. 21). Rodgers concludes that 'modest and small-scale qualitative approaches, generated largely through intensive informal and interpersonal interactions between researchers and forced migrants' (Rodgers, 2004, p. 48) are relevant and important because they bring awareness to informal interactions and processes. Horton and Kraftl (2009) argue that hanging out allows researchers interested in care and encounter to capture small acts of kindness, 'words and gestures' that can instigate and reproduce care, acts that are just as important as other more obvious and practical care performances (Horton & Kraftl, 2009, p. 14).

5.3.4 Sensuous scholarship - the body as a research tool

Increasingly in geography, the body is being recognised as 'dynamic and active in its own right, and is implicated in the unfolding of our social and ecological worlds' (Hayes-Conroy, 2010, p. 734). Hayes-Conroy argues that attention to the body requires 'a necessary (re)construction of methods that allow for different forms of body-attentive data gathering and/or creation' (Hayes-Conroy, 2010, p. 734). Her research on the Slow Food (SF) movement employed body-attentive research methods and sensory-based research events, like cooking, eating, gardening, food shopping and wine-tasting with research participants. Her research practice points to the ways that researchers attend to their own bodies, as well as the bodies, feelings and emotions of those they research. Hayes-Conroy describes 'tasting, touching, choosing, gesturing, moving and doing, as well as talking, together' (Hayes-Conroy, 2010, p. 738) with research participants. In other words, she thoroughly employs her body was an

‘instrument of research’ as she participates in everyday sensory practices with research participants.

Everyday bodily practices, like eating, are seen as valuable entryways into sensory-based, affective, performative and practice-orientated methods (Hayes-Conroy, 2010, p. 736). Increasing numbers of geographers are indeed ‘*coming to their senses*’ through research practice as they actively use, and describe how they use, their bodies ‘as instruments of research’ (Duffy et al., 2011, p. 17). For example, in order to access the capacity of an audience to be affected by the rhythms of the parade and to affect others at a street parade, Duffy et al. deployed their own bodies as research instruments, paying attention to ‘emotions, pulse, gestures, and bodily affects’ (Duffy et al., 2011, p. 20). Rhys-Taylor (2013) pays sensory attention to a market place to reveal ways that people come to live with difference. Cheng (2013) embraces all the sensorial aspects of walking, like seeing, hearing and feeling to explore an urban environment, and Longhurst, Ho and Jamesston (2008) use their bodies as ‘instruments of research’ at a lunch with migrants. They argue that there is a large amount of geographic research on the body and the various ways in which ‘bodies and spatiality are closely entwined’. However, these arguments are only just starting to ‘extend into the realm of methods and methodology’ (Longhurst et al., 2008, p. 208). Drawing from these examples and the argument that I have developed about the important role that sensuous and fleshy intercultural encounters play in living together with difference, ‘coming to my senses’ and using my body as an instrument of research is an important research method for exploring care and encounter.

Ethnography provides a means through which to uncover people’s everyday practices and performances. I employ the methods of researcher volunteering and hanging out, while being aware of my body as a research tool. These methods were supplemented with more traditional methods, and in the following section I discuss document analysis and interviews, with an understanding of documents and texts as performative operators.

5.3.5 Document analysis

Conducting document analysis is important for research about care performances. People express care and demonstrate support for others through what they say and what they write. Accordingly, documents not only provide historical and practical information about organisations and events, they can themselves be expressions of care – which are performative in and of themselves. Like McCormack (2009), I see texts as performative operators – things that do work rather than arrest the 'doing'' (McCormack, 2009, p. 135). They bring things into being, and are therefore active participants in spaces of care for PFRB.

Within refugee research, discourse analysis has been used widely to explore representations of refugees and asylum seekers in media, social and political discourse (Baker & McEnery, 2005; Curtis & Mee, 2012; Gale, 2004; Hubbard, 2005b; Klocker, 2004; Klocker & Dunn, 2003). For example, Klocker and Dunn (2003) argue that negative representations of PFRB by governments and media play a role in how some members of the public perceive and respond to refugees arriving and/or living in their countries.

Within care literature, discourse analysis has been used to undercover and explore the ethos of organisations providing care (P Cloke et al., 2005). Cloke et al. (2005) argue that the discourses of ethos presented by organisations providing care (for homeless people) present important insights into 'contemporary charitable assemblages of ethics-at-work, and more specifically present important articulations of how the 'self' of the service provider relates to the 'other' of homeless people' (P Cloke et al., 2005, p. 386).

While documents can provide information and perform more caring worlds into being, other methods are needed to capture the multiple ways that care is performed. Next, I turn to interviews as another qualitative research method that is important for exploring people's experiences in giving and/or receiving care.

5.3.6 Interviews

Interviews are a means of accessing accounts of the experiences of participants and the meanings they ascribe to their experiences (Dunn, 2005). Along with other qualitative methods, 'the aim is to probe an issue in depth: the purpose is to explore and understand actions within specific settings, to examine human relationships and discover as much as possible about why people feel or act in the ways they do' (McDowell, 2010, p. 156). Interviews, as a method, show respect for people by empowering the people providing the data. Their views of the world are valued and respected and open questions encourage participants to offer their own opinions (Dunn, 2005).

One of the major strengths of interviews for research on care is that they can provide insights into people's experiences of care that are difficult to capture with other methods. For example, Askins (2014) views her interviews with participants involved in refugee befriending programs in the UK as an invaluable tool for participants to explore and explain their perceptions about the caring relationships they developed through the befriending program, as well as their experiences of receiving and/or giving care. Furthermore, interviews are important when researching care because, as Hay (2010) notes, they allow scope for research participants to explore non-quantifiable matters such as beliefs and feelings, which Chapter 2 and 3 explored as important for many people involved in caring for marginalised groups of people. They also allow researchers to access accounts of more caring encounters than they could personally witness.

Geographers interested in spaces of care have also used interviews. For example, Johnsen, Cloke and May (2005) interviewed employees, volunteers and service users connected to spaces of care for homeless people (Johnsen et al., 2005a, 2005b) and Darling (2011) interviewed volunteers, service users (asylum seekers) and the founder of the space of care he was researching (Darling, 2011). The researchers used this method as one way of understanding more about the internal dynamics of spaces of care for marginalised people.

Geographers researching encounters also use interviews. For example, Valentine's (2008) encounter research is based on interview data. However, considering that Valentine's encounter literature focuses on understanding majority views and attempts to reduce prejudice, her interviews were only conducted with 'with white majority participants' (Valentine, 2008, p. 325). In other cases, people interested in intercultural encounters have interviewed people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (see for example Lobo, 2010; Lobo, 2014). Wise (2010) also interviewed 'Anglo-Celtic senior citizens' as well as ' local Chinese, Greek, Italian, Indian and Lebanese residents' (Wise, 2010, p. 918) in her exploration of people's relationships and the increasingly culturally diverse suburb where they all lived. Mayblin, Valentine and Anderson's (2015) research on engineered encounters also used interviews conducted with people from the Muslim and the Jewish communities. Wulforst, Rocha and Morgan's (2014) look at intimate multiculturalism involved the researchers interviewing both Brazilian teachers and Anglo-Australia Capoeira students.

These examples all point to the appropriateness of using interviews as a research method for exploring care and encounters. However, it is also important to also discuss the non-discursive information that can be gained through interviews. Interviews are embodied experiences, and there is more to a research interview than the resulting transcript. So what else can interviews tell us?

The embodied experience of the interviewee, and the researcher's own experience can offer additional 'data', which can be collected by observing (and responding) in the moment to people's embodied reactions to what they are saying and what they are being asked during interviews. For example, Dyck and McLaren (2004) note, in their research with migrant and refugee women in Canada, that it is important to reflect on the 'emotional tenor' of interviews, and pay attention to the 'the tears, hushed tones and body language … the hopes, dreams and fears' expressed through the body during the interviews (Dyck & McLaren, 2004, p. 528). With this in mind, interviews are used as both discursive and non-discursive qualitative research tools in this research project.

5.3.7 Applying care ethics to research practice/Reflexivity

Reflexivity is broadly accepted and it is a well-established practice that can foster care through the process of doing qualitative research (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1698). Our research can never escape the power relations shaping the situations in which we research (Smith, 2003). Being reflexive means that we address these power relations carefully and take them into account in the choices we make in our research practice as well as in the interpretations we develop (Smith, 2003, p. 187). Being reflexive means that as a researcher you reflect on your own subjective position 'as well as how research participants might position the researcher, in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, class, and so forth' (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1698). Being reflexive means that researchers consider the implications of their identities, relationships and responsibilities throughout the research process. In this thesis, I draw from Herron and Skinner (2013) who argue that care ethics is a useful framework through which qualitative researchers can negotiate and evaluate the challenges of such reflexive research practice (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1699). They argue that care ethics has 'particular utility for studies that aim to understand and improve the care experiences of others (Sevenhuijsen, 1998)' (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1699).

Formal university ethics procedures do not always provide the guidance necessary to negotiate the complex emotional and relational features of research on care (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1699). With this in mind, Herron and Skinner (2013) draw on three principles developed by Hankivsky (2004) in order to articulate how an ethic of care might be applied to research practice: 1) contextual sensitivity 2) responsiveness and 3) attentiveness. They argue that 'these principles can guide a relational approach to reflexivity, one that includes self-awareness and self-scrutiny—but in relation to the research participant and with the objective of being responsive to his or her perspectives' (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1699).

I agree with Herron and Skinner (2013) that we should not research care without engaging in the practice of an ethic of care. Scholars have used care ethics as a tool to guide the interpretation of research data but 'there has been little emphasis on examining how researchers can apply care ethics throughout the research process to

develop more “care-full” (i.e. care-informed) research relationships, even in research on care’ (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1697). As well as using *the practice of an ethic of care* to offer insights into how care is practised by participants, I used the ethic of care to guide my relationships with the organisations and people involved in the research practice. I used being attentive, responsible, competent, responsive, trusting and respectful (see Chapter 2) to guide my own research practice. Being respectful and allowing relationships of trust to develop is an important part of any research project – particularly research that aims to understand the care experiences of others.

5.3.8 Cross cultural research

Generally, cross cultural research is understood as research conducted within cultural contexts ‘different’ to those of the researcher (Skelton, 2009, p. 398). However, this type of generic understanding of cross-cultural research is problematic in that ‘almost all human geographical research could be constructed as cross-cultural – which renders the concept meaningless’ (Skelton, 2009, p. 398).

Within the cross-cultural literature there are two main assumptions about what defines cross-cultural research. The first is the assumption that cross-cultural research takes place overseas or across national borders. The second assumption, which relates to this research project, is that research takes place ‘within the same spatiality that the researcher is familiar with (their own country, for example) but engages with people of a different culture’ (Skelton, 2009, p. 398). In this definition the researcher crosses cultural boundaries rather than spatial boundaries. The cultural boundaries may be based on differences such as ‘class, race, ethnicity, gender, religion sexuality, language or other cultural practices, or upon any combination of these bases of difference’ (Skelton, 2009, p. 399).

When I began this research project, I had considered that I would be conducting cross-cultural research because the PFRB living in Newcastle were indeed culturally and ethnically *different* to me. And as this section will explore, I took steps and made research decisions based on these *differences*. As Skelton (2009) argues, the definition of cross-cultural research can ‘construct the researcher as a fixed entity who enters a different culture …. thus always placing the researcher as central’ (Skelton, 2009, p.

398) and foregrounding the difference between the researcher and the researched. However, what I came to understand in the research process was that my position as a researcher who was culturally *different* to many of the research participants was but one of the many intersecting identities that I performed during the research process. Being a white researcher indeed made me *different* to the research participants, and I needed to address the resulting power relations carefully. However, there were times when my other identities and experiences provided points of *identification* (and *difference)* with research participants. For example, my identity as a female, as a volunteer, as a refugee activist, as a childless woman, as a student, as an Australian citizen, as a cook and as a dancer, at different times not only provided points of difference, but points of *identification* with research participants. At the same time, my research encounters and experiences changed my identity and positionality. As researchers and as individuals we do not remain unchanged by research encounters.

With this in mind, using more fluid conceptualisations of culture 'means we have to question what ideas about similarity and difference we bring to our cross-cultural studies' (Smith, 2003, p. 183). Moreover, drawing on ideas of intersectionality allows us to think about the complex ways identity is performed. For example, at times the research encounters I had with women from refugee backgrounds illuminated their *refugeeness* but at other times their identities as women, mothers, daughters, wives, students and carers were being performed, and provided points of *identification* and *difference*.

My position as a person born in Australia with Australian citizenship became uncomfortably obvious to me at certain times – particularly when hanging out with asylum seekers, or talking with people who had recently been released from immigration detention, and even with people from refugee backgrounds who, although accepted into Australia, have to wait for four years before than can become Australian citizens. This meant that I needed to be reflexive and responsive, and I needed to acknowledge my position as an Australian citizen, and the effect that this position had on my relationships and interactions with PFRB.

The remaining part of this section will discuss more specific issues that I took into consideration for *my* research project that involved working with PFRB, and my responses to these considerations. Some of the issues are indeed things that most researchers embarking on cross-cultural research (or any research) need to consider; others are considerations specific to this research.

Consideration 1: Talking with and hanging out with people from refugee backgrounds

During the design of this research, I anticipated that some people who agreed to take part in this research would be refugees who had been through traumatic life experiences. In my capacity as volunteer, or my role as interviewer, I imagined that it was possible that traumatic stories could be disclosed to me. People disclosing traumatic stories may become upset, and I wanted to be in a position to be attentive, responsible and competent in responding to such stories, in keeping with the ethic of care that underlies the research in this thesis.

Response 1: Training

To better prepare myself to work with refugees in the capacity of a volunteer and interviewer I completed two training courses run by the NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS). The two courses are described in Table 5.1.

Completing these courses provided me with information and skills to better prepare myself for working cross-culturally with PFRB. For example, information was provided about the complexity of the 'refugee experience', difficulties faced by 'asylum seekers' and refugee resettlement interventions (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2013a). In addition, 'non-verbal communication', 'active listening' and 'questioning skills' were discussed and roleplayed (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2012) in order to equip participants with more effective communication skills.

Table 5.1 STARTTS Training Courses

'Accidental' counsellors: responding to refugee trauma related behaviours (for non-counsellors)
'This course is designed to give people not trained as counsellors some basic tips and skills for how to recognise and deal with difficult behaviours in refugee trauma clients in the workplace. It gives practical skills in containing situations such as; disclosure of traumatic stories; sadness and tearfulness; anger outbursts; dissociation; panic attacks and suicide threats, and an understanding of appropriate follow-up referrals' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2013b, p. 24). **When:** 21st March 2013 **Where:** STARTTS, 152 The Horsley Drive, Carramar, NSW
Core concepts in working with people from refugee backgrounds
'This one-day introductory workshop is designed to put a framework of understanding around working with refugees and asylum seekers. It focuses in understanding the link between what refugees have been through, the sorts of issues and behaviours they may present with, and how to work in a way that fosters feelings of trust, safety and control, while minimising the risk of retraumatisation' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2013b, p. 12). **When:** 22nd May 2013 **Where:** Newcastle TAFE, Tighes Hill, NSW

Both training courses focused on self-care for people and organisations working with PFRB. They included discussions about professional boundaries and the consequences of having 'poor boundaries'. For example, both courses included a module on the importance of 'Setting and Maintaining Professional Boundaries' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2012, p. 55; 2013a, p. 54). The training information stressed that 'Setting and maintaining strong professional boundaries is an important way to stay within the "ideal" range of involvement with refugees and asylum seekers' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2013a, p. 72). The training provided examples of common ways that professional boundaries may be crossed. For example 'the worker interacts with their client outside of work in social settings, or interactions with the client become less professional and more social' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2013a, p. 73). It was clearly communicated that the negative consequences of 'doing things for and caring for the client beyond what is required' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2012, p. 33) was that as a worker, you could become

burnt out. Moreover, when brainstorming 'boundary crossing' it was suggested by someone attending that 'if they [clients] see you as a friend, then you cannot help them as a worker' (Fieldwork Diary 21 March 2013).

It is important to briefly note here that at the time of the training course, I absorbed all of this information and made a mental note to try and put into practice the things I had learnt. After all, the facilitators and the other people attending the training all had more experience than I had in working directly with PFRB, and therefore I felt their knowledge would be helpful, useful and the 'right' way to do things, although at the same time I was slightly apprehensive about how one could support and care for others and remain detached. How was I actually going to practise 'professional detachment and observation while being empathetic and helpful' (NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, 2012, p. 30) when I started to develop relationships with people?

These types of questions about how care should be provided, what professional boundaries are, and how people navigate these types of relationships are all important questions – questions that I will explore further in Chapter 6 in terms of my own practice of care and the care performances of research participants.

Consideration 2: Language

From preliminary research I knew that PFRB living in Newcastle came from a diverse range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Accordingly, I knew that while some spoke English, many people use English as a second language and others do not speak it at all. Although my research was designed to include non-discursive research methods and modes of encounter not exclusively based on a shared competence in English, the research design included inviting people from refugee backgrounds to take part in semi-structured interviews. This is where the issue of English language proficiency needed to be considered. I am only fluent in English – therefore, if I was to interview a person who was not proficient in English, then a translator would be required. Apart from the practical challenges of finding translators in Newcastle for many different first languages of PFRB (and my lack of research funds to pay for them), the use of a translator brings with it ethical issues of its own. Translation adds another layer of

power dynamics to cross-cultural interactions. As Temple and Young (2004, p. 164) remind us, 'there is no neutral position from which to translate'.

Response 2: Not to use translators

I made the decision to only conduct interviews with people who were able to speak English. All of the information sheets and invitations to participate in this research were produced in English. This decision did not mean that in order to participate in the research, English had to be the participant's first language. Rather, it meant that participants had to be proficient enough in English to understand what was required of them, and to be able to talk with me about their experiences of giving and receiving care in Newcastle. I was certainly aware that this decision would exclude some people, and that it could limit the number of PFRB that could participate in interviews, but ethically, I was more comfortable in my decision to not work with translators or translated texts. Working with translators comes with issues about hearing the voices of participants. As Temple and Young (2004) remind us, 'No-one can be sure of which concepts or words differ in meaning across languages and which do not, or if this matters in the context of the translation' (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 165). In other words, translators may interpret and communicate their own meaning in their versions of participants' responses.

Consideration 3: Trust and distrust in refugee research

Within Western nations such as Australia, refugee and asylum systems operate a 'system of power' by exercising control over different groups of people, at different times in different places (White & Bushin, 2011, p. 327). What this means is that those involved in the research process, both researchers and participants, cannot be considered 'outside' of these power relations. White and Bushin (2011) suggest that this might seem an 'unremarkable' or 'obvious' point, but following Miller (2004) they argue that there is an absence of debate amongst refugee researchers about key elements of research with refugees such as 'gaining access to refugee communities and the extent to which trusting relationships with refugee participants could be developed' (White & Bushin, 2011, p. 327).

It has been acknowledged that 'before, during and after their flight from persecution and arrival in host society these migrants are embroiled in a series of individual, institutional and societal relationships that are founded upon the absence of trust and *active* mistrust' (White & Bushin, 2011, p. 327). Accordingly negotiating trust is central to research encounters with refugees and asylum seekers. Developing trust is also consistent with the care ethics I aimed to perform in the research.

Response 3: Taking time for relationships to organically develop

Building relationships of trust takes time, and I made a decision to conduct research in the place where I lived, so that I could spend an extended amount of time in the field developing relationships. This was also about building relationships of trust with organisations and volunteers. Moreover, PFRB in formal and informal spaces of care were not approached to participate in the research directly. Rather, recruitment material was either distributed by organisations, or materials were placed around spaces of care for people to engage with on their own terms (recruitment posters with my photo were also displayed – so that people had an opportunity to avoid me if they so desired). Allowing time for relationships to develop was important because it enabled the volunteers, employees, PFRB, other members of the Newcastle refugee support community and myself to get to know one another in our own time. Allowing this time ensured that my relationships with research participants developed organically, and that they were not rushed or forced. As a result, we were able to develop relationships of trust and respect consistent with care ethics.

Conducting cross-cultural research meant that I needed to be reflexive and responsive. I had to consider and acknowledge my position as a researcher, as a woman, and as an Australian citizen, and I had to consider the effects that these positions had on my relationships and interactions with PFRB. And while I needed to address these positions and power relations carefully, I also recognised when my identities and experiences provided points of *identification* with research participants. Cross-cultural research also involved undertaking training, considering language, and planning and performing research consistent with care ethics.

5.3.9 The Case Study

In this research project I purposefully selected case studies in order to explore the performance of care evoked by the presence of refugees. Purposive case study selection allows for the selection of cases that have 'strategic importance in relation to the general problem' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78). In other words, I strategically selected case study organisations and events that reflected, or could be considered to reflect, 'spaces of care'. Previous literature indicates the appropriateness of a purposeful case study approach for exploring spaces of care. For examples, see Parr (2000), Parr and Philo (2003), Conradson (2003) and Darling (2011). Each of these research projects focuses on a particular space where care takes place: semi-institutional places (Parr 2000), rural communities (Parr and Philo 2003) and drop-in centres (Conradson, 2003; Darling, 2011). Studying spaces of care has therefore proven to be conducive to the in-depth, situated, case study approach.

Case studies and qualitative research have been criticised for lack of rigour and universality. However, as Flyvberg argues, case studies have their own internal rigour created by the researcher's immersion in the minutiae of the everyday practices of the case (Flyvberg, 2001). The strength of case studies that makes them suitable to the task of considering care and encounter is the ability to elicit 'thick' descriptions of events, places and people. Setting boundaries provides the research project with a greater capacity to relate back to the aims of the project (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Case study research is thorough and it enables a more in-depth exploration (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Case study research is not interested in a broad understanding of a phenomenon; rather it is used 'to show how broader processes work through specific constellations of space' (Gregory et al., 2009).

In the next section I outline why Newcastle NSW was an appropriate place to conduct this research. I then provide more detail about each of the organisations and events chosen as research sites.

5.4 Case Studies

5.4.1 Newcastle

Newcastle is located approximately 150km north of Sydney (see Figure 5.1), and has a population of 161,225 (REPLAM, 2016). Like many other locales outside of the main capital cities in Australia, Newcastle is less ethnically diverse than major urban cities. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, around 34% of people in the largest capital cities in Australia were born overseas, compared to less than 12% for smaller rural towns of under 10 000. Newcastle, considered to be a regional area, is somewhere in between, with 17.7% of people born overseas. However most of the migrants come from English speaking nations including the United Kingdom and New Zealand (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Figures from 2011 suggest that 8% of people living in Newcastle came from countries where English is not a first language (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Figures from 2011 reveal the most common responses for people living in Newcastle to the question about religion in the 2011 census were: Catholic 25.3%, No Religion 22.6%, Anglican 22.3%, Uniting Church 5.9% and Presbyterian and Reformed 3.2% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Less than 1% of people living in Newcastle identified as Muslim (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

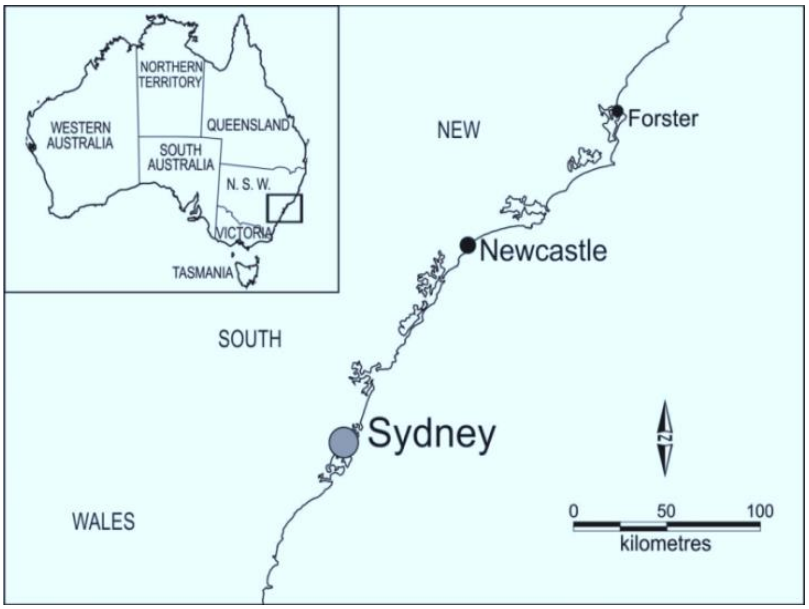

Figure 5.1 Map of Australia, locating Newcastle

Source: Olivier Rey-Lescure and Faith Curtis

As Chapter 1 outlined, Newcastle has a relatively small but extremely diverse refugee population. For a number of reasons this makes it an interesting place in which to explore the lived experiences of refugees and asylum seekers. First, research about the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations tends to focus on a group of refugees (distinguished by nationality or religion) in a particular locale. For example, Bosnian refugees in Western Australia (Fitzpatrick, 2002), Sudanese refugee women in western Sydney (Hashimoto-Govindasamy & Rose, 2011), Somali women in Hamilton, New Zealand (Guerin et al., 2003), Afghan Hazara refugees in Albany, Western Australia (Lange et al., 2007), Afghan Hazara refugees in Dandenong, Victoria (Mackenzie & Guntarik, 2015) or Muslim refugee women in South Australia (Palmer, 2009).

Due to the size and diversity of the refugee population in Newcastle, choosing Newcastle as a case study enabled me to explore the lived experiences of people from many different types of refugee backgrounds, rather than focusing on one ethnically, culturally or religiously specific group, which is the more common research method. Newcastle was also deemed to be an appropriate place to explore the lived experiences of refugees because there has been no research thus far published that pertains to refugees living in Newcastle, NSW.

Furthermore, I currently live and study in Newcastle and this enabled me to immerse myself in the field. Developing and maintaining relationships of trust is important when conducting research with PFRB, as discussed above. Becoming a part of the community of people in Newcastle that are actively involved in various forms of refugee care was crucial in establishing relationships of trust and respect. Being able to gradually and organically develop networks within this community over 15 months of fieldwork allowed time for me to build relationships of trust with organisations and individuals that were essential for this research project.

In the following section I outline the scoping exercise conducted to find refugee support organisations and events in Newcastle.

Scoping exercise

As I have made clear, this thesis is about care, and through my research practice I aim to bring more caring worlds into being. Accordingly, I purposively selected case study organisations and events that reflected an ethos of care, or that could be considered spaces of care because they provided some type of support service to PFRB. As discussed in Chapter 2, care happens in multiple ways, between different people, and in different spaces. Care can be about practical and material support. It can involve emotional and social support, and people also express care towards PFRB by attending public events. Care-full intercultural encounters can occur through formal and/or informal organisations, or through more fleeting activities, spaces and events. Therefore, in order to capture the multiple ways that people perform care, and the multiple ways that people encounter difference, it was important to include formal, informal and transient spaces of care as research sites.

One of my first steps involved a scoping exercise to uncover the various refugee support organisations and activities taking place in Newcastle. The refugee support field is fluid – organisations and people establish new groups or activities (as refugee populations fluctuate, or funding is received, for example). Alternatively organisations may cease to exist, or they may change the types of activities they provide due to funding constraints or decreased volunteer support, or because PFRB no longer require or desire a particular service. The scoping exercise was conducted early in the research process and involved internet-based searches of refugee and migrant support organisations in Newcastle, government and non-government websites and social media in order to find out more details about the services and activities that were currently available to PFRB in Newcastle. The organisations I found were classified by the type of space of care, funding source and labour used. Table 5.2 was produced during this initial scoping exercise.

Table 5.2 Scoping Exercise

Space of care provided	Organisation / Event	Overview	Services provided for PFRB	Funding by	Staffed by
Formal	Navitas English	Main provider of Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) in Newcastle.	HSS provides initial settlement support to refugees (temporary housing, assistance with health and medical services, banking and schools)	For-profit organisation. Funding by Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP)	Employees
Formal & Informal	Northern Settlement Services (NSS)	Funded to provide support to refugees post-HSS.	Resettlement assistance. Complex case support. Home visits, migration advice, advocacy, homework/tutoring support, driving supervision.	Not-for-profit organisation. Funding provided by the DIBP.	Employees & Volunteers
Formal & Informal	Multicultural Neighbourhood Centre (MNC)	Promotes the education and support people from non-English speaking backgrounds.	MNC caters to all migrants – not only refugees. English conversation classes, youth activities, playgroup, homework help, access to internet, computer classes for beginners, community garden.	Not-for-profit organisation. Funded by Department of Community Services.	Employees & Volunteers
Formal	NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS)	STARTTS provides services to assist people who have experienced torture or other traumatic events before arriving in Australia.	Counselling and therapy, group work, self-support groups, health education and activities. Community development projects. Training of mainstream service-providers in awareness of refugee issues and strategies to work with this client group.	STARTTS is a not-for-profit charity.	Employees
Formal & Informal	Penola House	Provides a drop-in space and other services for PFRB.	Language classes, sewing classes, driving instruction, access to computers/internet, housing assistance, child play room, men's shed, garden, pastoral support, advocacy, case work	Faith-based organisations funded by the Newcastle-Maitland Catholic Diocese and donations.	Employees & Volunteers

Space of care provided	Organisation / Event	Overview	Services provided for PFRB	Funding by	Staffed by
Formal	Ethnic Communities Council (ECC)	The ECC supports established ethnic communities in the Newcastle and Hunter	Health, well-being and social interaction programs. Multicultural library. English conversational classes. Men's shed.	Not-for-profit Funded by state and federal governments	Employees
Informal	Africa Australia Alliance for Peace and Reconciliation (AAAFPR)	Not-for-profit incorporated association, campaigning for peace and for the rights of Africans affected by war.	Partners with existing resettlement services to assist Africans to resettle in Australia and to maintain their sense of cultural identity.	Volunteer organisation funded by donations.	Volunteers
Transient	Refugee Action Network Newcastle (RANN)	A community group campaigning for the rights of refugees and asylum seekers locally, nationally and abroad.	RANN focuses on raising awareness for refugee rights, engages in local level organising, distributes information, organises public meetings, creates educational forums, lobbies and organises rallies, marches and other actions.	Fundraising	Volunteers
Transient	Hunter African Communities Council (HACC)	Responds to the needs of the Australians of African origin in Newcastle.	Simba Football Club, Girls Dance Troup, Advocacy Youth events, Community events	Fundraising. Small community grants	Volunteers
Transient	Welcome to Australia – Newcastle	Cultivating a culture of welcome in Newcastle and the Hunter.	Aims to welcome and support asylum seekers, refugees, new arrivals and long-term migrant residents in Australia through community events.	Australia-wide organisation. Newcastle branch funded by the volunteers.	Volunteers
Transient	Refugee Week Events in Newcastle 2013	2 events scheduled	Multicultural celebration & Congolese Play Walk Together March & Multicultural Festival	Volunteers	Volunteers

5.4.2 Selecting research sites

Each research site chosen was initially selected according to the classification of being a formal, informal or transient space of care. My intention in the initial stages of the research process was to include three empirical chapters in the thesis, one that would explore formal spaces of care, a second chapter on informal spaces and a third exploring transient spaces of refugee care in Newcastle (see Table 5.3). However, the boundaries between informal, formal and transient sites were more fluid than I anticipated. For example, formal organisations also involve informal caring opportunities and transient spaces of care. It became apparent during the fieldwork that using the categories of formal, informal and transitory was not an appropriate classification system for my analysis.

Table 5.3 Initial characterisations of research sites

Organisation or event	Initial characterisation
Navitas	Formal
Northern Settlement Services	Formal
Penola House	Formal
Hunter African Communities Council	Informal
Welcome to Australia	Informal
Refugee Week events 2013	Transitory
Refugee Week events 2014	Transitory

Table 5.3 reveals that Navitas was classified as a formal space of care and the organisation was invited to participate in the research. However, they did not respond to any of my correspondence. In contrast, Penola House and the Hunter Africa Communities Council both responded promptly and enthusiastically to the invitation to participate in the research. And while Northern Settlement Services took five months to respond, in February 2014 they agreed to participate in the research, with the condition that I only interviewed employees and volunteers. NSS did not agree to me volunteering, or to me interviewing their 'clients'.

Welcome to Australia (W2A) Newcastle branch did not agree to formally participate because they did not think that they had the 'expertise' to contribute. However, the organisers were happy for me to conduct research via participation in W2A events.

As I have previously mentioned, the refugee support field is fluid, so after sending out the initial invitations to participate in the research I continued to search for other potential research sites. Through this ongoing search I discovered that the Newcastle branch of Mission Australia recruited volunteers to work with newly arrived PFRB. As Mission Australia was not listed on my university ethics form, on 13 September 2013 I submitted an ethics variation to the University of Newcastle Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) in order to approach Mission Australia with an invitation to participate. The variation was approved on 16 October 2013 by the HREC. However, the response from Mission Australia was that they did have the authority to accept the invitation because they were sub-contracted by Navitas and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) in the delivery of this service. They suggested that I approach Navitas, provided me with the contact details of the correct person to approach, and also passed on my details to Navitas. At this stage I adjusted the Invitation to Participate for Navitas, and re-invited Navitas to participate by allowing me to volunteer with Mission Australia and by inviting Mission Australia volunteers, employees and Navitas employees to participate in interviews. Navitas again declined to participate in the research.

In February 2014 my ongoing search for different types of refugee spaces of care uncovered a new refugee support activity established by Welcome to Australia (W2A). W2A had recently started holding a monthly Welcome BBQ in a public park in the Newcastle suburb of Mayfield. As this activity was not a part of my university ethics approval, I submitted another ethics variation to the HREC to include the monthly W2A barbeque as a research site. This variation was approved in April 2014. At this stage I also decided to extend an invitation to the national branch of W2A, who responded with verbal approval in April 2014. However they did not return the signed documentation. The Welcome BBQs were approved as research sites where I could conduct participant observation and recruit attendees, and the local branch of W2A

were happy for me to attend barbeques for my research. However, because W2A as an organisation had not officially agreed to participate in the research, I was reluctant to recruit any participants for interviews (despite the HREC approving this recruitment technique). In saying that, my decision to not recruit Welcome BBQ participants also came from me not wanting to disturb the care relationships I was developing with people by introducing such a formal invitation to 'talk'.

I now provide some background information on each of the final research sites:

1. Northern Settlement Services (NSS)
2. Penola House (PH)
3. Hunter African Communities Council (HACC)
4. Welcome to Australia (Welcome BBQs and Walk Together event)
5. Refugee Week 2013
6. Refugee Week 2014.

Northern Settlement Services – Newcastle

Northern Settlement Services, formerly the Migrant Resource Centre, is a not-for-profit organisation that provides services to migrants and PFRB. Migrant Resource Centres (MRC) are community-based organisations that exist across Australia to provide settlement support to migrants and PFRB. Funded by the federal government, their main purpose is to cater to the immediate and longer-term needs of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds. NSS was chosen as a formal organisation because it provides various services to PFRB in Newcastle through its delivery of post-Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS). NSS is not funded to support all PFRB; rather, they are required to provide post-HSS to holders of certain categories of visa. Most asylum seekers are ineligible to access these services. The key services include the Settlement Grants Program (SGP), Complex Case Support (CSS) and a Volunteer Program (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 NSS services

Settlement Grants Program	Complex Case Support	Volunteer Program
The Settlement Grants Program (SGP) is a federal government grant program which provides funding to organisations to help new arrivals settle in Australia. The SGP is only available to people from refugee backgrounds that arrive in Australia via Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Program. The service is available to people after they have been in Australia for more than six months, once they are no longer clients of their initial resettlement organisations (in Newcastle this is Navitas). In other words, people are not able to access this service through NSS until their allocated time with Navitas has expired – and asylum seekers are not eligible to access this support at all.	NSS also provide Complex Case Support (CCS) for refugee clients 'experiencing extreme hardship and disadvantage in their settlement'(Northern Settlement Services, 2011). CCS is support that goes 'above and beyond the more routine services which all refugees have on arrival in Australia' (Northern Settlement Services, 2011).	NSS also has a volunteer program, with the key activities being tutoring, driving instruction and home visits. The tutoring takes place at Homework Centres across four Newcastle schools which offer after-school one-to-one tutoring for primary and high school refugee students in a classroom environment. The Driving Supervision Program helps people to learn how to drive and to log the driver hours required before they can sit for their driver's license in NSW (NSS, 2013). The volunteer program also matches volunteers with clients for home visits and social interaction.

The variety of services, programs and activities provided by NSS demonstrate that NSS performs care in a number of different formal and informal ways. The SGP and CSS are formal support services that are mostly facilitated from the NSS office in Newcastle, but the volunteer program provides people with the opportunity to express and perform care in less formal ways in homes, vehicles and other spaces like Homework Centres. In addition to these formal and informal programs and activities, during the course of the fieldwork I discovered that NSS also performs care in transient spaces, in the form of multicultural festivals, lunches, and other cultural celebrations and events that they organise or support throughout the year.

NSS are a fundamental part of the landscape of care and support for PFRB in Newcastle. The services they provide are restricted by the funding they receive from the federal government, and the availability of appropriate volunteers. Moreover, due to funding restrictions/requirements NSS are not able to offer their services to all PFRB – only to people who have come to Australia via the Humanitarian Settlement

Program. This excludes any people who are in Australia and waiting for their asylum claims to be processed.

Penola House

Penola House (PH) was chosen because it is a formal organisation providing a variety of different services to refugees in Newcastle. However, during the course of my fieldwork I also found many examples of informal spaces and performances of care at PH, as well as transient spaces of care. PH is a faith-based refugee support organisation that was established in Newcastle in 2008. Penola House was founded by Sister Elizabeth Brown (Sister Betty) and Sister Dianna Santleban (Sister Di) and it operates under the auspices of the Sisters of St Joseph of Lochinvar. In 2013 the organisation went through some major changes. The changes were the result of the premises they used no longer being available to them. After an unsuccessful search for new premises, the Catholic Diocese of Maitland-Newcastle stepped in and offered a space, and the governance and operation of Penola House was transferred from Sister Betty and Sister Di (and the Sisters of St Joseph) to the Maitland-Newcastle Catholic Diocese. The Diocese immediately became responsible for 'statutory obligations, risk management, budgeting, fund-raising and the management of staff and volunteers who work at Penola House' (Gregory, 2015).

The new location and changes in governance and operation at PH took place a short time before the fieldwork component of this research project commenced. Accordingly, I did not spend any time within the 'old' Penola House (building or organisational structure). However, as will be noted in the following empirical chapters, employees, volunteers, clients, the Sisters and a Diocese representative all have opinions about how these changes affected the ways in which Penola House provides care to PFRB in Newcastle.

Unlike NSS, there are no restrictions on who can visit PH and access the services there. You can have a refugee background, or come from a 'refugee-like' background. You can be an asylum seeker, a recently arrived refugee, on a bridging visa, or someone who has been in Australia for 10 years. In other words, your visa status is not what provides you with the opportunity to access PH. Rather, you are eligible if you are

actively seeking out care, found PH, and walk through the door. Many of the people who pass through the doors at PH are indeed newly arrived refugees, but people do not require documentation to prove this. Moreover, people who arrived in Australia as refugees but have since been living in Australia for a long period of time are certainly not excluded from PH.

At the time of my research, PH had two staff (a formal case worker and a pastoral care worker), a core group of approximately 35 volunteers (including the sisters), many more volunteers who assisted when asked to, and a fluctuating number of PFRB who accessed the space and services that were not recorded in any formal way. There was a sign-in book at the front desk signed by everyone (employees, volunteers, visitors etc.) that entered Penola House. Records show that from February 2013 when Penola House opened the new premises, until the end of 2013, an average of 246 people a month entered Penola House – this increased in 2014 to an average of 474 per month. The increase in numbers coincided with the arrival of the Afghani interpreters and their families to Newcastle, discussed in Chapter 1.

The building where Penola House has been located since 2013 is essentially a suburban house that has been slightly modified to make it functional for refugee care. It operates Monday to Friday from 10am to 4pm and people are free to drop in at any time, although they are encouraged to make an appointment if they want to discuss something specific with the sisters or the case worker. The services and activities that Penola House facilitate emerge as Penola House responds to the people who contact them and access their space. Therefore, the care they perform is varied and includes providing material support such as clothes, furniture, food, baby clothes, blankets and other items donated by members of the Newcastle community, financial support via gifts or small loans, complex case work, English language classes, sewing classes, housing assistance, driving instruction, pastoral care, emotional support and importantly a drop-in space for people to come and hang out. As a drop-in space it provides access to computers and the internet, gardening, a men's shed, a children's play room, a kitchen and the opportunity to chat and spend time with volunteers and other people from refugee backgrounds.

The types of support come via the services and activities summarised in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Penola House Service and Activities

Penola House Services & Activities
Drop-in centre
English language classes
Assistance with real estate agents and finding rental properties
Advocacy
Sewing class
Free access to computers, internet and printing
Children's toy room
Childminding
Women's group and activities
Men's shed
Driving supervision program
Material donations of food, furniture, clothes, blankets
Moving house assistance, furniture removal, rubbish removal
Gardening
Financial assistance
Translating letters and bills
Friendship
Home visits
Help with shopping
Support for refugee family members not in Australia

Penola House relies on volunteers for its day-to-day operations, and for many of the services that they provide. The volunteers perform care roles both in and out of Penola House. For example, they teach English classes, work on the reception desk (answering phones and greeting people), undertake administration duties and do all the necessary cleaning and maintenance required. They sort through donations, greet people, mind children, read letters for people and generally assist people wherever they can. Away from the building, volunteers drive people to appointments, take them shopping, visit people's homes and assist people in locating and inspecting rental properties and navigating any other aspects of day-to-day life that people may want assistance with.

Most of the volunteers at Penola House are older Anglo Australian women. However, the volunteer cohort also includes university students, former refugees, migrants and a

few men. The core volunteers are women who have ties to the sisters through their religious faith or through a long association with Penola House.

Hunter African Communities Council

The Hunter African Communities Council (HACC) was established in Newcastle in 2007 by a group of people with African backgrounds living in Newcastle. HACC is a not-for-profit organisation that advocates for African Australians living in Newcastle, many of whom are from refugee backgrounds or refugee-like backgrounds. HACC is run by a group of volunteers and has a number of members. African people from refugee backgrounds have been resettled in Newcastle for over 15 years. This group of people comes from extremely diverse backgrounds, with source countries including Eritrea, Egypt, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Liberia, Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya amongst others. Some communities in Newcastle have larger populations such as the Congolese, while others may be represented by one or two families. Despite this diversity, the HACC believes it is important in Newcastle to bring people from African backgrounds together and build relationships with the wider community.

The Hunter African Community Council was chosen for this research because it provides informal support to people from African backgrounds (many of whom are from refugee backgrounds). Also, HACC was chosen because it appeared to be the only migrant/refugee-led refugee support organisation in Newcastle. Considering this research is about the various ways that people perform care, it was important to be able to explore HACC and the ways that care is provided through a refugee/migrant-led organisation. Unlike NSS and PH, HACC does not have a physical space for people to visit. The care and support they provide to people is done within their community. Therefore, it was anticipated that exploring HACC's activities would be an opportunity to capture different aspects of care for and by PRFB.

One of HACC's successful programs has been the establishment of a football club, the Hunter Simba Football Club (SFC). The SFC was chosen as one of the research sites because it was a unique way for PFRB to give and receive care. Moreover, Hunter Simba provides many and varied opportunities for people from different backgrounds

to come together through playing, through volunteering at the club or through participation as a spectator or supporter of the club.

During the course of the fieldwork the HACC held their first Africa Day. The introduction of this event (and transient space of care) demonstrates the ever changing nature of the refugee support field, and informed my decision to not frame refugee support organisations simply in terms of whether they were formal, informal or transient, because increasingly each organisation was providing a combination of formal and/or informal and transient spaces of care.

Welcome to Australia – Newcastle

Welcome to Australia was chosen as an informal organisation which utilised public (transitory) and online space to express care, support and welcome. The Welcome to Australia movement was started in Adelaide by Brad Chilcott in response to negative attitudes he was witnessing towards asylum seekers and refugees in his community. Brad was motivated by events surrounding the establishment of a low security immigration detention centre in Adelaide. The opening of this immigration detention centre was accompanied by loud protests from pockets of the community opposed to asylum seekers living close to their town (see Curtis & Mee, 2012). To send a message of support and welcome to the people who were detained at the centre, Brad Chilcott and other religious leaders from Adelaide organised a Welcome Walk. The walk attracted many members of the public and gave people a way to show their support to PFRB, and to counter the anti-PFRB voices in their community. Welcome to Australia grew from this moment and they now have nine branches across Australia, each of which runs an annual Walk Together event. During Refugee Week in 2012, Walk Together events were held simultaneously in cities and towns across Australia and attracted over 10,000 people.

Newcastle's Welcome to Australia branch was established in 2012 and Newcastle took part in the inaugural Walk Together on 23 June 2012, attracting approximately 350 people (Welcome to Australia - Newcastle, 2012).The event was held again in 2013 and approximately 1200 people attended.

As previously mentioned, due to my continued search for additional types of caring performances in Newcastle, I came across the W2A Welcome BBQs. The Welcome BBQs were held monthly in a public park in Newcastle. I included the Welcome BBQ as a research site because it was a unique way of performing care that was not being done by any other organisation in Newcastle. Members of the public and members of the refugee community (or migrants, asylum seekers etc.) were invited to the barbecues to come together over food and informal activities on a monthly basis in a local public space.

Refugee Week Events 2013 and 2014

The final research sites are Refugee Week events held in 2013 and 2014 in Newcastle. As Table 5.6 and Table 5.7 demonstrate, two events from 2013 and four events from 2014 are included. Chapter 2 revealed my intention to extend the understanding of spaces of care to include outdoor and temporary spaces following Milligan and Wiles (2010). Therefore, I consider all Refugee Week events as spaces of care, and hence they are included as research sites. The following two tables provide some information about each event.

Table 5.6 Refugee Week events 2013

Event	Description
Multicultural Celebration and Congolese Play	This was a small event aimed at celebrating Refugee Week. Food and drinks were available, people were gathered outside the main hall talking and having fun. Children and some adults were kicking soccer balls around. The event also included some formal speeches from people representing NSS. The Congolese community also put on a performance, which included a play about their experiences as refugees fleeing their country and coming to Australia, as well as singing and dancing.
Walk Together – Welcome Walk	As described above, Walk Together 2013 was the second Walk Together event held in Newcastle. Around 1200 people took part – everyone marched from the Newcastle Museum to Civic Park where a celebration took place that included formal speeches, live music and dance performances, and a variety of food and craft stalls.

Table 5.7 Refugee Week events 2014

Event	Description
Refugee Family Picnic – Jesmond Park	Refugee Family Picnic was held in a park in Jesmond – a suburb where many newly arrived refugees are housed. The day involved many activities such as informal games of cricket, volleyball and soccer. There was also a soccer competition played between different teams – mainly newly arrived Afghan men and longer-term African Australians, as well as Anglo-Australians. There was a jumping castle for children, a free barbecue organised by the Lions Club and music and signing performed mainly by African Australians.
RANN Rally – in the grounds of the Newcastle Cathedral	This event was organised by RANN and it was a rally. There were about 50 to 100 people there, and the event included people making speeches and people performing a few songs. The focus was on asylum-seeker issues, as that is RANN's focus. It was a terribly cold afternoon, so the turnout was not good. It was definitely not celebratory; it was a more sombre event where people could express their thoughts and concerns with the audience about the treatment of asylum seekers.
Divercity Festival – at the Newcastle Museum	Divercity was a Multicultural festival that had various craft and cultural activities for children, performances, games, theatre and art. It was held at the Newcastle Museum and attracted approximately 1000 people.
Welcome to Australia Fundraiser Dinner – at a restaurant in Newcastle	This was a fundraiser for Welcome to Australia – Newcastle. It was a sit-down dinner, where guests were served Ethiopian food and treated to music and guest speakers who included the Welcome to Australia Newcastle branch director, and a former refugee living in Newcastle and an asylum seeker living in Newcastle awaiting a decision on his application for refugee status.

5.5 Methods: what I actually did

The key to beginning the fieldwork was to find and explore organisations, individuals or events that expressed care towards PFRB in Newcastle. In the initial stages of the research project documents analysis was a valuable tool for locating caring organisations, people and events. Through documents, I was able to discover who in Newcastle was performing and expressing care towards PFRB through texts produced and published in the media, social media and government and non-government organisations websites and publications. Document analysis provided information

about the different organisations supporting PFRB and their histories, as well as information about current support events or activities taking place in Newcastle.

Document analysis was also an important ongoing research tool as it kept me up to date and informed about Australia's refugee and asylum seeker policies. In Australia these policies are extremely fluid, and it was important to continually explore media and government reports and documents in order to stay informed about the frequent changes in policy during the time of the research project. While federal government policies were an important consideration during the research, my continuous engagement with documents was significant at a local scale too. It was through this method that I became aware of new events in Newcastle that were not present when the fieldwork began, such as Africa Day and Welcome to Australia barbecues.

Table 5.8 outlines the sources of publicly available documents analysed in this research. I used a mix of local and national news media, social media and government and non-government organisation websites to gather documents. It was important to explore both local and national media and organisations because although much of the caring for PFRB and the intercultural encounters happen at a local level, they do not happen in a vacuum. The ways in which refugee care and refugee encounters are discussed and presented globally and nationally is also important.

A discourse analysis was conducted on the documents collected including material from websites, media reports and social media posts. The first step involved a content analysis, and any mention of refugees, asylum seekers, care, support, events or activities were flagged as something to be examined. Within media reports I searched for key words such as refugee, asylum seekers, immigration, care and support, as well as any mention of NSS, PH, HACC, W2A, Refugee Week and Simba FC. These items were then coded around a range of themes that emerged, that were consistent with the theoretical framework outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Organisational websites and organisational documents were examined, and different narrative strands identified in terms of underlying care ethos, mission statements and the types of care provided and/or promoted. Therefore, document analysis was an important method for exploring organisational ethos.

Table 5.8 Documents analysed

Media		
Media Websites	Where	URL
ABC News	National	http://www.abc.net.au/news/
SBS	National	http://www.sbs.com.au/
The Australian	National	http://www.theaustralian.com.au/
The Newcastle Herald	Local	http://www.theherald.com.au/
Newcastle Star	Local	http://www.newcastlestar.com.au/
Social media		
Facebook group or page	URL	
Refugee Action Network Newcastle (RANN)	https://www.facebook.com/refugeeactionnetworknewcastle/	
Welcome to Australia (Newcastle)	https://www.facebook.com/welcome.newcastle	
NSS	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Northern-Settlement-Services-Ltd/	
NGO and government websites		
Organisation or Govt. department	Organisations focus	URL
NSS	Local	http://www.nsservices.com.au/
Penola House	Local	http://www.penolahouse.org.au
Newcastle City Council	Local	http://www.newcastle.nsw.gov.au/
Navitas English	National & local	http://navitasenglish.com/
Welcome to Australia	National & local	https://www.welcometoaustralia.org.au/
DIBP	National	https://www.border.gov.au/
HACC	Local	http://www.africancouncil.org.au/
Hunter Simba Football Club	Local	http://www.simbafc.com.au/site/index.cfm
Ethnic Communities Council Newcastle & Hunter Region	Local	http://www.eccnewcastle.org.au/
(STARTTS)	State & local	http://www.startts.org.au/
Africa Australia Alliance for Peace and Reconciliation (AAAFPR)	Local	http://www.allianceforpeace.org/
Refugee Council of Australia	National	http://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/

As previously mentioned, while documents can provide information and perform more caring worlds into being, other methods are also needed to capture the multiple ways that care is performed.

Next, I turn to participant observation and interviews. Table 5.9 below captures what I did, where, when and who with, including participant observation via hanging out and researcher volunteering and interviews. The table is followed by a section on 'participant observation' which provides details about my activities while hanging out and researcher volunteering. This is followed by information pertaining to the semi-structured interviews I conducted.

Table 5.9 Hanging out, researcher volunteering and interviews

Organisation/research site	Event/Activity	Date	Hanging out	Research Volunteering	Interviews
Refugee Week Events 2013	Multicultural Celebration & Congolese Play		3 hours	-	-
	Walk Together	16 June	3 hours	-	Participant x 6
Refugee Week Events 2014	Refugee Family Picnic	15 June 2014	4 hours	-	
	RANN – Asylum Seeker Activist Rally	15 June 2014	2 hours	-	
	Divercity Multicultural Festival	22 June 2014	7 hours	-	
	Fundraiser dinner	22 June 2014	3.5 hours	-	
HACC	Simba Football home games	Feb 15 2014	2 hours	-	Volunteers x 2
	Simba Football home games	Feb 23 2014	3 hours	-	
	Simba Football home games	March 9 2014	3 hours	-	
	Simba Football home games	April 5 2014	4 hours	-	
	Africa Day	June 25 2014	3 hours	-	
Welcome to Australia	Welcome BBQ	Feb 23 2014	3 hours	-	–
	Welcome BBQ	Mar 31 2014	3 hours	-	
	Welcome BBQ	April 27 2014	3 hours	-	
	Welcome BBQ	May 25 2014	3 hours	-	
NSS	NSS Office Visit	Feb 20 2014	30 minutes	-	Employee x 2 Volunteers x 10
	NSS Office Visit	April 4 2014	1 hour	-	
Penola House	Researcher Volunteering	Nov 2013 – July 2014	-	152 hours	Employee x 3 Volunteers x 5 People[3] x 2
TOTALS		**14 months**	**51 hours**	**152 hours**	**30 interviews**

[3] Penola House People (PHP) will be explained in the following sections. Essentially it is what Sister Betty wanted Penola House 'clients' to be identified as.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was an important research method as it allowed me to participate in the everyday life and goings on of PFRB, and those who support them in Newcastle, by becoming a part of the refugee support community. Through participant observation as an active care giver and care recipient I was able to develop understandings. This type of embodied participation was important, particularly as it was the means through which I was most able to hear the voices of PFRB. As Table 5.9 reveals, most of the interviews I conducted were not with people from refugee backgrounds, however the many hours of participant observation I conducted as a researcher volunteer and hanging out included countless interactions and informal conversations with PFRB.

When I started the research process and I was developing the recruitment material and documentation, I expected that I would interview many PRFB. Taking a care-full and performative approach was always a priority to ensure that PFRB voices were attended to, responded to and respected. However, after an incident early in my time at PH, my thoughts changed about the best way to ensure PFRB voices were included in the research.

The incident happened on 23 October 2013. I had only been volunteering at PH for about one week. I had been invited to attend a digital storytelling workshop which was facilitated by a local artist. The workshop was also attended by two young men from refugee backgrounds, James and Mardi. I had met both James and Mardi in my first few days at PH, and I had seen and talked to them several times in that first week. The digital storytelling workshop was engaging and informative. I was a participant, just like James and Mardi, and it was great that all of us were learning a new skill together – in these moments, I was not a researcher or a volunteer, but someone learning a new skill like James and Mardi. But things changed after the workshop as I was reminded of my role as a researcher and what this might mean for other people. After the workshop finished, James, Mardi and I were just hanging out and chatting, and Mardi asked about my research project. I had spoken to him about it before, and I had placed recruitment posters with my photo around Penola House so that people were

aware that I was a researcher volunteer. At this time, James said … *so that's why you are here* … and then he said … *well, if you want to know about refugees talk to me* … Fantastic, I thought, an opportunity to conduct an interview. So I proceeded to invite James to participate in an interview, but this resulted in him backing away from me, physically stepping away from me, and he said … *I will talk to you, but I'm not doing an interview* (Fieldwork Diary October 23, 2013).

This incident made me more aware that the formal interview process is something that many other PFRB would also be uncomfortable with, and from then on I started to develop my understanding as a researcher of the importance of informal conversations, fleeting moments, and all the ordinary and everyday things that happen when people hang out together. It was this conversation that made me begin to appreciate the importance of each and every moment of participant observation. Every interaction, ever conversation, ever embodied encounter with PFRB was going to be a really important part of ensuring that the voices of PFRB were heard in the research.

And over the next nine months at PH, James did talk to me. He told me his story about growing up in a refugee camp, of arriving in Australia as a 15-year-old who could not speak English. He told me about how it felt to drive through the streets of Newcastle, how amazed he was at the buildings, houses and streets. He told me how difficult it was to start high school in Newcastle without speaking English, and how the only times he felt comfortable was when he played football at lunchtimes with other students. He told me how he hid in the toilets to avoid other students, but when the guys he played football with figured out that he was hiding, they banged on the door until he came out, so that they could comfort him, make him feel supported and befriend him.

Interviews are certainly a way of accessing accounts of the experiences of participants and the meanings they ascribe to their experiences (Dunn, 2005). However, they are not the only way. This story demonstrates that participant observation and developing care-full relationships with people also provides a way of accessing the experiences and voices of research participants.

Researcher volunteering

As Table 5.9 outlines, I spent 152 hours researcher volunteering at Penola House in a nine-month period. Research volunteering at Penola House enabled me to experience the embodied nature of care giving and care receiving, and through this process I was able to bring more caring worlds into being by playing an active role in constituting Penola House as a space of care.

In the beginning of the project I envisaged that research volunteering would be very different to other forms of participant observation. However, this was not the case. Despite all of the activities I was involved in as a volunteer at Penola House much of my time researcher volunteering was actually spent just hanging out with people, talking to people, listening to people, eating lunch together and just being with people – both people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds. This was the case, even though my activities included an English language class, reception duties, transporting furniture, housing assistance, computer and internet assistance, helping people to write resumes and apply for jobs, taking people shopping and to appointments, making cups of tea, general administration, cleaning, sorting through donations, attending managers' meetings and child minding.

I chose Penola House as a place to conduct researcher volunteering because I was aware that it worked in some sense as a drop-in space open Monday to Friday, and that there would be many different activities that I could participate in every day of the week. Moreover, PH enthusiastically agreed to me becoming a volunteer.

My role as a volunteer at Penola House was certainly something that changed and evolved over time. In Chapter 6 I explore my role as a volunteer and my experience as a care giver (and care receiver) at PH in more detail. However, in short, at the beginning I was not given a specific volunteer role, and this made me uncomfortable. As a first-time volunteer (and researcher) in the beginning I found not having a specific task difficult. I only felt useful when someone gave me an assigned task. For example, on my second day volunteering I had a meeting scheduled with Sister Betty. She was late, and I was awkwardly standing around looking for things to do (for ways to care) when she phoned through and told me she was going to be late. During the phone call

she assigned me a task to complete – search online for a two-bedroom place close to the university for someone needing a rental property. I was so relieved. *Fantastic – I can be useful while I wait* (Fieldwork October 18, 2013). However, the more time I spent at PH, the more I understood that performing care at PH was not about always about having tasks – it was also about *just being there*. It was about being there when people walked through the door, having a smiling face at the reception desk greeting people, sitting down outside and having a chat with someone, sharing a story over a cup of tea.

My role did change and after some time (perhaps because the other people at PH came to know and trust me) I was asked to assist on a regular basis with the Monday English language class and I was also 'buddied' with an individual 'client' whom I cared for by taking her shopping, to appointments, and to the library, and by visiting her in her home, helping her with her gardening and generally being there for her when she needed to talk or discuss concerns. Moreover, as I spent more time at PH and I began to develop relationships with people, my own comfort and confidence as a volunteer, care giver and researcher increased. Again, these things will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, but it is important here to note that my role as a volunteer developed organically over time. It included specific tasks but it also included much time just hanging out, just being here.

During this time my understanding of my body as a research tool certainly started to develop. At PH I played percussion instruments, sang songs, danced, ate, drove a truck and moved furniture. I even started baking for the first time in my life, so that I could bring freshly baked muffins and other goodies along to PH to share and connect with people – there was no doubt that my body was an 'instrument of research' (Longhurst et al., 2008) in more ways than one.

Hanging out

As I mentioned above, hanging out was a key method used to ensure that PFRB voices were heard. Table 5.9 shows that I spent 51 hours hanging out with people in a range spaces of care that included the Refugee Week events, SFC, Africa Day, the Welcome BBQs and visits to the NSS office. Across all of these spaces I had interactions with

many people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds. I kept a fieldwork diary in which I documented what I did at each event/space, the informal conversations and exchanges, the embodied encounters, fleeting moments and other observations, feelings and thoughts.

Hanging out involved many different activities which are drawn upon in the following three empirical chapters. For example, I walked through the streets of Newcastle chanting with other people during Refugee Week, I jumped around and cheered alongside other SFC supporters at football games, I danced with people at Africa Day, and played cricket and ate food with people at the Welcome BBQs. I used my 'body as a research tool' as I walked, talked, ate, danced, sang, moved, jumped, cheered and played with research participants.

As the previous table indicates, I conducted participant observation via researcher volunteering at Penola House, and via hanging out at many organisational spaces and events. After each day in the field, or after I attended an event, I would type up extensive field notes. There were times when I jotted down a few notes in a small diary during fieldwork, but this did not happen often, as I did not want to be seen by participants to be note taking. I preferred to immerse myself and my body in the experience of giving and receiving care. The field notes were descriptions of what happened during the day or the event, how people interacted with one another, how people moved around each space, the different material objects that people used or avoided, the different activities or care practices performed, descriptions of the people I met and the conversations I had, and descriptions of my own feelings, fears, insecurities and the challenges faced as a researcher in these spaces and situations. At the end of each week I would read and reflect on my field notes, making further notes and comments in order to link my notes and descriptions to the research aims and theoretical frameworks. The major themes were coded and stories and experiences that focused on care and care practices were attended to, and vignettes that exemplified these themes were placed in a database that I drew upon when writing my empirical chapters.

Interviews

As Chapter 2 outlined, a significant amount of care literature has focused only on the experience of providing care (e.g.(Wiles, 2003). In this literature interviews are only conducted with those perceived as care givers. However, I have argued that care is relationally practised and I have highlighted the mutuality and interconnections of care and caring. Accordingly, it was important for me to interview people perceived as care givers as well as those perceived as care receivers. Care geographers such as Parr and Philo (2003) employ similar methods in their research on social geographies of caring (rural mental health) by interviewing both users and providers of care.

Moreover, a hopeful and care-full approach to this research project led to a methodological decision to only interview PFRB and people who had demonstrated an ethic of care towards PFRB – for example, people who volunteered or worked within support organisations, or people who attended public events that expressed support towards PFRB. Moreover, considering that refugee literature is often critiqued for not providing a voice for PFRB, I believed that a care-full approach should include interviews with people from refugee and refugee-like backgrounds.

I conducted 30 semi-structured interviews. As Table 5.9 reveals, six interviews were conducted with people who attended Walk Together (although not a refugee as such, one of these participants came from a refugee-like background, and identified a lot with the experiences of PFRB in Newcastle). I also interviewed two volunteers from HACC, the president and the secretary. Again, although neither was from a refugee background, both were migrants, and one talked about having similar experiences to PFRB that he cared for in Newcastle. I interviewed two employees from NSS and 10 volunteers. As I mentioned previously, NSS did not give me permission to interview any of their 'clients'. At PH I interviewed three employees; one was a migrant, one was from a refugee background, and the other was a representative from the Maitland-Newcastle Catholic Diocese. I also interviewed two Penola House People (PHP) who were both PFRB, and six volunteers. As Chapter 1 mentioned, PHP is the term insisted on by Sister Betty, as she was uncomfortable with my initial recruitment material that categorised people involved with PH as Penola House Employees, Penola House

Volunteers or Penola House Service users/clients. Sister Betty did not accept the categorisation of Penola House Service user/client – she asked that it be changed to Penola House People '*because that is what they are, people'*.

The interviews were semi-structured with a duration time of between 30 minutes and one hour. I began by asking people about their association with the organisation or event. I asked people about their motivation to work, volunteer or access particular support organisations or events. I asked people about the challenges and rewards associated with giving and receiving care, and if any of these were specific to Newcastle. I was interested in hearing what people thought 'care' was, and how they thought it may assist others, or themselves. Understanding research practice to be performative, and aiming to bring more caring worlds into being, my strategy was to ask questions about positive experiences and encounters of care. I wanted people to be able to express positive transformative care relations and interactions. This strategy was not intended to romanticise care and caring; rather, it was aimed at exploring the counter-narrative – reading for difference, not dominance. However, many interviewees also wanted to talk about what they considered a lack of care shown towards PFRB in Australia. It became clear that talking to people about care and PFRB in the Australian (and Newcastle) context would inevitably include some discussion about 'carelessness'.

I came to understand that the interviews were not just giving people a chance to talk and reflect on their positive experiences of care; they were also important vehicles for people to express their frustration, upset or just plain anger about the lack of care afforded to PFRB in Newcastle, and Australia more widely by various organisations or people. In saying that, I tried to ensure that each interview ended with a positive story about people caring for people. As a researcher I was aware of the influence I had over the process. Conducting interviews means a certain level of control over what is being asked and some influence over the topics discussed. At times I intentionally directed the narratives towards positive, transformative or hope-full stories.

Some interviewees cried or became visibly emotional, others became animated and excited, facial expressions softened or hardened as they described particular people or

events, at times making eye contact with me, at times not. In these moments I became acutely aware of the presence of my own body and how it was responding to these moments. I wanted my research practice to be caring and care-full, and I consciously attempted to express that verbally and non-verbally, through what I said and what I did during the interviews – how our bodies responded to one another in these encounters was felt and reflected upon.

The interviews were held in people's homes, at cafes, in public parks and at Penola House. The participants chose the location that suited them. After each interview I first took notes about the interview process. I recorded the things that were not said in the interview in these notes, including body language, emotions, the personal connections and feelings that I shared with participants, the affective atmosphere, how our bodies moved and connected, and the general feel of the interview. I then transcribed the interview. I analysed the interview notes and interview transcripts, coding them and drawing out key themes. I searched for key words such as care, joy, happiness and sadness, and looked for stories or quotations that exemplified the themes or that had links to my theoretical thinking.

Apart from Sister Betty and Sister Di, each interviewee was given a pseudonym. It was important for the research participants to remain anonymous. In terms of PFRB, many of them are still very concerned about the safety of family members that remain in their home countries, and therefore privacy was important for their peace of mind and potentially their families' safety. For people employed or volunteering with RSO, anonymity provided them with the freedom to talk freely with me, without worrying about saying something that went against the organisations that they are associated with. Being anonymous meant that people were willing to tell me when they broke the rules, or disagreed with an organisation's approach or policy. In regards to Sister Betty and Sister Di, I felt that it was important to identify them as their roles at Penola House did not necessarily fit the usual 'employee' or 'volunteer' mould. Moreover, because of their high profile in Newcastle and through the statements they had made, they could be easily identified anyway. Sister Betty and Sister Di agreed to (and Sister Di insisted on) being identified in the thesis.

In the following empirical chapters, I bring together the material from all of the research methods to tell stories about care and encounter.

5.6 Conclusion

The main aim of this research project is to bring a hopeful disposition to refugee research, and this means adopting a care-full research approach. Accordingly, I have employed a performative approach which aims to grow a more caring world through research practice. Importantly, my research approach has enabled me to capture the voices and experiences of PFRB, as well as those of the people who move towards them in proactive and care-full ways. I have presented a research approach that is able to capture the messy and complex ways that care is performed, employing both discursive and non-discursive research methods. This enabled me to capture and explore what organisations and individuals *say* about care, at the same time it revealed how organisations and individuals actually *do* care. Moreover, as this research is underpinned by care, my research methods and practice are also guided by *the practice of an ethic of care.*

Chapter 6 Caring organisations, people and performance

6.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a deeply contextualised account of caring with PFRB in Newcastle, Australia. I step inside each RSO to think about how care giving and care receiving happens through organisations, addressing Aim 1 of the thesis. Chapter 2 explored caring organisations as performed in multiple ways. In this chapter I begin by exploring the organisational ethos and practices of each RSO. Other research has found that organisational ethos is not simply set by mission statements; it is performed by people working within organisational spaces (P Cloke et al., 2005). Therefore, in this chapter I will draw on both RSO documents and insights from people associated with each organisation to discuss how they negotiate care giving and care receiving within organisational structures, further addressing Aim 1.

I draw on my conceptualisation of care as a *movement* and *the practice of an ethic of care* involving attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness, trust and respect (as described in Chapter 2), as a way of understanding the manifold nature of care and care performances. I bring attention to the relationality and mutuality imbued in the grounded embodied performances of care. In doing so, the chapter reveals care to be a co-creation, an exchange between people as they move towards one another. The volunteers, employees and others associated with each RSO perform the practice of *caring with* PFRB rather than *caring for* them. *Caring with* has not previously been discussed in the refugee literature. Therefore, this way of conceptualising care is a key contribution of this chapter and the thesis. Understanding care as something that people do *with* one another, rather than *for* others, reaffirms the importance of dialogue within care relations (Midgley, 2016), and it recognises that PFRB are not powerless or weak. Rather, they are active participants in the process of care.

With this understanding, this chapter also thinks about people's individual care roles within the process of care. The care literature argues that care roles are fluid, and

notes that as people move through different situations and experiences they can switch from being caregivers to care receivers. This chapter reveals that there was more happening within care relations than a simple shift from giving to receiving care. Rather, as the stories in this chapter reveal, given the right circumstances, people were actually caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment.* The care literature has yet to appreciate that people can be both caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment.* From an ethic of care perspective, this revelation highlights how the positive, life-enhancing benefits that people attribute to care giving can sit harmoniously alongside the human vulnerability inherent in being in a position where one needs care. This is important because at the same time as PFRB are receiving care, their ability and willingness to care for and support others is crucial to their identities. This analysis provides a more nuanced understanding of what it means to give and receive care, and it moves away from problematic representations of passive refugee subjects, to provide a more hopeful account of care *with* PFRB.

In addition, we know that previous research has emphasised that in many institutional care-giving contexts PFRB are often called upon to perform a refugee identity – a subject position that enables them to access services, care and support, but which also has precarious and limiting effects for agency (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010). However, my research found that in the appropriate organisational context PFRB were moving beyond performing the script of passive refugee client. Drawing on notions of intersectionality, and addressing Aim 4, this chapter will reveal people who transcended fixed binary positions of refugee/non-refugee or care giver/care receiver, as they connected through intersecting and shared identities as mothers, friends, cooks, football players and people.

Despite my decision to focus on hopeful and positive care giving and receiving experiences in this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that people do not always have positive care experiences, and there were certainly limitations to the care provided through the organisations involved in this research. For that reason, insights are included from people who question the care practised through these RSOs. These insights come from people with refugee and migrant backgrounds who reveal unhelpful and culturally inappropriate care practices. In addition, other volunteers and

employees discuss the difficulties they had caring with people while adhering to organisational rules and guidelines.

Section 6.2 expands on information already provided about four Newcastle RSOs. First, I explore Northern Settlement Services (NSS), Penola House (PH), Hunter African Community Council (HACC) and Welcome to Australia (W2A). I discuss the history and ethos of each RSO, and I describe their services and activities. I also discuss the people who volunteer or work the organisations, and the people who access their services in order to reveal the types of caring performances made possible through the RSOs.

In Section 6.3 I have categorised the types of care that I observed, performed, talked to people about and received myself, into two broad categories of *welcoming* (Section 6.3.1) and *teaching* (Section 6.3.2) both of which have been absent from previous academic accounts of the experiences of PFRB in Western nations. First, I explore *welcoming* through an analysis of two public events, Walk Together and Africa Day. Then I draw on my experience as a volunteer English teacher, and the experiences of other volunteers who tutor young PFRB in NSS Homework Centres to examine teaching as a performance of care. This section questions current understandings of welcoming and teaching as unidirectional practices, as something that only people from the host population can do. By exploring welcoming and teaching through a care framework, I argue that these practices illuminate the notion of *caring with*. In addition, the stories in this section provide examples of people performing caregiving and care receiving roles *in the same moment.* I argue that welcoming and teaching as performances of care, challenge dominant representations of PFRB as passive subjects, as PFRB welcome people into their lives and communities and teach people about themselves, their cultures and about *caring with* different others.

To begin, I explore each of the four RSOs, starting with Northern Settlement Services.

6.2 Caring organisations

We know from Tronto (1993) that simply seeing a need for care is not enough; someone has to assume *responsibility* for 'organising, marshalling resources or personnel, and paying for the care work that will meet the identified needs' (Tronto, 2001, p. 63). In an ethic of care framework, NSS, PH, HACC and W2A are assuming *responsibility* for the recognised need to provide care to PFRB in Newcastle. As 'devices' through which people can perform care (Barnett et al., 2005) RSOs make it possible for ordinary people to actively care (move towards PFRB) by providing employment and volunteer opportunities as well as less formal avenues to perform care such as public events and celebrations. Moreover, RSOs provide opportunities for PFRB to move towards other individuals, as active participants in the process of care, by providing access to activities, caregivers, and in some cases the chance to volunteer or work as caregivers themselves. This section begins by exploring NSS, their ethos and care philosophy, and draw from interviews with employees and volunteers to explore the way that care is performed through NSS by individual care givers.

6.2.1 Northern Settlement Services

As Chapter 5 outlined, the services provided by NSS include the Settlement Grants Program (SGP), Complex Case Support (CSS) and various services facilitated through their Volunteer Program. In this section, I draw from the NSS website and other organisational documents, and interviews with two employees and ten volunteers, in addition to reflections from my fieldwork diary about visits I made to the NSS office in Newcastle, in order to reveal the types of caring performances made possible through NSS. The first section reflects on the organisational ethos at NSS. I am interested in how NSS positions PFRB, in addition to their philosophy about what type of care is appropriate for PFRB and to what ends.

Ethos

Following P Cloke et al. (2005), organisational ethos can be analysed through statements of 'mission', 'values' and 'ethics'. NSS is a provider of the government's SGP. Most of the information that NSS provides about this program comes via links on their website to the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) website,

(formerly the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC)). For that reason, I start with an analysis of how the government positions PFRB in this context, and what the communicated goals of the SGP are.

The documentation provided by government about the SGP refers to refugees as 'clients' (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011, p. 4; Department of Social Services, 2016). This is not surprising, as 'client' is a term commonly used by organisations providing welfare services and care provision (for example, see Department of Social Services). Being a client marks a person as needy and dependent, which does little to harness the strengths of people. See, for example this extract from a government fact sheet:

> The program does not and cannot teach **clients** everything about life in Australia. It instead aims to provide a vital bridge to **clients** early in their settlement pathway, helping build the basic life-skills and knowledge they will need as they progress through their settlement journey (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011, p. 4).

The refugee, as client, is positioned as person who lacks 'basic life-skills and knowledge'. Westoby and Ingamells (2010) note early settlement experiences for PFRB entail 'largely learning to be a client of a service' which has precarious effects for agency (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 14). Refugees are consistently called on to perform 'the script of refugee' (Hyndman 2010, p. 456) as opposed to being asked what their strengths are, what they do know, what they do have. This demonstrates a lack of communication, and a lack of *responsiveness* on the part of the caregiver. PFRB are positioned as passive, as only having needs related to their refugeeness, rather than as also having strengths related to their personhood, and agency within the care relationship. The two employees of NSS both used the terminology of 'clients' for PFRB throughout their interviews.

The second aspect of organisational ethos was how NSS and their employees talked about the type of care they provided and why they regarded this as the appropriate way to care for PFRB. As the following examples demonstrate, NSS advocates for a

type of care that concentrates on 'clients' developing independence and becoming self-reliant. This language that is also used by the government and NSS employees.

> Aims of the project: To equip clients with the skills and information they need to operate i**ndependently** (Northern Settlement Services, 2014).
>
> The aim of settlement grants is to deliver services which assist eligible clients to become **self-reliant** and participate to their full capacity in the Australian community (Department of Social Services, 2016).
>
> At NSS we are definitely more orientated towards having them come into the office, because we focus a lot on getting them to be **independent**. I definitely do not want to create any sort of dependency (NSS Employee #2).
>
> So you can be warm and caring but your goal is to let go, to make them **independent** as much as possible with whatever supports they need (NSS Employee #1).

Westoby and Ingamells (2010) argue that the emphasis on 'self-reliance and individual responsibility' has affected every area of welfare, so it is hardly surprising that the government, NSS and their employees used this language and promoted this type of care. Westoby and Ingamells (2010) note that:

> welfare arrangements that refugees might access have become increasingly managerial and regulated with a closer mission to discipline welfare recipients into self-reliance (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 3).

Moreover, they link this move towards self-reliance with a variety of other reductions in the services available to refugees in Australia (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 3). For example, they note:

> whilst, during the 1980s, a newly arrived refugee 'household' might have had three to six months with in government-sponsored housing before they were pushed onto the private rental market, they now have about one month. Such winding-back ignores discrimination happening in squeezed private rental markets and puts increasing pressure on refugees within the settlement process (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 3).

From an ethic of care perspective, NSS and the employees do demonstrate a willingness to respond to the need for care. They are taking *responsibility* for providing care. However, I argue that the type of care that NSS provides is not ideal because a focus on PFRB becoming independent and self-reliant ignores some key factors about contemporary life in Australia. The goal of self-reliance for PFRB is based on the assumption that all Australians are self-reliant and therefore PFRB should be self-reliant. However, the assumption that all Australians are self-reliant is farcical, as it ignores the circles of care and support that come from friends, families and communities – support that non-refugees may take for granted, but which many PFRB have difficulty accessing in Australia. Without the social support of friends, family and communities that people develop and build over a lifetime, it is difficult for anyone to be 'self-reliant' in contemporary society, regardless of modern notions of independence and individualism. Moreover, the promotion of self-reliance as the end goal further demonstrates the absence of *responsiveness* because this goal is set within an Australian context which 'presumes the other is exactly like the self' (Tronto, 1993, p. 136) rather than considering the standpoint of the care receiver. This reveals that while support organisations may be trying to inspire hope, there can be care practices that are less helpful, or hopeful, in that they focus on an end goal of independence and self-relaince, which in our interconnected world, few people actually accomplish.

NSS's approach to care is to assist their refugee 'clients' to settle in Newcastle by becoming independent. From a care perspective, the NSS approach is based on a deficit care model, where they provide clients with things that the client lacks. Such a model emphasises the things that PFRB do not have, like independence. Through the lens of *the practice of an ethic of care*, NSS may be *attentive* to the needs of their clients (albeit what the government's SGP perceives their needs to be). They are also taking *responsibility* to provide the perceived need for care. However, by positioning PFRB as passive 'clients', I argue that the performance of care by NSS lacks the capacity for *responsiveness* because NSS (and the government) assume they know what care their clients need.

NSS Employees – professional boundaries

I asked both NSS employees I interviewed whether they developed friendships or social relationships with their clients. Both responded with answers about 'professional boundaries', which are important in care work as noted in Chapter 2, and which are part of training for working with refugees as noted in Chapter 5. For example:

> I think that there are **professional boundaries** that are very important to maintain, sure I'll meet them like at Harmony Day or something like that, but no I don't continue a relationship outside of that because that's **very important to maintain professional boundaries** (NSS Employee #1).

> I definitely have the **boundary** there. I definitely maintain that **professionalism**. I do not refer to them as a friend, maybe they would because they have limited social connections and I am a friendly face, but it is (my friendly face) always with a purpose. So for example if I do a social visit in a home, it is not me going there as a friend, it is me going there as a worker. And just sort of checking on them and trying to build that rapport, so that they can feel comfortable. **Culturally they see it differently**. A client has said to me that they do not have friends for a certain time, that it is friends for life. I have met people who I care about and I would love to see where their life goes and maintain contact but always with an edge of **professionalism**, always with a positive well-thought out purpose (NSS Employee #2).

People working for RSO perform care in different ways. In these examples, NSS employees are clearly advocates for a performance of care that maintains 'professional boundaries' with clients. NSS employees advocate for care performed in a 'professional' way that does not transgress boundaries between seemingly fixed identities of professional care giver and refugee client.

What is also interesting about the quote from NSS Employees #2 is that it offers insights into how people from different cultural backgrounds may find the notion of professional boundaries a difficult concept to comprehend, particularly when carers

are visiting people in their homes. The example demonstrates that when PFRB have care workers visit them in their houses, then as the NSS employee said 'culturally they see it differently'. In other words, the refugee client views the person as something other than a professional caregiver. Rather, as the person is in their home, they consider them as a friend. This demonstrates that need to negotiate cultural differences when working with and developing care relations with PFRB.

In terms of *the practice of an ethic of care*, the NSS employees were *attentive* in that they recognised that a need for care existed, and as NSS employees, they were taking *responsibility* for this recognised need and NSS provided resources to ensure *competent* care was in practice. However, as mentioned previously, the capacity to be *responsive* may be difficult within an organisational deficit care framework where PFRB are passive clients, and goals of self-reliance are set within a context that presumes PFRB should be exactly like an idealised independent longer-term resident or Australian born person.

In the following section, I draw on the NSS Volunteer Program and discuss what the volunteers said about their experiences and relationships with NSS clients. I reveal volunteer–client relationships that are more complex than the positioning of PRFB as clients suggests. Volunteer–client relationships become more like friendships, where people care for each other. The program opens up the possibility for people to be caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment*, something that has yet to be appreciated in the care literature.

Volunteers

In this discussion, I highlight the difference between how employees and volunteers approach their care roles at NSS, and think about the ways volunteers negotiate organisational guidelines. I begin by drawing on an interview with Jenny, an NSS volunteer who visits an NSS client, Malika, in her home. Malika is a mother from Mauritania, and Jenny visits her in her home for two hours every week. Jenny told me that she had only been in this role for about two months but that she was really enjoying it. She had developed a relationship with Malika whom she called her friend (and Malika called Jenny 'Mum'). Already it is clear that the volunteer–client

relationship here is different to the employee–client relationship. Jenny explained this when I asked her about their relationship;

> You know she is somebody that I would go out for coffee with or go and have lunch with, which would be interesting with the language barrier but, you know, we sort of, we get there somehow. But, yeah I have only been seeing her for probably 2 months and she … the very first day that I went there to meet her, I didn't just meet her, I met the family. She was the most welcoming person, you know, she got me in a bear hug and I didn't think she was ever going to let me go and kissed me everywhere and was 'welcome, welcome' she was absolutely wonderful. She welcomed me into her home without a second look, nothing (NSS Volunteer #1).

Jenny was instantly welcomed into the home by Malika and her family. Although Jenny entered the home as a volunteer carer, Malika treated her as a friend, and considered her presence in the home as something personal rather than 'professional'. Malika was not performing the role of a client of a service, a refugee in need; she was performing the role of a carer in her home, extending an attentive welcome to someone who came to visit her. Through an intersectional lens, these moments provided Malika with the opportunity to perform other aspects of her identity, as a person welcoming someone into her home, making someone feel welcome. Moreover, this example mirrors some of the relationships and activities from Askins' investigation into a refugee-befriending scheme in the UK (K Askins, 2015). Askins describes situations when the refugee becomes host by caring for the volunteer in their home as 'reversing the role of the care giver' (K Askins, 2015, p. 472), which she argues helps to challenge the constructions of refugees as powerless. I certainly agree with Askins' claim that these situations are examples that provide PFRB with agency through caregiving; however, I argue that there is more happening in this moment than simply 'reversing the role of the care giver'. Rather, these moments reveal that Jenny and Malika are caregiving and receiving *in the same moment.* Jenny cares for Malika by visiting her in her home, but at the same time, Malika cares for Jenny by welcoming her and making her feel comfortable. The care literature has yet to appreciate the idea that people can be caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment*. This is an important insight

because it moves PFRB from a passive position, by highlighting that PFRB can care for people, even when they are receiving care themselves. An ethic of care framework recognises vulnerability as an inherent part of being human, and what I am suggesting is that when people are able to give and receive care *in the same moment*, the life enhancing benefits that come from providing care to people can coexist with human vulnerability. This provides a more nuanced understanding of what it means to give and receive care, and it moves away from problematic representations of a passive refugee subject, to provide a more hopeful account of care.

What is also interesting about this situation, but is not unique to Jenny, is that as an NSS volunteer Jenny must adhere to organisational guidelines. Therefore, despite their connection as friends, Jenny is in Malika's home in her capacity as an NSS volunteer, which is not the same as visiting a friend, and after two months, Jenny was finding it difficult to negotiate what she considered as some ambiguous rules. She said:

> Well I am not allowed to have her in my car. Um, that would be a liability thing. I don't. But then again I don't know if, say on a Sunday, you know if I wanted to take her to a BBQ what do I do? Or you know if I wanted to pick her up one afternoon and have coffee, what do I do? I don't know … because we have this friendship now, it's um, it's a bit difficult to know what to do (NSS Volunteer #1).

In Jenny's view she was developing a relationship, a friendship with Malika, but the NSS rules around how a volunteer was supposed to care made this difficult to negotiate, and placed pressure on the new friendship. Jenny felt increasingly restricted by the regulations associated with being a volunteer. In the following quotation, she expresses the difficulty she had in trying to communicate to Malika why she could not do certain things with her.

> She doesn't quite understand that I have to abide by their [NSS's] rules. She thinks that now that we have a friendship that um, we are pretty much, we can do what we like. But I have to say to her, I can't do that. And I don't like to do that to her and she doesn't like to hear it …. it's really hard when, when you're just a volunteer to um, to abide by the rules, because I'd love to break them.

> Yeah I would love to. I'd love to be able to just pick her up and take her for coffee or whatever (NSS Volunteer #1).

NSS asked Jenny to commit to this role for three months, and she was hopeful that after this time, she could move away from the volunteer–client relationships and build an unrestricted friendship. However, she was unsure if such a relationship would be permitted. Other volunteers that I interviewed also discussed similar concerns. For example, Michelle asked permission from NSS to do different activities with her clients. She said:

> A few things I would do they [NSS] would say, look now we are going into the realms of a friend and we don't mind you doing that but as long as I understand that if something happens … you know, and that's fine, I wouldn't be making a claim on them anyway (NSS Volunteer #7).

Caring organisations have regulations in place to protect their staff, volunteers and clients. As discussed in Chapter 2, many of these regulations, which advocate for professional boundaries and guidelines, are about caregivers' self-care and protecting clients. However, these examples demonstrate that the dynamics of the client–friend relationships that develop between volunteers and PFRB can be very different to the relationship of worker–client. Exploring the relationships through an intersectional lens, it is clear that the Jenny, Michelle and their 'clients' were connecting as women and as friends, rather than simply through their identities of volunteer and refugee client.

Ultimately, what these examples highlight is that volunteer caring roles are not without difficulties. When volunteers develop friendships with 'clients', negotiating organisational rules advocating professional distance becomes trickier. In all types of relationships, how we negotiate care and caring for one another is fraught with complications and complexities. We often have to make decisions about what we can do to support someone, or how best we can help other people. In terms of caring *with* PFRB through an organisation such as NSS, these questions become even more difficult to negotiate because of the rules governing how employees and volunteers should care.

This section on NSS has revealed an organisational ethos influenced by government culture and funding. NSS aims to move their clients towards independence and self-reliance. I argue that this is a deficit model of care in that the focus is on what PFRB lack (i.e. they lack the skills to be independent and self-reliant). As is the case in many welfare and service provision organisations, NSS employees follow guidelines and advocate for the establishment and maintenance of professional boundaries when working with refugee clients. Volunteers must also adhere to the rules outlined by the organisation, but as their relationships with their clients develop, following the rules becomes difficult, particularly for those who visit people in their homes. The additional contribution of this section has been to offer new insights into the fluidity of care roles, and to suggest that often more is happening than a simple shift. Rather, given the right opportunity, people can perform both subject positions *in the same moment.*

I now turn to Penola House, where I volunteered for nine months. My insights in the following section come from my time as a researcher volunteer and from interviews, and they draw on *the practice of an ethic of care*. I explore the history and ethos of PH, the types of care performed, professional boundaries and recent changes made to the organisation. I continue to explore care as something people do *with* people, rather than *for* people, and I continue to draw on intersectionality as a way to enhance understandings about the experience of PFRB.

6.2.2 Penola House

History

As a team, Sister Di and Sister Betty established Penola House in 2008. Initially, the mission or outreach that is Penola House was just Sister Betty, working out of her own small flat in the suburbs of Newcastle. Sister Di joined her in 2008 after she moved to Newcastle from Sydney to *stop* working with refugees. I'll let Sister Di explain:

> We decided that that was enough, we had done our share, we had really burnt ourselves to a crisp with the overwork for that couple of years [in Sydney] and she [Sister Ann] was 90 and I was physically tired and I had other things mentally that I wanted to do. And quite frankly I thought, it is not my fault they (refugees) were brought to Australia, it's not my responsibility, you know, I just

> didn't feel it was a part of my journey. I had done a bit, that had been my share and I worked really hard for asylum seekers for the whole of that time too. I had been in Newcastle about 18 months and my trailer had sat there for most of the time. I thought well I might as well offer a little bit of help, because I really do know a little bit about working with refugees, but not in any way that would be considered to be an expert. So I rang up the head office of the Catholic Church here in Newcastle and I spoke to a man, I think his name was John something, but I just said to him that my name is Sister Di and I just came a while ago to live in Newcastle, who is working with refugees here in Newcastle? And he said that would be Sister Betty Brown. So I rang her when I got the number, and said hello my name is Diana, I'm a Dominican [nun] I own a trailer, could you use me? And she said yeah I probably could use you … (Sister Di).

Not long after this phone call, Sister Betty and Sister Di opened Penola House in Hamilton, Newcastle. I will let Sister Di explain why having a physical space was important for Penola House.

> so I went and meet her [Sister Betty] at her house in Waratah, in High Street. It was just a little pokey unit in a pokey block of units and absolutely no professional distance whatsoever. They [refugees] knew where she … everybody knew where Sister Betty lived. Everybody spent all of their days in her lounge room, everybody spent all their days in her backyard as she was hanging her undies on the line. Ringing her up at all hours of the day and night, she had even let some of them live with her sometimes … and people talk behind her back in an unkind way … so it was quite a negative introduction to her work. Not to her, the minute I meet her I knew I had met a great saint, and a great woman. But the way she was being not supported I found really quite distressing and disturbing, having had many, many, many, many years in social activism. I could see that here was somebody that needed many more structures around her, to keep her alive (Sister Di).

While too much professional distance was a problem at NSS, to little distance and structure was initially a problem for PH. Sister Betty had opened her home and heart to many PFRB living in Newcastle at the time, but she did not have enough support to be providing this type of care on her own. Sister Betty was certainly *attentive* to the needs of the PFRB in Newcastle and she was attempting to take *responsibility* for these recognised needs (Tronto, 1993). However, the Sisters of St Joseph were not providing adequate resources for the practice of *competent* care. In this case, it appears that Sister Betty had taken on too much responsibility. It was more than one person could manage, without support. As much of the care literature argues, 'care givers also need to be cared for to ensure their own needs do not go unmet' (Barnes, 2012, p. 28).

Although Sister Di did not introduce *professional* boundaries (as articulated in the previous section) into the relationships between Sister Betty and the people she had been caring with, she did introduce *some* boundaries. For example, having a physical space for Penola House that was separate to where Sister Betty lived was a necessary boundary that proved to be beneficial for the well-being of Sister Betty, and therefore significant for the ongoing viability of care worked performed by PH. Here is Sister Di again:

> And one of the serious things was where she was living. And I didn't find the Sisters of St. Josephs particularly supportive of her, nor of her needs. And I, at one stage, wrote to the head of Sisters of St. Josephs and told her in so many words … I don't think we have been very good friends since but I don't give a damn, because actually they moved her [Sister Betty] to somewhere more appropriate and since that time she has been surrounded by a) my care and b) the care of other people (Sister Di).

Sister Betty was now in a position where she could continue to be a caregiver but at the same time, she was receiving care. Again, this demonstrates that people can be both care-givers and care-receivers at once, in the same moment. In this case, by receiving care, Sister Betty was able to continue to give care.

The words from Sister Di do not just tell a story about the beginning of PH; they provide valuable insight into the ethos behind the two women responsible for PH.

Sister Di reveals herself as a caring, passionate and audacious nun. Her tireless work with PFRB, her decision to continue her work in Newcastle, the active steps taken to ensure the well-being of Sister Betty and of PH are just some examples of a woman who is not only *attentive* to the needs of others but proactive with her care (Tronto, 1993). She takes *responsibility* for needs that she becomes aware of, and she follows through to ensure that *competent* care is actually occurring, as she moves towards people in ways that facilitate or promote well-being (Conradson, 2003c; Tronto, 1993).

In Newcastle, Sister Di is a public figure who never passes on an opportunity to talk to the media, church groups, community groups and schools about the plight of PFRB in Newcastle and further afield. She works extremely hard at caring with all of the people around her, and for people that she may never meet. Her approach to refugee care and advocacy permeates through PH as her passion and commitment to PFRB is contagious. This is important, as Goodall (2015) notes 'the role of leaders and other persons of influence within faith organisations and communities is crucial to how the group may respond towards refugees and asylum seekers' (Goodall, 2015, p. 13). Sister Di is a crucial part of PH, and an invaluable part of the refugee advocacy community in Newcastle. Sister Betty plays an invaluable role too; I will let Sister Di explain:

> Nothing we do in our Penola House work would have the same affect without her [Sister Betty]. In my personal opinion that is how important she is. She is the centre of this work because of her gravitas, which cannot be underestimated. She is terrible at social analysis. She is a naive kindhearted lady who can be manipulated by unscrupulous people. She is very easily bullied by people like me, and I can reduce her to tears at the drop of a hat, should I get too angry … because she is not a very good arguer. Now all of that stuff can be frustrating but it can actually be amazing when you get among people who have vulnerability about them (Sister Di).

Clearly, Sister Betty and Sister Di have different approaches to performing care. Sister Betty's gentle manner, her kind heart, her own vulnerability and her grandmotherly way of performing care draw others into a caring network. Her loving-kindness (*caritas*) is evident in how she speaks to people, treats people and cares for people. All

of these things make people want to care for her too. People are drawn to Sister Di's kind heart, her smiles, her laughter, her love, her hugs and her way of doing care. Sister Di's care also included reprimanding people (as a mother or grandmother would). People are also drawn to Sister Di because she demands that her voice is heard in the public arena. She has a 'stop at nothing' attitude towards caring with the PFRB.

Figure 6.1 Sister Betty celebrates with Hettie Kamanda and Kade Joyce graduating as nurses from the University of Newcastle in 2016.

Source: refugeesandpartners.org.au

Figure 6.2 Sister Di

Source: facebook.com/welcome.newcastle

Sister Betty and Sister Di are PH. *Doing* care at PH is intrinsically linked to these two women, their *caritas*. While grounded in the values and faith of Christianity, they *do* 'being a nun' differently. In other words they each perform their role as a nun in their own individual way and together they make a formidable team. For Sister Betty and Sister Di, it is impossible to disentangle faith and their everyday practice of care. As Goodall (2015) notes, for many people religion is intrinsic to everyday life, and separating it from other activities creates a false dichotomy (Goodall, 2015). Faith and care are equally parts of the sisters' ways of being in the world. Moreover, this intertwined nature of faith and care plays out through an organisational ethos fundamentally tied to the sisters' personal (religious) ethos and their *practice of an ethic of care* (Tronto, 1993).

In the following section, I draw on the Christian ethos of the sisters in a discussion about the overall ethos of the organisation PH, as I see them as intrinsically linked.

Ethos

The organisational ethos that PH portrays publicly connects to the founding religious congregation, the Sisters of St Joseph of Lochinvar. The congregation's vision to never 'see a need without trying to do something about it' was certainly a part of the organisational discourse communicated through internal organisational documents. It was also a part of Sister Betty's and Sister Di's discourse about care. For example:

> In my personal opinion as a Dominican and her [Sister Betty] as a Josephite we must not **see a need without trying to do something about it**, we must not, that is the Josephite sort of thing. And as a Dominican we must stop contemplating and then give people the fruits of our contemplation (Sister Di).

This quote also demonstrates that Sister Betty and Sister Di have embodied one another's religious orders, blending them into the way they talk about their care work at PH. In other words, the Jospheite ethos of not seeing a need without trying to do something about it, has become a part of the way Sister Di talks about and performs care, and in turn Sister Betty has embodied the Domincan ethos to give people the fruits of her contemplation.

As Chapter 2 noted, FBOs who perform this type of care work are often critiqued or dismissed by secular welfare providers 'based around assumptions that religious people will always be motivated primarily by an evangelistic urge to convert others to their beliefs and practices' (P Cloke et al., 2013, p. 14). PH is certainly a place imbued with faith, but this plays out through a belief that faith plays a central role in providing care to people. Rather than trying to change the beliefs of PFRB, the main aim at PH is to care for people, all people, regardless of their religious beliefs.

PH and the sisters transcend same-faith boundaries in the care work that they do. In their everyday practice of care, both sisters maintain a multi-faith and multicultural approach to their work, emphasising inclusive faith values such as love and care. Sister Di believes that when caring with PFRB it is important to remember:

> our own deepest most important values, not as a Christian people, not as a Jewish people, not as a Muslim people. All of this is … what do we all believe in … compassion, forgiveness and love and caring (Sister Di).

As an FBO, PH was able to relate to people who held strong beliefs. This was evident in the way that PH responded to the growing number of Muslim refugees settling in Newcastle and accessing PH. Rather than engaging in proselyting practices, PH was *attentive* to the religious needs of PFRB and took proactive steps to accommodate people of different faiths. They took *responsibility* for the needs of newcomers by purchasing Muslim prayer mats, and assisting an Iranian asylum seeker to build and hang a Qibla in the men's shed for daily prayer. They respected Ramadan by postponing certain activities during the fasting month. Following Eby, Iverson, Smyers and Kekic (2011) I suggest that the sisters and others at PH recognised the existence of a shared commitment to faith and worship on the part of many of the newly arrived refugees of Muslim faith, and many of the PFRBrecognised the same commitment in the sisters. As Eby et al. (2011, p. 596) argue, such shared commitment to faith and worship, even from different faith traditions, frequently becomes ground for common understanding amongst PFRB and those involved in providing care. This was also important from an intersectional framework, because rather than being refugees and non-refugees, the sisters and PFRB were connecting as people of faith with different

needs. PH is certainly not an FBO that operates to only support its own faith networks, as has been shown in other research (P Cloke et al., 2013, p. 16). PH does not keep its Christian ethos hidden, but at the same time it promotes 'wider humanitarian principles that invite secular as well as faith-motivated support and participation' (P Cloke et al., 2013, p. 17).

Comments made by the pastoral care worker about his approach when working with PFRB also revealed *responsive* and multi faith support:

> So my role is to make sure that from the religious point of view, I try to direct them to where they believe, or where they are supposed to be. For example, the Catholic, the Anglican, the Jehovah Witness, the Presbyterian, the Muslim, I just direct them to their different channel, the different faith that they want to stick on to (PH Employee #3).

This section has explored how the organisational ethos of PH is imbued with a particular version of Christian faith that states you must *never see a need without trying to do something about it*. As an RSO, PH welcomes volunteers, employees and 'clients' of different religious beliefs. PH is a coming together of people who share a common ethos of care forged out of the necessity to provide a response to the needs of PFRB, rather than a need to convert people to their Christian beliefs. The following section explores the types of care PH performs and who they provide it to.

Caring at Penola House – *whatever presents itself*

The sisters, volunteers and staff provide a range of services and activities through PH (as seen in Table 5.9 in the previous chapter). PH is a drop-in space, and importantly they have a very experienced caseworker employed to assist people. The following interview extract from Kaewa, a PH employee, explains how she approaches casework at PH.

> We provide a case work support service to anybody that comes through the door. If they have got issues that are too big for them, too hard for them, that they don't understand, whether it be around a big bill coming from an energy company, whether it be around having to leave their accommodation for

> whatever reason, whether it be around rat bag real estate agents kicking them out of houses external to the obligations and legislation … So we do support with all different upsets and things that actually knocks people off their even keel, and we link them with available services. We try and help them to put out whatever fires that they come across … Whether it be around their status, their residency status, whether it be around citizenship, so all of the stuff that exercises the lives and the minds of, and causes upset to one degree or another in people lives, particularly refugees lives. What would exercise the rest of us becomes an almost insurmountable object in the lives of many of the people that we see. So, a lot of what we do is **just walking with them**, or **standing in front of them** so that they don't get hit quite so hard by the onslaught of whatever is coming, and giving them time to get on their feet and the support and skills to be able to stand up to whatever it is and deal with the issue so that they can move on (PH Employee #3).

I will explore Kaewa's personal approach to care later, but for now this quote can demonstrate the variety of different issues that PH assists people with. Moreover, it highlights how the approach to care at PH is about caring *with* PFRB. As Kaewa point out, what they do at PH is walk with PFRB.

PH brochures suggest that PH provides 'practical family-like support' (Penola House, ND), support that 'many people would receive from extended families and their social networks' (Penola House, ND). I relate these words to a comment from Tracey, a volunteer who teaches English, when she spoke about doing 'something extra' for her students if it was necessary. She said:

> If we have a client that really seems to need something extra than just the English, then you can offer them that, you can say 'would you like me to come to your house and take you to the shops or whatever?' So, we can do that, and a few of us are doing that (PH Volunteer # 1).

This quote reveals that the professional boundaries that mediate what caregivers can and cannot do mentioned previously at NSS do not restrict PH volunteers in the same way. Moreover, there are not necessarily clear volunteer roles that people have to

stick too at PH. Tracey's key role is to facilitate the English language classes, but she is free to take on other roles and visit people in their homes or take them shopping. I asked Tracey to be specific about the kinds of things that 'something extra' might mean and she replied:

> Um, well go to their home and help them maybe read the directions on a new microwave for example, it might be phoning Navitas about something that they have had a problem with, it could be that when we are here [at Penola House] it could be saying maybe you've got your fridge turned up to high – I'll come and have a look at it for you, you know, that sort of thing. So **whatever presents itself** (PH Volunteer #1).

Whatever presents itself is an appropriate description of the services that I saw being provided at PH. This is important because w*hatever present itself* is certainly a different model of care than that endorsed by other more official RSOs like NSS. Moreover, this type of care is reflexive, in that it is about responding to the particular needs of the individual person who you are caring with. For example, Tracey's key role is to teach PFRB English, however, she demonstrates here a capacity and willingness to adjust her care practice after listening to what her students need help with.

With this in mind, the list of care practices provided in Table 5.9 is not exhaustive. PH is *attentive* to the needs of PFRB in many ways. For example, one afternoon when I was at PH a young man, Nadir, came in looking for someone to help him. Nadir had been coming to PH since he had arrived in Australia. He often just dropped in for a chat, or to talk to Sister Di. He also volunteered his time assisting Sister Di with different projects. On this occasion, he appeared rushed and slightly frazzled. My first thoughts went straight to his immigration status. Nadir was an asylum seeker waiting in limbo for a decision to be made about his future. Had something happened? Did he receive good or bad news from the immigration department? Not on this occasion. He was at PH on this afternoon because he had a date that evening, and was hoping one of the volunteers could hem a pair of jeans he had just bought from a second hand store – they were too long for him – *whatever presents itself*.

Care is not always about grand gestures, complex case work or large problems. Care is also about small acts of kindness (Horton & Kraftl, 2009). PFRB have lost the things that non-refugee people often take for granted, a support system of friends, family, colleagues, neighbours and community. Research has indicated that strong support systems are a powerful influence on refugees' well-being and adjustment to new societies (Behnia, 2001, p. 3). PH is about providing people with a support system, one that offers people many things that they cannot receive from more formal RSOs or organisational care – like getting your pants hemmed in a hurry.

Adopting an intersectional framework clearly enhances our understandings of the care experiences of PFRB. In this moment, Nadir approached PH for support, not as an asylum seeker, but as a young man trying to forge his way in a new society, by doing what other young people do, go out on dates. Moreover, this story demonstrates how people at PH are able to respond to what individual people need. Rather than assuming and/or dictating what care they offer to people, they are reflexive and respond to the individual. This type of care would be less likely to occur in more formal RSO, as it would likely be outside of their notions (or rules) about what it means to care for PFRB. However, PH are happy to work with multiple parts of a person's intersecting identities, and not just the things that relate to a person's refugeeness or their immigration status.

Lisa, a PH volunteer, provided another example of the type of care performances made possible through PH. She said that PH was about:

> making contact with people. Not just asking them 'what are you here for' … but come in and sit down, and touch their hand and give them a cup of coffee and chat to them about their lovely clothes or their kiddies (PH Volunteer #2).

What Lisa reveals in this quote is the embodied nature of care, and that when people access PH they are not just receiving assistance as a welfare recipients/refugees. PH operates differently. The *refugeeness* that people must call upon to perform in order to access other services is not the key aspect of their personality that they are asked to perform at PH. People are not treated as refugees who are lacking. By talking with people about the things that they *do* have, like 'lovely clothes' and 'kiddies', the people

who access PH are provided the opportunity to perform other aspects of themselves, as woman with lovely clothes, as mothers with children. In other words, PH operates in a way that enables people to move beyond 'performing the script of "refugee"' (Hyndman 2010, 456).

The insight that PH approaches care in ways that can empower people to perform other aspects of themselves was further evidenced by the change I made at the request of Sister Betty to include the term 'Penola House People' in my research recruitment material (as discussed in Chapters 1 and 5). This is an example of PH changing the discourse in ways that can empower people to perform something other than *being a refugee*. It is about putting *people* first. It is about more than the traditional service provision that PFRB may receive from more formal organisations and services, as the following quote from a media article written by someone who accessed PH explains:

> My arrival in Australia was very hard for me, especially with the trauma, the settlement challenges, the Australian way of life, but this organisation and its volunteers assured me they are always with me in heart and actions. Being a refugee in Australia was the hardest thing but with the welcoming love, support and mutual acceptance, I have been able to pursue my dreams (Sandy, 2016).

At PH, people listen to what PFRB need or want, and they have the capacity to adjust their care practice accordingly. This practice is about providing a comforting place to visit without always having to need a particular service. It is about *love, support and mutual acceptance*. It is about creating a space for people to be something other than refugees, which enables PFRB to feel like people (not refugees), a place where they can make connections with others based on shared identities, for example, as people of faith, as people with dreams, as people with children. The capacity to feel connected gives people hope, and hope is important for PFRB trying to make their way in a new society in particularly challenging times.

I will explore PH as a space of care and hope in more detail in the following chapter. However, it is now necessary to discuss the organisational changes PH went through

during my time there. Describing the organisational change is important because the Catholic Diocese of Maitland-Newcastle, which is now officially responsible for operating PH, introduced new rules and had different views on the types of care that should be offered to PFRB.

Organisational change

In 2013 the governance and operation of PH was transferred to the Catholic Diocese of Maitland-Newcastle. Alongside the new premises in Mayfield, the entire operation of Penola House began to change as a result of the transfer. I interviewed a PH employee who was a representative from the Diocese who talked about the changes. They said:

> Once they [Penola House] became under our umbrella then they had to have systems in place. So they had to have role descriptions that they hadn't had, and we had to know what the outreach was. So it needed to be more controlled, and there is good and bad in that. So before, really, the start of 2013, it was 'free'. You know, as in, you know it wasn't free, but um, they were free to do whatever it was, but as soon as they come under our jurisdiction we have got to be much more (PH Employee #3).
>
> Question from the researcher: Structured?
>
> Absolutely, child protection, WHS, role descriptions, HR, um, money, finances, phones, IT, all of that just can't be freewheeling, we actually have to have the structure, I call it systems. So, you know the last 12 months they have spent developing those systems, so it's different to what it used to be and Betty would say … Diana would certainly … Diana would prefer the old way. Because it was freer and … but Betty is happy because it's less um, onerous on her. Because you have systems and people know what they are doing (PH Employee #3).

Some studies have argued that the professionalisation of organisations that provide welfare and support to individuals and communities can 'alter organisational spaces and dynamics' (Carey, Braunack-Mayer, & Barraket, 2009, p. 629). For example, when organisations such as PH become involved with external agencies (like the Dioceses)

they can be required to take on the 'values and philosophies' of these external agencies, which can have a 'significant bearing on the dynamics of … organisational space' (Conradson & Milligan, 2006, p. 291). PH was certainly required to take on new rules and guidelines from the Diocese. However, as Carey et al. (2009, p. 629) suggest in their research, despite professionalisation, organisations can still provide 'community spaces where individuals may give and receive care and services' (Carey et al., 2009, p. 629), and this was certainly the case at PH.

On the other hand, I would suggest that PH was also under pressure to change the way it approached care – not just the rules but their care ethos or philosophy. To explore what I mean, I will return to the interview with the Diocese representative. In the interview, it became apparent that the 'whatever presents itself' approach to care was certainly not what the Diocese expected. The view put forward in this interview was that up until now PH had been doing care the wrong way, and refugees were '*abusing the system'* (PH Employee #3), so the system had to change. The following quote is about how PFRB approached PH for care.

> they could come in and go … 'I'm poor, I need help'. So when they went to Hamilton [the old Penola House] the mindset of the refugees that went into there was 'money, money, money'. Whereas the mindset now is, this is the assistance that I need, and where do I get that assistance. So this is more advocacy, and that was total welfare 'give me, give me, give me' and so you have to shift. Shift the location, you put in place systems, you actually shift what's happening (PH Employee #3).

The first problem with this view is that 'refugees' are constructed as a homogeneous group of people who all act the same way and have the same mindset, which is certainly not what I witnessed during my time at PH. Furthermore, it suggests that the 'mindset' of all of the people who access PH will simply change with a new location and the introduction of 'systems'. However, we know that organisational ethos is not simply set by mission statements or guidelines; it is performed by people working within organisational spaces (P Cloke et al., 2005), and this was certainly the case at PH. While changes were systematically taking place in the management and operations

at PH, the changes in grounded practices of care were moving at a slower pace – care performances continued to be influenced by individual personalities and values, and the context and the relationships that people had developed with PFRB.

The Diocese had particular views about what type of care PFRB required, and the types of things that PFRB should be learning through PH. For example:

> I think the challenge is to say 'how much care do we give', and it will be different for everyone. And it will be different for whatever country they have come from as well. And it will be different for how long they have lived in refugee camps for example. But how long (do we care), what does it look like? And I think there hasn't been that discretion and so I know that Di is still moving furniture and yet some of these people would have lived here a very long time. And then how do we also teach them that um, that you care, everyone in Australia (cares), we look rich, but everyone cares for whatever they have, really, except probably generation X Y … Z. Y and Z may not but you know … if I gave you an old washing machine, I know that you would care for it, or if I gave you a … this filing cabinet (points to filing cabinet), second hand, you wouldn't bash it up, but that's not the case, so we go through a lot of furniture because they haven't, because their situation had been so different. And in Africa everything is worn out to death, but they wear everything out fast, whereas we here we might have a filing cabinet for 50 years, so, you know, how do we, how do we assist the shift for those people (PH Employee #3).

There are more than a few concerns here. The first concern is the view that African refugees are one homogenous group whose members not appreciate the support they receive, and who do not look after their furniture, and that in fact they *bash it up*. It is a concern that there appears to be paternalistic view of care, in that it is 'our' responsibility to teach African refugees how to care, and that it is 'our' responsibility to *shift* people so that they become more like 'us'. 'Us' being 'everyone in Australia' – a homogenous group of people who, according to this person, know how to care for furniture and appreciate the things they have. It is a concern that there is a view that people in Africa do not care for things because '*in Africa everything is worn out to*

death'. These comments are troubling, as they align with a deficit model of care and with a view of refugees as lacking. It is a view that PFRB do not know how to behave, how to care, and that the role of Australians is to teach them how to behave, how to care. This is clearly not an example of *caring with* PFRB.

This view positions Christian caregivers as 'full actors in the lives of refugees' and refugees 'as immobile in their own lives' (McKinnon, 2009, p. 313) has been explored in refugee in FBO/refugee literature. McKinnon found that FBOs often 'call volunteers to serve because they are positioned as full agents of change and upholders of Christian goodness' (McKinnon, 2009, p. 313). However, these 'dichotomized constructions of subjectivity' deployed by discourses of 'difference and sameness' deny the intersubjectivity of refugees and of the people who work/volunteer with them (McKinnon, 2009, p. 322). These constructions *'*maintain a modernist worldview of people, places, and events as autonomous and stable' (McKinnon, 2009, p. 313). In the quotation refugees are 'acted upon, represented as "voiceless" and "most vulnerable"' (McKinnon, 2009, p. 320). It is a narrative that 'positions volunteers as vital to the resettlement process for refugees, without asking refugees their feelings about the quality of assistance they received' (McKinnon, 2009, p. 320). From an ethic of care perspective, it is a practice devoid of *responsiveness*. Moreover, the preceding quote also ignores anything that the refugee Other brings with them into the care relationship.

Sister Di had a different view about why she provided certain kinds of care, such as moving furniture for people who had lived in Australia for some time.

> And so, you know, I am bored to sobs with furniture, because furniture should be nothing, nothing, nothing of my job, and yet I do it every day because it is needed and there is all sorts of other reasons why it is needed. Newcastle Council has stopped caring about poor people in Newcastle and their rubbish OK. So if I don't constantly take loads of rubbish to the tip, rubbish will pile up in the streets, people will lose their housing because the landlords and owners will blame them but Newcastle Council has stopped collecting rubbish for rental properties. Now do I take the Newcastle Council on? You know, how

> many fights do I have to have for making people do what they are supposed to do anyway? Why do we have … and if you ask the Department of Housing they are like 'no we did it 6 months ago', but there is pile of rubbish like the Taj Mahal outside of these poor people's house. So are they going to have to live with the filth for another six months? So, I mean, caring sometimes is rescuing situations, that if one doesn't rescue the situation, the consequences for the person who is disempowered are unacceptable and so, that's why I do it, not because I love doing it, not because I know it's my job, not because even I think its efficient, it's not efficient for a 65 year-old to take a pile of broken furniture to the tip. It's not efficient … But that's as efficient as it can be … but I shouldn't be doing it at all, but what can I do? To change this, I am going to have to change Newcastle Council. [laughs]. There are some fights I take on – the Department of Immigration in Canberra is a much smaller job to take on than Newcastle Council and its rubbish policies (Sister Di).

In this quote, Sister Di places her care (in the form of moving furniture and taking rubbish to the tip) in context. Sister Di is *attentive* to the everyday issues faced by PFRB in Newcastle. In the context of service cuts, Sister Di is able to view the wider ramifications of what these cuts mean for people's everyday lives. This is another example of Sister Di's and PH's performance of care, clashing with the Diocese version of how care should be.

Apart from its differences with the Diocese, it was also apparent that PH performed care in different ways to other RSO organisations too. For example, a former refugee employed at PH as a pastoral care worker at PH discussed what he understood to be the difference between PH's approach to care and the care that PFRB received from other organisations in Newcastle. He said:

> Many times if you hear some of their [refugees'] stories is that 'I don't know why the woman is doing like that, asking me this question, she try to show me how to cut onion'. Simply because of the organisation, they try and make these things to teach me. But to me, the approach, the strategies that we are working with at Penola, we want them to teach us or give us what they want, not us

> giving them or telling them what to do. We want to hear from them. This is what our relationship with them here at Penola; we hear from them and let them choose (PH Employee #1).

In this quote from Muenda describes the practice of the ethic of care (Tronto, 2001). As explored in Chapter 2, it is crucial that people are shown respect and that their voices are heard. Practising the ethic of care means acknowledging people's strengths, and understanding that people themselves are in the best position to know what kind of care they need. Muenda highlights how PH values the opinions of those whom they aim to assist – 'we want to hear from them' – and he demonstrates how it is important to have dialogue – 'we want them to teach us'. Muenda describes the practice of caring with PFRB at PH. If the organisation discussed above had listened to the person, perhaps they would have known that she already knew how to cut an onion. Ideally, they could have asked her what she needed help with, what she wanted to learn, or indeed what she wanted to teach. As Barnes argues, responsiveness 'does not invite the care giver to reflect on how they would be likely to react in a similar situation, but to see and understand how the other is responding and what it means to them' (Barnes, 2012, p. 23). But as Barnes (2012) argues, many social services programs are 'less than effective because they fail to treat their users as knowledgeable and capable persons' (Barnes, 2012, p. 25). Care is a practice done to, or for people, rather than with people. At PH staff and volunteers attempt to care with PFRB.

Before the 2013 changes at PH, Sister Betty and Sister Di performed care reflexively; they were able to care in whichever way they felt was necessary for particular situations and people. Their care was intimately linked to their personal and religious ethos, and it could in some ways be considered love (a very Christian type of care). However, it was also care provided by people with years of experience in working and caring with vulnerable people. The way they cared was informed by their faith, not muddied by it. In the following quote, Sister Di describes how she sees care. She said it:

> has to be a heart and a head thing. It cannot just be a heart thing. It can actually be quite dangerous and counter-productive if it is just a heart thing. It has to be a team effort. It has to be able to be assessed, and it has to be able to

> be audited. It has to be able to be discussed, it has to be weighed one option against another option, and it has to be given, you know, a mark to, it just can't be 'oh we cared about them', because 'we cared about them' brought us the orphanages, brought us the children taken from their parents, brought us all sorts of dreadful mistakes and those dreadful mistakes were while we were doing our caring. We did not actually stand in the shoes and care about what the others thought. The Australian people cannot just say 'we care' – we must do it as a partnership. It is not easy to just care and do well. That is what I think (Sister Di).

Held (2006) argues 'to be a caring person requires more than the right motives or dispositions. It requires the ability to engage in the practice of care, and the exercise of ability. Care … is work as well as an emotion or motive or intention' (Held, 2006, p. 51). The preceding quote demonstrates this point: it is not enough to have a caring disposition, care involves work. Moreover, Sister Di's words highlight that in order to care, one must have the ability to connect with the person you are caring with. It is 'team work,' it is a 'partnership,' it is not a unidirectional process, and clearly, it is emotional, it is 'a heart and a head thing'. The Diocese representative had a different view of her role as caregiver. She said:

> I lead by being emotionally distant and therefore being able to put an intellectual dialogue around what that care might look like (PH Employee #3).

This quote highlights an alternative view of care to the one care ethicists propose. It is one that argues that you need to be emotionally detached to make the correct decisions when caring for people, rather than the view that the process of care is both *disposition and practice (Tronto, 1993)*. I am not suggesting the Diocese representative did not have a caring disposition; rather, she viewed caring as something that needed to be devoid of emotion to be successful.

There are differences between the Diocese version of care and the PH's and the sisters' version of care. I have demonstrated through the interview with the Diocese representative that the Diocese has a paternalistic style of care, a deficit model, which views PFRB as lacking. On the other hand, PH performs care that is reflexive, that

respects and acknowledges PFRB strengths, that understands that PFRB know what they need, and importantly, that they are more than just 'refugees' – they are people.

While some people at PH were slowly adjusting to the new regime, there were certainly those who were not in such a hurry to change the way that they performed care in order to comply with Diocese expectations. Moreover, for people like the sisters whose brand of care is intertwined with their faith and who they are, changing how they *do* care is unlikely. The rules may have been changing, but the practice of care was not always following suit.

In the following section, I turn to volunteering at PH. I explore how PH employees view and manage their volunteers and what volunteers think about their roles as caregivers.

Volunteers

The core group of volunteers at PH had specific roles, workdays and duties, but it was different for casual and new volunteers, many of whom, myself included, wanted specific tasks to do (as I noted in Chapter 5). However, it did not work that way. First, you had to be at PH for a while, meet people, get to know the other volunteers, hang out, share tea – and then in time, if the sisters, one of the core volunteers or a PFRB felt that your personality or skill was going to be helpful for someone – they would ask you to assist with different tasks or activities. You did not walk into PH and predict the type of activity that you were going to conduct – it was not up to you as a volunteer, you did not decide what people needed. Caring at PH was about being attentive to the needs of PFRB, but also to the needs of PH more broadly. How volunteers performed care at PH evolved and developed as their relationship with PH and PFRB grew and developed. In the meantime, understanding the value of *just being there* was important.

Many volunteers cared for and supported PFRB as if they were friends or family members. However, the development of personal relationships or friendships was certainly not a given between volunteers and PFRB. Rather, it depended on the individual people involved, their personalities and whether they connected. As one volunteer explained to me, she had made friends with a number of people who

accessed PH. She visited their homes and had them over to her house for lunches and other social activities. However, there were other people who she did not do this with. She said it was just like making friends anywhere '*sometimes you just click*' (PH Volunteer #1).

Each of the volunteers brought unique ways of being and caring to PH. PH volunteers included teachers, people from refugee and migrant backgrounds, mothers, fathers, a real estate agent, university students, nuns, nurses, activists and retirees. When I asked one of the employees, Kaewa, about the different expectations that volunteers may have had when they arrived at PH she said:

> Well I mean that is part of the role too. When it comes to refugee issues and advocacy, it is not all about the client and providing support to the client. I spend as much time, if not more, actually talking to the volunteers and actually supporting people through a process. Often about personal growth, but they do not necessarily recognise it, and often about contextualising what it is that they are seeing and hearing, and broadening their worldview. Because a lot of people come in here with set ideas, and set agendas and I sort of like the concept of deconstructing that around them and reminding them that there is more to this world than just their black and white version of reality. And supporting them through that, so when we do find people doing things that are actually counterproductive, harmful, potentially disrespectful towards people, then it is part of my job to actually work with them on that … I generally walk them down a path to understand what it is that they are actually doing and to question the assumptions, the underlying assumptions that, even to recognise that there are underlying assumptions in the ways that they operate. And to, without judging in any way, actually get them to see that there are others ways of doing it, and how would that work out and what would be better about that and why might we prefer one over another and if there is a preference how does that fit into the overall scheme of what Penola House does. And just talking with people, it's, like guided conversations, and I do that one on one, I do it in groups, you know it doesn't really matter and its part of the journey. I think that Penola House is not just about providing support to others, its

> providing support to anyone that comes through that door and that includes all of us as well as all of everybody else that comes through that door. And it's about creating an environment of enquiry, of possibility, and actually getting people to open their minds to whatever it is that they see in here and find a way to make some of that, to make a connection with some of that. And have it change their world, so that's what this is all about …That's my mission in life is to change people's worldview so they actually get who they are standing alongside (PH Employee #2).

This quotation demonstrates that performing care at PH is not only about supporting PFRB; it is about *providing support to anyone that comes through that door.* As I mentioned previously, there are many reasons why people move towards PFRB in caring and proactive ways. At PH volunteers come from many different backgrounds and the reasons why they are at PH are varied. However, as the above quote demonstrates, some people do come to PH with *set ideas and set agendas.* People can have preconceived ideas about how they can help PFRB and what they can do in terms of care and support. As mentioned previously, volunteers can see themselves as a crucial part of the resettlement process, before they even ask an individual what they want assistance with (McKinnon, 2009). Kaewa recognises this and takes steps towards *deconstructing* or *broadening* people's worldviews in a non-judgemental and supportive process, in order to ensure that volunteers are not coming in as all-knowing care providers. As she mentions, in her role at PH she spends more time supporting volunteers through a *journey* of understanding than she does with her 'clients' from refugee backgrounds. What this tells us is that volunteers also need care. They too need support and care so that they can then care for, and *stand alongside* PFRB in *attentive* and *responsive* ways. This quote reveals PH to be an RSO that, despite having some structures and guidelines in place, is not an organisation governed by the traditional view of the caregiver as all knowing, and care receivers as lacking. Moreover, it shows that PH encourages performances of care that are about connections, people connecting with others, because they are informed and open to possibilities.

It is certainly the case that well-intentioned care can be problematic. Kaewa's experience working with volunteers reveals that while people who volunteer at PH aim to care and inspire hope, this is not what always happens. For example, Kaewa notes that many of the volunteers come to PH with problematic ideas about care. She says:

> They often see themselves as the *bestowers* of *largesse*, you know, and all that sort of stuff. They actually see themselves as the charitable side of things. And there is a lot of that around, particularly with our volunteer cohort, because they are older people in general and they do tend to think that they are doing good works and, you know, the thing that is constantly playing in my mind is that whole road to hell being paved with good intentions stuff [laughs] (PH Employee #2).

She spoke earlier about walking volunteers through a journey of understanding, and I spent time watching her take on this important role. In the following quote, she explains how she manages problematic volunteers:

> As I said, my worldview is that it is all about the relationships, it's all about community building and if you don't have that sense of belonging to community, you ain't going to make that thing fly. And there are people that come here, that can't do that, volunteers that can't do that, so we get them involved in all of the additional stuff that we need to do. We keep them busy, but you ain't getting near the client, because the last thing that they need is to be working alongside somebody who actually thinks that they are no better than the furniture [laughs]. This is a place of welcome, that means that you actually have to take some active steps to make it a welcome (PH Employee #2).

The volunteers at PH are vital to the organisation. With only two employees, volunteers ensure that PH continues to operate. However, what has become clear through these examples is that PH is a place that cares for and supports volunteers, just as much as it supports and cares for PFRB. As Chapter 2 noted, care ethics understands care as an important component of all people's lives, and that *the practice of an ethic of care* is not just about caring for those perceived as needing care,

it is about care more broadly – for all persons. Significantly, PH recognises that volunteers need care themselves in order for them to care for PFRB, and whether volunteers recognise it or not, they are receiving care *at the same time* as they are providing care. At PH people are provided opportunities as volunteers to work within an organisational space that is willing to provide a certain amount of autonomy but also guide you towards the *practice of an ethic of care*. As Kaewa alludes to above, PH is a place of welcome, but volunteers must take *active steps* to make it that way.

Professional boundaries

To explore the notion of professional boundaries at PH, I want to draw on two employees (as I did with NSS), Kaewa the caseworker and Muenda the pastoral care worker. These two people demonstrate a different way of performing care through an institutional framework.

Muenda is one of two part-time employees at PH and a former refugee. He has been assisting newly arrived PFRB in Australia in formal and informal capacities for nearly ten years. Muenda's involvement with PH is through his association with Sister Di. Muenda met Sister Di in Sydney in church, a few months after he arrived in Australia in 2004. At this point, he started helping Sister Di and other nuns collect furniture to give to newly arrived PFRB. Muenda knew this was extremely helpful for PFRB and their families because of his own experience with initial resettlement.

Muenda's motivation to do care work with PFRB comes from his own experience as a refugee, but also clearly comes from his religious faith. From his own account, his desire to care is about wanting to help people by bringing joy to their lives, rather than sadness. As Muenda has undertaken charitable work in various capacities, across nations and with different organisations, I was interested in finding out from him how he negotiated doing care work within the confines of an organisation in Australia. Specifically, I initiated a conversation about following organisational rules when doing care work with PFRB in Australia. He responded by talking about the types of care that make sense to PFRB – culturally appropriate care.

> sometimes it's hard to open your heart to somebody that you don't know. And um, it's not everyone that you tell your story, it's not everyone you smile with, so the first thing with the refugees is to build a relationship. And to build a relationship is not like here in Australia that you go, take them to the pub or you take them to the restaurant. No. Or you take them to them beach. No, it wouldn't work. To build the relationship with the refugees is in their homes, you have to visit them in their homes, you have to share whatever they have with them, be it food, be it water, be it a birthday or whatever, celebration, you are always with them. And then they say, 'oh he is a good man and he is always with us in my sorrow he is there, in my joy he is there', so gradually then they start opening their heart to you (PH Employee #1).

For Muenda taking the time to build and develop relationships is a crucial part of performing care. Moreover, relationships need to be developed in a culturally appropriate way, which Muenda notes can be quite different to how other Australians build relationships.

Muenda went on to talk about how this type of culturally appropriate and personal care leads to a level of trust that is necessary when working with PFRB. This quote begins with Muenda describing what a PFRB may think of a different approach to care.

> for instances, if I say that I am just in the office, ahhhh he is just ticking the boxes there, he is just doing his work there. So you have to watch out, he just working with the paper and meaning to say that, he putting everything in the paper, so they start pulling themselves away from you, and openness will not be there. The trust will not be there anymore, so they will be looking for you as what? As somebody who is just coming from an organisation point of view, not one of them. And this is exactly to me, like, I take the path of Christ, he is always with the people. He simply sitting, eating, walking with the people, living together with the people, so, I spend time with them and then at Penola, a little bit, oh where's Muenda he is not here [in the Penola House building], he is not here, 'cause I went somewhere to be with the people (PH Employee #1).

There are a couple of points which arise from the preceding quote. First, it is important to highlight the faith-based aspects of Muenda's approach to care. According to Muenda, Christ provides a good example of how to provide care to people. Muenda draws from Christ, who he said was 'always with the people … sitting, eating, walking with the people'. Muenda cares for people by spending time with them; he wants to be with the people, as Christ was. This type of 'caring with' approach that Muenda feels is necessary when caring with PFRB stretches his relationships beyond the types of professional boundaries advocated for by many caring organisations. Muenda becomes a part of people's lives and families in ways that would not be possible if he were working from an office or 'ticking the boxes'. Second, this quote highlights what Muenda sees as limitations that can exist within organisational care. Specifically, he talks about trust, and from his experience PFRB tend to pull away from care workers who are confined to offices, or who do care work according to a predefined list of tasks. Visiting people in their homes is a way to develop relationships and build trust. And trust is crucial, as it 'emphasises the capacity of care givers and care receivers to engage in dialogue about needs and responses in circumstances of inequality' (Barnes, 2012, p. 24). Predefined tasks do not always allow for meaningful dialogue.

I also discussed 'professional boundaries' with Kaewa. I was interested in how she managed the relationships she had with the people through her work as a caseworker at PH. She believes that:

> You can be professional without actually wearing the suit and adopting an arm's length approach and not connecting at all with the person.
> (PH Employee #2).

The view here is that you can be professional in the work that you do and the care that you provide, and at the same time make connections with people. She went on to say:

> I think you can actually build relationships with people, and that is my starting point. I can be professional in the service that I deliver without having to be straight-laced, without having to be so disconnected from the individuals that I am dealing with that it is of no benefit to them. If they get no benefit out of

> seeing me, except that I put out the occasional fire, what's the point of me being there? (PH Employee #2).

For Kaewa it is clearly important to be able to connect with the people that she was working and caring with. She went on to say:

> I find no difficulty in being open with the clients, as I expect that they will be with me, so that I can actually find a way to help them. And that means that every client that comes in here knows about me, they know about my situation, and they are not overwhelmed with that, I am really open with it, particularly the Africans, they think that it is just the best thing since sliced bread that, you know my parents, they know that my aged parents live with me, they know my dad has dementia, they know my mum is very depressed and not happy with her circumstances, and when they come and see me, no matter how upset and distressed they are, the thing they always ask me is how are your parents? Because that is really important, what they see is a reflection of the important cultural aspects that they bring with them too. Which is that multidimensional, multi-generational family, extended family, it's not nuclear, it's about belonging, they see and recognise that, and because of that they feel connected with me. So they tell me and work with me to actually, you know they want to help with this, they can see that I am there to try and help them and they actually work at it, they work it so well. One of my most delightful moments was having one of the larger female members of the Sudanese community actually get down on the ground in front of me and hug my feet and ankles and say to me, in her language 'Dinka', she said to me the equivalent of 'I will carry you for the rest of your life'. And I said to her, I can hear the words, but for you what does it mean? She said for me it means that you are like a member of my family and as you get old I will look after you, because you are providing for me that level of care that I would get from my mother (PH Employee #2).

Again, we can see here the importance of culturally appropriate care and caring *with* at PH in this quote. Although Kaewa does not always visit people in their homes, she

develops relationships with her clients. For her, this means sharing herself and her story, in order to build respect and trust in her clients. As a result, PFRB accessing PH express care for Kaewa and her family. Although in many RSOs her approach would be considered to be crossing 'professional boundaries' Kaewa was extremely professional in the services that she provided people. She has years of experience working with refugee and migrant groups, and has developed an approach that incorporates who she is, her way of being in the world. From an intersectional perspective, the connections being made here are through a common understanding of family and care. This is an example of people building connections, not simply as care worker and refugee client, but as people with families and family responsibilities.

In response to this story, I asked whether this performance of care was enabled by the organisational framework or structure of PH, or if it could be considered her personal ethics of care. She said:

> It is coming from me personally but PH allows me to do that. The other thing is, that I use the skills and the knowledge that I have, and PH is the vehicle to do that. It is what I am asked to do, it is what I am paid to do by the Diocese. And so consequently it's … which comes first chicken and egg. I just you know, accident of birth, I am an Indigenous person that has come through a particular mind-set and a particular culture and I choose to actually reflect that in everything that I do, and I am really comfortable with that (PH Employee #2).

Kaewa is reflecting on her own heritage as an Indigenous person from New Zealand. And like Muenda, her cultural heritage informs the way she performs care which, like Muenda herself, is grounded in connecting with people. It includes being *responsive* and developing relationships of trust and mutual respect. Kaewa and Muenda make connections with PFRB through their shared identities as people with different cultural understandings to mainstream Australians.

Behnia argues that caring attitudes on the part of professionals have a considerable effect on refugees' well-being and service utilisation (Behnia, 2001, p. 3). From an ethic of care perspective, care professionals have a caring disposition first, before they can

care in practice: one informs the other. This is certainly the case for Muenda and Kaewa, both of whom have a deep passion for helping people.

My research revealed that many welfare and service organisations have clear guidelines for providing care. Within these types of organisational frameworks the type of relationship building and *whatever presents itself* care of PH would be considered problematic. The care literature rarely critiques the professional boundaries approach, as protecting the care-worker and safeguarding workers from 'burnout' is often the priority of welfare organisations. However, in terms of supporting PFRB in the Australian context, there is a different view. In his work with Sudanese refugees in Australia, Westoby (2009) calls for an 'inside and outside work relations' approach. He believes that when working with people and communities from refugee backgrounds, it is important to cross the boundaries of traditional professional/client relationships, just as Muenda and Kaewa do. His argument comes from what he sees as the dominance of a trauma framework in refugee care in Australia. Working with Ingamells, he argues that because of the focus on trauma, the 'practical arrangements of refugee support in Australia allow little room for extended compassionate engagement' (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 2). Westoby and Ingamells argue:

> The newcomers are facing a task that the worker is not facing—of working out how to preserve their cultural identity, the sustainability of their cultural group and their ways of life. Only newcomers can do this and, to support it, workers need long-term commitments and jobs that facilitate such commitment. Workers whom we have seen maintain relations over the long term have achieved this via inside and outside work relations, and via ongoing processes of weaving short-term projects into longer-term goals, by actively using extensive networks, and even by moving in and out of jobs in order to maintain their work with a community whose service needs and entitlements are changing over time (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 13).

Westoby and Ingamells (2010, p. 14) note that organisations need to find ways of managing the complex demands of forming lasting relationships, and to do this they

must ‘step outside the norms for human service agencies’. The stories from PH have demonstrated that perhaps PH is one organisation which steps out of the norms.

Care performed through PH is deeply embedded in the personal and religious ethos of the two sisters, but more than that, it is care that is based on *whatever presents itself* while simultaneously valuing the people, beyond the label of refugee. The sisters, Muenda and Kaewa and many of the volunteers demonstrate a capacity to perform care reflexively. In other words, they can adjust their practice according to the needs of each person (from the standpoint of the person). They build long-term relationships of trust and respect, they understand and perform culturally appropriate care, and they empower PFRB to perform something other than *being a refugee*. They practice *caring with* people.

I now turn to Welcome to Australia (W2A). My insights here come from websites, media reports and participant observation. I explore the history and ethos of W2A as a national organisation, and then focus on the types of care performed by the Newcastle W2A branch.

6.2.3 Welcome to Australia

History and ethos

Welcome to Australia, as previously mentioned, is an Australia-wide organisation with local branches in various places across Australia. The founder and national director of W2A, Brad Chilcott, is the lead Pastor of Activate Church in Adelaide, and W2A is an activity of ‘Activate Community Services’ (Welcome to Australia, 2015). Despite the religious faith of the founder, W2A does not promote or preach a religious ethos. The following statement from the W2A website provides an insight into how the organisation promotes its aims to the public:

> Welcome to Australia exists to engage everyday Australians in the task of cultivating a culture of **welcome** in our nation. The Australia we love is known for its diversity, **compassion, generosity** and commitment to giving all people a fair go. We'd like to find many different ways that individuals, families, businesses and other organisations can work together to continue to develop

> these values in our communities, work places, schools and institutions (Welcome to Australia, 2015).

The key goal of W2A is to 'cultivate a culture of welcome' in Australia. W2A does not publicly align itself with any religious beliefs, keeping their faith ethos in the background. However, they do draw on ethical principles equivalent to those that provide the foundations of faith-based organisations, such as *compassion* and *generosity*. W2A clearly aim to engage with a number of different individuals and organisations across Australia, and as the following statement from their website reiterates, they promote a multicultural and multi-faith ethos:

> The Welcome to Australia team includes people of a range of cultures, faiths, ages and political persuasions – we'll partner with anyone who wants to offer a warm, positive and dignified welcome to asylum seekers, refugees and other new arrivals and who is committed to the vision of an inclusive, welcoming and just Australia (Welcome to Australia, 2015).

The following statement about the founder of W2A was on the Activate Church website:

> Brad and Rachel Chilcott are the Lead Pastors of Activate, a church in the western suburbs of Adelaide. Brad is a popular speaker throughout Australia, speaking regularly at conferences, camps, church services and training events for churches, not for profit organisations, community groups and activist organisations. His message reflects his commitment to social justice, true discipleship being seen in transformative action and a belief in the supernatural power of a personal, interactive God (Activate Church, 2015).

From the above statement from the church, we can assume that the founder of W2A is guided by his religious faith. However, the organisation he founded and the other work that he does make it clear that the aim of his work is not to proselytise. For example, in 2014 he was awarded the national Award for Muslim and Non-Muslim Understanding

by the International Centre for Muslim and Non-Muslim Understanding (Welcome to Australia, 2015).

The founder of W2A operates in a space where the lines between FBOs and secular organisations are not fixed. W2A has formed partnerships with secular organisations interested in caring for and advocating for PFRB. The above extract highlights that there is often no clear distinction between religious and secular caring organisations, as the landscape is filled with examples where people of faith and no religious faith come together in urban spaces to offer care, welfare and justice to socially excluded people (P Cloke & Beaumont, 2013). This illuminates P Cloke and Beaumont (2013, p. 28) argument that people often put differences involving faith and secularism aside and come together willingly to address social issues. As was explored in Chapter 2, the 'crossing-over' between the religious and the secular in the public arena, or 'post-secular rapprochement' helps to challenge previously fixed divides between the religious and the secular (P Cloke et al., 2013, p. 16).

W2A the national organisation is certainly important for the Newcastle branch of W2A. It informs their care philosophy and certainly guides the types of activities that the Newcastle branch organises and facilitates. On the other hand, there is a certain amount of autonomy provided to branch directors, as they respond to what is happening in their local areas. The activities of the local Newcastle branch are the focus of this research.

Welcome to Australia – Newcastle

In Newcastle W2A is a small-scale operation. Volunteers run W2A Newcastle, and for them what they are doing is not work. Like Sister Di and Sister Betty, for the W2A Newcastle director and his family, caring is a part of their way of being in the world. For them faith and care are certainly intertwined. Before becoming the branch directors of W2A Newcastle, the family had been doing outreach work with homeless people in Newcastle. In 2013 the previous directors of W2A Newcastle put out the call for more volunteers, and the current director and his family became involved. They soon took over the role when the previous branch directors moved to South Australia (Cody, 2013).

The two main activities that they undertake are the Walk Together event (held in 2012 and 2013) and monthly Welcome BBQ that started around January 2014. Both activities aim to bring people from different backgrounds together over food and activities. Both events are also political in that they make public statements about the kind of place W2A argues Australia can be – welcoming and inclusive.

A key difference between W2A Newcastle and the previous two RSOs explored (NSS and PH) is that the W2A does not provide welfare services or even links to services. Their aim is to provide opportunities for members of the community to meet one another, to move towards one another (Conradson, 2003c). The Welcome BBQs are held in public spaces and anyone is welcome. They are about sharing food, having fun, and playing some games in a relaxed atmosphere, where who you are (refugee or not) is not the focus.

This is significant, as we know Westoby and Ingamells (2010) have suggested that early settlement experiences for refugees in Australia are 'largely [about] learning to be a client of a service' (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 14). Accordingly it is important to provide spaces in the community where PFRB can be something other than refugee clients. W2A purposefully designs activities so that a person's 'refugeeness' is not highlighted. At W2A events, people eat together, walk together, play soccer together, sit together and make friends. Particularly at the Welcome BBQs there is no evidence of a service being provided, there are no brochures for other welfare or service providers, there is nothing to make PFRB feel like 'refugee clients'. W2A demonstrate an awareness of the intersecting nature of people's identities through the activities they facilitate, and the importance of PFRB being able to be more than their refugeeness. W2A is about celebrating community and celebrating people, as people.

Moreover, the types of activities that are encouraged at the W2A activities are activities that Westoby and Ingamells (2010) suggest are important for people who are trying to find their ways in new societies. They note:

> The newcomers face sharp breaks between how they have managed personal, familial and social life before and how they do so in their new setting. Lots of social interactions around activities that engage existing strengths—such as

> food, soccer, music, sewing, with families of host culture—enable strengths to be harnessed and provide social strengths as a basis for addressing the very challenging issues that must be faced by every refugee family (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 14).

W2A activities provide lots of social interactions and activities that engage people's existing strengths, like preparing food, and playing soccer, cricket and other games for young people. W2A provides a space for these types of strength harnessing activities to happen alongside other people and families from Newcastle. Drawing on discussions from Chapter 4, about PFRB seeking out activities that are about more than material integration support (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014), W2A provides these additional engagement opportunities, and thereby nurtures a sense of belonging that does not usually come from formal organisational activities.

I would argue that these activities are not only about nurturing a sense of belonging for PFRB, they are also about nurturing a sense of belonging for longer-term residents who are adjusting to increased diversity in the community. I will discuss the notion of longer-term residents adjusting to diversity in more detail in the Chapters 7 and 8, but the point I am making here relates to something I discussed in Chapter 3: often, the responsibility to find a sense of belonging is placed solely on the newcomer. However, the responsibility actually lies with all of us who live in diverse communities (Wise, 2010). W2A provides an example of this shared responsibility being put into practice.

PFRB will seek out a variety of opportunities from different types of RSO. W2A are clear about what they are trying to do, and despite not offering practical or material support, they are a significant part of the landscape of refugee care in Newcastle. They are *attentive* to the varied needs of PFRB. By not focusing on welfare or service provision, W2A provides PFRB with the opportunity to connect with people in ways that do not relate to their *refugeeness*, valuing people as people. Moreover, W2A's approach demonstrates a willingness to adopt a reflexive performance of care because W2A do not know who they will be interacting with, or caring with, until each event.

I will explore the Welcome BBQ and the annual Walk Together event in more detail in the following empirical chapters. However, I now turn to the final RSO that I explore:

the Hunter African Communities Council (HACC). HACC as an RSO is different from the previous three RSOs because it is an organisation that was established and is run by volunteers from migrant and refugee backgrounds, which I reveal to plays a significant role in the type of care performed by the organisation and its volunteers.

6.2.4 Hunter African Communities Council

History

HACC, as previously mentioned, is an organisation established by African Australians for African Australians. The establishment of HACC in 2007 was a response to an increase in the numbers of refugees from African backgrounds arriving in Newcastle. Although the organisation aims to support all people from African backgrounds in Newcastle, they do predominantly care for African PFRB. This is what one of the founders said about their inception:

> In 2007 we had a community consultation and we found a need for an organisation that would support the many Africans here from the different countries, predominantly the new migrants that were newly arrived in Newcastle from refugee backgrounds. We felt that they were marginalised, there were a lot of problems. Also situations whereby there were demonstrations not welcoming them and there was a bit of a fear factor. It was specific things like, we have had people say that our property prices would be reduced (if African refugees moved into the neighbourhood) … there was difficulty having people find rental places, and you know many, many other problems, social problems. It was the first time to see a lot of people of African background here, particularly indigenous Africans. Initially, I think the Sudanese were here first, they are really, really dark and many people didn't know a lot about people from Africa and I think that was sort of the things that we felt were making it more difficult for people to feel welcome, to feel settled … also to feel that they were … they were here because our government actually brought them here, accepted them as refugees to come and live here … but it became, ah, problematic initially and we felt that we could make a difference, that's how we started (HACC Volunteer #1).

This quote demonstrates that the people who established the HACC were being *attentive*; they recognised that there was a need for care and support in the African Australian community in Newcastle. They wanted to make people feel welcome, to advocate of their behalf, to provide more information about people from Africa to the wider Newcastle community, to provide a counter narrative to the public displays of 'unwelcome' and generally to assist people from African backgrounds in settling into life in Newcastle, while building a strong, connected and vibrant African Australian community.

Within the refugee literature, there is limited research about refugee or migrant-led organisations in Western nations, with the exception of a small body of work from the UK. This work explores Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs) and notes that despite their limited access to resources, they provide 'wide-ranging information' as well as 'cultural and social support to their members' (Piacentini, 2015, p. 436). Similarly, HACC runs with limited resources. Everyone is a volunteer and they receive no external funding. The only financial contributions they receive are through fundraising and small grants. The UK research suggests that organisations like HACC emerge to 'satisfy unmet needs, such as welfare, leisure and social interaction' (Phillimore & Goodson, 2010, p. 183). Moreover, it has been suggested that RCOs develop in 'response to the difficulties refugees experienced trying to access mainstream services' (Phillimore & Goodson, 2010, p. 183).

Phillimore and Goodson (2010) note that central to the definition of RCOs is that they are established by asylum seekers or refugee communities, for asylum seekers or refugee communities (Phillimore & Goodson, 2010, p. 183). However, I would agree with Piacentini (2015) who argues for a broader interpretation of such organisations, one that represents the intersecting identities of people associated with these groups. Following Piacentini (2015), I suggest that a more appropriate title is Migrant and Refugee Community Organisations (MRCOs) as this captures 'the complex diversity of intersecting identities' (Piacentini, 2015, p. 436) within these groups. This categorisation is more appropriate for HACC because the organisation is run by, and for, people from African backgrounds; some came to Australia as migrants, some as students and others as refugees and asylum seekers. Moreover, PFRB associated with

the organisation have been in Australia for different lengths of time. Some are new arrivals and others have lived in Australia for many years. The term 'RCO' places too much emphasis on 'refugeeness' and does not account for the intersecting and fluid nature of people's identities.

In Newcastle HACC are the only MRCO who assist African people from a broad range of cultural, ethnic, religious backgrounds. Other groups exist in Newcastle that support PFRB but they tend to focus on *one* ethnicity or nationality, for example, the Newcastle Congolese Community, or a particular religious identity, the Newcastle Muslim Association and other faith groups. HACC assists all people from Africa, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, religious identity, or immigration status. This points to the intersectional approach of the organisation, where HACC are happy to work with multiple parts of peoples intersecting identities, not just things that relate to a person's nationality, ethnicity or religion.

Caring at HACC – a strengths-based approach

Like W2A in Newcastle, the HACC does not have a physical space from where it operates. Rather, its caring work is done in the community. The work they do has three key focuses. First, supporting Australians of African heritage, second, celebrating African culture and third, encouraging cross-cultural communication with the wider community. Their websites states:

> The Hunter African Communities Council (HACC) is a not-for-profit organisation committed to the development of individual and community wellbeing of Australians of African origin … We assist in a range of cross-cultural services, celebrating the inclusion of Africa's culture and people in Australian society. Our main services include interpretation, education and employment referral services, capacity building and cross-cultural communication (Hunter African Communities Council, 2016).

These objectives make it clear that HACC is different to the other RSOs already discussed because although HACC also cares for PFRB, and encourages and supports

connections with the wider community, in addition it has a strong commitment to celebrating African culture in Newcastle.

HACC is also unique because it is predominantly an organisation run by African Australians. As the President says, '*it is the first African volunteer group for Africans* (HACC Volunteer #1). This is significant, as it should reduce the risk of *unresponsive* care, because the HACC volunteers are part of the African Australian community and many have been through very similar experiences to the people that are new to Australia.

The Secretary discussed his views on the different approaches to refugee support in Newcastle. He argues that many RSO do not consult with PFRB enough, and therefore lack the capacity to care adequately or achieve positive results for the Africa Australian community. He said:

> the best way I believe to have an objective met is to have members of the community involved in the planning, implementation and evolution of that project. However, what usually happens (at other organisations) is, we have a problem, we have to fix this problem, okay, this is the target group, they are not involved in the planning, they are not involved in the funding submission, they are not, **it's done to them, not with them** … It just goes back to Asset Based Community Development. It is a very simple concept, but a lot of agencies don't do that, a lot of organisations don't do that (HACC Volunteer #2).

This quotation reveals the importance of caring *with* PFRB. As the Secretary notes, care is less effective when it is done *to* people, rather than *with* people. He further notes:

> some individuals, some agencies, are still sticking to the old way of doing things … and that is simply not alright. If you are helping me, but I don't understand why you're helping me, it really doesn't help (HACC Volunteer #2).

This last quote reflects some of the earlier critiques about care without dialogue being problematic. If someone does not understand why he or she is receiving help, then it does not help him or her. As Barnes (2012) argues, many social services programs 'are less than effective because they fail to treat their users as knowledgeable and capable persons' (Barnes, 2012, p. 25). These issues can also be discussed through an ethic of care framework. Care practised without consultation, dialogue or *responsiveness* is always going to be lacking.

The HACC Secretary has experienced both sides of welfare and service provisions for new Australians. A migrant from Kenya, he arrived in Australia about seven years ago as a student. Although not from a refugee background, by his own account he can relate to some of the experiences and hurdles that PFRB face when they come to Australia. There were things he was not able to receive from 'organised assistance' when he arrived in Australia. He said:

> I came to this country as a student, and one of the biggest things for me originally when I came into the country, was the simply things that I could not find, from organised assistance. And it was great the assistance. I got accommodation assistance, I got assistance with finding simple things like a bank and that sort of thing, but when it came to other things that I could not find through this organised system , um, and I will put it very simply, foods, foods I ate at home I couldn't find, and everyone I asked from the organised assistance, was, you know, I don't know this might be the place. Church, a church that was good for me , I couldn't find, I couldn't get anyone to actually show me where I could go to church, I knew where the bar was but not the church (HACC Volunteer #2).

His story resonates with the previous discussion about culturally appropriate care and he clearly articulates things that are not always available from organised care. He has been a caregiver in formal and informal capacities since he has been in Australia (previously working for an RSO), and he received care from various organisations when he first arrived in Australia. Accordingly, he has the capacity to view care from multiple

angles. He argues that the 'box ticking method' of supporting newly arrived refugees is problematic and often culturally inappropriate.

> I know for a fact that one of the biggest issues that these organisations face is that they are funded to do a list of things and this list of things is, you know, show someone how to do, to keep their house, or up keep their house and so on and so forth, show them how to get to church, um, but you have a limited time to do that and a limited budget. So if an individual needs a lot more time to understand that, it does put pressure on these organisations because they will have gone through it once, but if an individual hasn't gotten it, you have to go over it twice, thrice, four times, five times, six times, and that is a major issue. I do not blame the organisations, I think it is the, more of a policy or a management level, where there needs to be recognition that it takes time for an individual to trust someone, for an individual to get that relationships going where they can actually see value in what you have to say. I worked with these organisations, and my limitations as a worker made it really difficult to do some of these things that I know are absolutely important for this individual (HACC Volunteer #2).

As he notes, the limitations as a worker (working within an organisational structure) *made it really difficult to do some of these things that I know are absolutely important for this individual.* Moreover, he highlights the need for culturally appropriate care that involves building relationships of *trust and respect* with PFRB. His concerns echo the limits of organisational care discussed by P. Westoby and Ingamells (2010) in an Australian context. As mentioned previously, rather than advocating for professional boundaries they argue that 'refugee care' takes long-term commitments from workers – both inside and outside work relations. It involves becoming deeply involved in refugee communities and crossing professional boundaries, which is the approach at HACC.

HACC also sees an advantage in not being obligated to any external funding body.

> I think the main difference is that we are members of the community who actually see value in contributing towards our own community. And in general

> by contributing to our community we contribute to Australia in general, Newcastle in general. So that is the main difference, we are members of the community who actually advocate on behalf of our community. We are not driven by funding, we are not driven by outcomes we have to meet externally, those outcomes are from our community, so that is the main difference … we see ourselves as working in partnership with others. Not in competition (HACC Volunteer #2).

The HACC Secretary in this quote believes that it is crucial that they are not tied to any funding body or external outcomes. This means they can care how they want and for him, that means that the outcomes are all for the community, rather than to satisfy external stakeholders or funding requirements.

As previously mentioned, HACC actively encourages cross-cultural communication. For example:

> whatever project we do, we always sit down and look at strategies to ensure that mainstream communities are attracted (HACC Volunteer #2).

This quote highlights that HACC recognise that adjusting to diversity is a shared responsibility. Therefore, they believe that it is important to provide opportunities for people in the wider community to be involved with the organisation and the activities they facilitate, like the SFC and the annual Africa Day event (both of which are explored through an encounter lens in Chapter 8). This is clearly an important part of what HACC does, for example:

> We also have volunteer programs where we connect to mainstream community and anyone that wants to come and volunteer their time will be greatly appreciated … also looking at ways in which we can attract members of mainstream community to basically understand how our community works. And what we have done with that is inviting a number of members of mainstream community to sit down and simply have a chat, simply talk, simply have a cup of coffee, you know, whatever it is, um, and through that you can build those relationships and educate people more. From my personal

> experience it has been, I came here over 10, 13 years ago and it's been, I've encountered some people who will say things like, it's because I know you and you're not different, you're not like other Africans, but I'm pretty sure that individual and through experience that individual meets a few other Africans, realises that there is no difference whatsoever. So one of our key things is to make sure we have opportunities for informal conversations to happen, informal links and relationships to build, as seen as much as our organised activities are the basis of our projects. The informal is absolutely part and parcel of that project plan (HACC Volunteer #2).

The members of HACC are active members of the community. They are taking *responsibility* for a recognised need for care. Moreover, they are creating opportunities for PFRB and other individuals to move towards one another. They engage with the wider community through communication and participation. They are *caring with* the wider community. Being an organisation for people of African backgrounds does not isolate HACC from the wider community. Rather, they are proactive in their care for their own community but also for the wider community of Newcastle. They value the assets and strengths that African Australians bring to the Newcastle and Australia community.

One thing that becomes very clear is that HACC does not exercise a deficit model of care. The organisation is committed to acknowledging and celebrating the strengths of Africa Australians and the 'rich cultural heritage' that they bring to Newcastle. The President discussed this point in the following extract, and at the same time talked about cross-cultural communication, and sharing these things with the wider community:

> You see, so to me that's very, very strong ethos. And also Australians themselves are made aware of a lot of the values and positive things about us, and we bring our rich cultural heritage to Newcastle. Our music, our food, our dance, our clothing, all of those things which are just really, what we just love

> and we can share it with everybody here, that is something that I really believe makes us unique (HACC Volunteer#1).

HACC's care ethos is different to the goal of independence touted by NSS. Their language centres more of PFRB being empowered. Importantly, for HACC empowerment is not an individual accomplishment, it is something that people and the African Australian community can achieve with the ongoing support of others. HACC understands that people live in a community, and gain support from the community – whether they are newly arrived PFRB or migrants who have been in Australia for many years. HACC performs care by developing long-term relationships with people and their families.

As I have explored, in the Australian context PFRB learn quickly that showing their vulnerability (and hence passivity) can be a way to access services. The focus on trauma or the 'medicalisation of the refugee experience in Australia' (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003, p. 61)is a factor that can influence people to adopt a passive 'victim' role. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2003, p. 61) propose that during early resettlement a greater emphasis should be placed on 'refugees' own culturally defined priorities'. And I argue that this is what HACC assists people to do. Here is the HACC Secretary again:

> well I personally believe that a lot of the help that is offered to families, new arrived families is more of the **don't.** This is what you **can't** do. Rather than this is what you can do and building on the strengths of their culture, of their backgrounds of wherever they are from. We currently know that a lot refugees are very resilient, we know that refugees are very family orientated, they have family all over the world and they still commit to providing for those people, and building on those strengths rather than looking at where the defaults are (HACC Volunteer #2).

HACC is an organisation that does not focus on the vulnerability of PFRB or what they lack. Rather, it focuses on people's strengths, and the things that people do have. HACC recognises the resilience of people and that PFRB themselves are caregivers,

providing for family members in other parts of the world. They value and encourage connections with the wider Newcastle community, recognising a shared responsibility for adjusting to difference.

Section 6.2 has addressed Aim 1 of the thesis by exploring the types of care performances made possible through NSS, PH, W2A and HACC. I have demonstrated that through their ethos and choice of activities each of these RSOs does play a role in the types of care that employees, volunteers and others perform. However, in accordance with other care research, the examples demonstrate that individual performativity plays an important role in how care is performed on the ground.

I used the care framework developed in Chapter 2 as a way to expand the frame of analysis and bring attention to the diverse nature of care, by highlighting examples of *the practice of an ethic of care*. Moreover, this section has highlighted that an understanding of intersectionality can enhance understandings of the experiences of PFRB (Aim 4). This contribution reveals that while PFRB are called upon to perform *being a refugee* to gain access to many services in Australia, there are RSOs, care practices and activities that empower PFRB to perform other aspects of themselves. By introducing intersectional understandings, I have highlighted how PFRB and other individuals make care-full connections based on shared identities, not as caregivers and care receivers, refugees and non-refugees, or volunteers and refugee clients, but as mothers, daughters, football players and people.

In addition, this section started to develop the idea that certain performances of care provide the opportunity for people to be care receivers and care givers *in the same moment.* This is important because providing PFRB the opportunity to be caregivers and care receivers, gives them personhood, and it moves them away from being someone who is lacking, to someone who has things to offer others – even though they need or want care themselves. In other words, I have revealed that people care *with* PFRB. Moreover, I explore how some RSOs perform care reflexively, by offering insights into the capacity of caring organisations and people to adjust their practice of care according to the needs and wants of the people they are supporting.

The following section builds on these arguments by exploring the different ways that people perform care though *welcoming* and *teaching* activities.

6.3 Performing Care: Welcome and Teaching

This section continues to explore the ways in which individual people perform care within organisations by focusing on specific types of care. I have categorised the types of care that I observed, performed, talked to people about, and received, into two broad categories of *welcoming* and *teaching. Welcoming* and *teaching* as performances of care have yet to be considered in academic accounts of the experiences of PFRB. I build on my argument from Section 6.2 that within care relations there is often more happening than a simple shift from giving to receiving care – people are actually caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment.* This is important because creating opportunities for PFRB to be in these two positions enables them to be more than their *refugeeness* by recognising that people receiving care have an ability to care for others. My discussion in this section continues to move the care literature away from understanding care as something people do for other people, towards an understanding of *caring with.*

In addition, Section 6.3 continues to think about the way people perform care reflexively. The ability of caring organisations and people to adjust the way they practise care to the needs or wants of PFRB was briefly touched upon in the previous section. In Section 6.3, I develop this idea further. I reveal that in some contexts, caring with PFRB includes a willingness to adjust the way you practise care. In an ethic of care framework, my notion of reflexivity is about developing the capacity for *responsiveness*, as PFRB may present with needs that you did not anticipate, and this then links back to being *attentive* in order to recognise needs. Performing care reflexively is yet to be discussed in the literature about caring with PFRB. With this in mind, this section offers new insights into the willingness of people to hear from PFRB about what they want or need, and their capacity to adjust or make changes accordingly – which can be complicated when care is performed within an organisational context.

In addition, I continue to draw on intersectionality as a way of enhancing understandings about the experiences of PFRB. This section, like Section 6.2, draws on stories in which people make connections through shared identities, not as refugee/non-refugee, not as caregiver/care receiver but as mothers, fathers, football players, friends and people with families.

Specifically, Section 6.3.1 explores welcoming as a performance of care through the analysis of two public events I attended, Walk Together and Africa Day. Section 6.3.2 draws on my experience as a volunteer English teacher at PH, and the experiences of other volunteers who tutor young PFRB in NSS Homework Centres, to consider teaching as a performance of care. I reveal that *welcoming* and *teaching* are performed by PFRB; they are not practices reserved for people from the 'host' population in the organisations I examined. This is significant because it challenge the dominant representations of PFRB as passive subjects. PFRB become active caregivers as they welcome people into their lives and communities and teach people things about themselves and their cultures.

6.3.1 Performing care by welcoming

In Newcastle, I attended two public events aimed at supporting PFRB, Walk Together and Africa Day. In this section, I draw on my own experiences and the experiences of others participating in these events, and I argue that the events enabled people to perform care through welcoming others. However, the two events differed in terms of who was welcoming whom. Walk Together was essentially about people already living in Australia welcoming newcomers, and Africa Day was about African Australians welcoming non-African Australian into their community.

This section moves beyond notions that a welcome is something only majority populations, or the dominant and privileged, have the power to extend. By providing grounded examples of PFRB and members of the host population performing care by welcoming one another, it highlights that PFRB have agency and that they, along with the wider community, recognise a shared responsibility to create more caring and inclusive worlds.

Walk Together

Nationally, Walk Together (WT) is promoted as a chance for people in Australia to show togetherness by coming together and walking through cities and towns across Australia, under the slogan 'If we're all people – we're all equal' (Welcome to Australia, 2013) . The Newcastle organisers told the local media that the event was an 'opportunity for the community to show its support for migrants, refugees and Indigenous Australians' (Murphy, 2013), with the aim of changing 'the conversation around refugees and migrants from negative to positive'(Murphy, 2013). Despite promoting diversity more generally, holding WT during Refugee Week suggests a focus on welcoming PFRB. From an ethic of care framework, the organisers were *attentive* to the need for PFRB to feel welcomed and supported in their new societies. Moreover, they were *attentive* to the needs of the wider community, many of whom were looking for a place through which they could express care towards, and welcome PFRB. The organisers and volunteers also assumed re*sponsibility* for these recognised needs by providing a 'device' through which people could give and receive care (Barnett et al., 2005).

A common motivation for non-refugees attending the event was personal dissatisfaction with the climate of refugee care (or lack of care for PFRB) that permeated the Australian political, media and public discourse. As Chapter 1 argued, the government's response and media sensationalism of the 'refugee issue' has the capacity to diminish the public's capacity to care. However, in this situation, a lack of care from the government motivated people to take action. The people who attended WT wanted to create, and be a part of, a counter narrative. They wanted to show that Australia is an inclusive society that embraces diversity and welcomes difference. People who attended were also hoping that a public demonstration such as WT would communicate this story to the wider community, to the Australian government and to PFRB (those already in Australia and those yet to arrive).

For example, Lara, who attended the event, told me that it was '*absolutely heart-breaking'* and '*really unsettling what the government was doing'* with their exclusionary refugee policies. She said that it made her feel '*powerless', 'voiceless'* and

'*unrepresented by the political parties'* (WT Participant #1). Lara revealed a deeply personal, embodied response to the situation. She felt personally let down by a government that she believes does not care about her opinions or about PFRB. Other people commented on the negative discourse in the Australian media when I asked them about why they were attending WT. For example,

> I'm speaking as someone who is third or fourth generation Australian, so you could say in some ways that I'm quite settled here, but I think it's about extending a hand of friendships to those who might have been here for a couple of months or a couple of years even, and are still wondering maybe … 'I keep hearing these things in the media, is it okay for me to be here in Australia' and I think a day like that sort of says, yes. There are a lot of people of good will who um, are more than OK with that [refugees being in Australia], we want to celebrate that (WT Participant #5).

Clearly, a part of this person's motivation was to be a part of the counter narrative. This is a significant part of the WT event; it is an 'accessible' and 'appealing device' through which people can perform care (Barnett et al., 2005; P Cloke et al., 2007a, p. 1092). If large numbers of people attend events like WT they may get media attention and therefore they have the capacity to communicate to the wider community, the government and PFRB that people in Australia do care about PFRB. As Lara said, she wanted PFRB to know that '*people really want them here and want them to feel good about it'* (WT Participant #1). WT establishes a hopeful alternative to the dominant narrative; it communicates a care-full counter narrative as ordinary Australians perform care, in the form of welcome.

People who attended WT also discussed the personal benefits gained from expressing and performing care. The following quote from media reports reveals that many people found that the event made them feel happier and better about the community they lived in:

> I loved the walk; looking around and seeing so many people who I didn't know standing up and saying that refugees are welcome here; it made me cry happy tears (Scully, 2013).

> I enjoyed being with so many like-minded people, and feeling the warmth and genuine caring (Scully, 2013).

> How fortunate we had the opportunity for making our lives richer, more interesting, more giving, and providing an opportunity for us to practise sharing, humanity and understanding (Marsh, 2012).

These quotes support what the care literature says about the benefits people receive from caring for others, and they highlight the relational nature of care. When people were performing care through welcoming, they felt happy, warm and positive. Others communicated similar positive experiences and feelings about attending WT, including a greater sense of belonging. For example, Lara said:

> I think it's important to see how many people feel the same and to kind of get that sense of belonging that you're not alone, even though the majority of what is happening in public debates is kind of crap, like that is not the consensus (WT Participant #1).

Seeing all the other people attending WT for the same cause made her think that '*the world's not so bad, maybe people do actually care'* (WT Participant #1). This demonstrates that by performing care through welcoming, Lara made herself feel better because she became aware that other people in the community felt the same way as her, it gave her a sense of belonging. She felt less alone in her care, and more connected to people in her community because they too were concerned for PFRB, and they too were people interested in shifting the narrative.

The following quote further demonstrates the affective registers of the event by showing how they can extend beyond the moment of the event itself. I asked Alice how participating in the event made her feel. She said:

> Really happy actually. I just got a real great buzz afterwards and during the event. And I think it was just all positive energy that was getting exerted on the day by everyone in the event and it was just rubbing off on me. And yeah, I think it was just, it just made me feel really happy and actually proud of

> Newcastle to hold an event like that. Really happy to be part of that (WT Participant #6).

This comment highlights care giving is a life enhancing experience. Caring for others makes people happy, it makes people feel good. Moreover, Alice also told me that the event gave her the opportunity to start a conversation with her family and friends about PFRB, which she said are sometimes difficult to broach. She said that WT '*lived on'* in her and it '*rubbed off on my family members and friends'.* She also hoped that the people she spoke to about the event and issues it represented '*have gone on and told their connections and networks'* too (WT Participant #6). In other words, WT was a catalyst for the performance of a caring counter narrative through the possibility of future conversations.

Through these examples, it becomes clear that attending WT was a positive experience, as Lara recognised it was mutually beneficial. She said:

> Walk Together, I think it also helps each other … I feel really isolated from how like Australia is turning politically and you feel … like I have been feeling really powerless and really depressed about it and I think Walk Together is **not just really good for refugee people but for 'you'** kind of thing (WT Participant #1).

This comment reveals the relationality and mutuality of performances of care. WT demonstrates the inseparability of caregiving and care receiving, as people here clearly describe a situation where they are giving and receiving care *in the same moment.* By expressing care, WT participants feel cared for as a step to performing a more caring society.

WT is not only about non-refugee people expressing and performing care. PFRB were not passive agents at these events. The crowd was extremely diverse, and although there is no way to tell from looking at someone their immigration status, through my fieldwork and volunteering I recognised many people from refugee and refugee-like backgrounds at the event. PFRB chose to attend, volunteer and perform at the event; they were active participants in the event, performing care and welcome themselves. This is significant, as it suggests that WT is not merely and event where mainstream

Australian caregivers extend welcome to passive refugee subjects. Rather, it is an event where PFRB can also take part in extending care and welcoming others.

At both the 2012 and 2013 events, PFRB living in Newcastle took part in the official ceremonies by making speeches to the crowd. For example:

> Today makes me feel welcome and a part of the Newcastle community. Newcastle is my home and my refuge. Today I am a proud African Australian (Marsh, 2012).

In addition, another speaker from a refugee background said in her speech:

> Everyone's journey of coming to Australia is different. Some probably came here to Australia by choice, some because of political and social reasons, some because of study. Whatever the reason is, the important thing is that we are now all here together in Australia. I believe as we come together and unite with our cultural diversity, with our cultural backgrounds, we are well able to advance our families, our communities and our country … On behalf of all the refugees, and all the immigrants and all the people that have come here to Australia to study or for any different reasons, on behalf of all those people here in Newcastle, I just want to express my sincere gratitude and thanks to organisations like Welcome to Australia. Thank you for your love, thank you for your support, thank you for your kindness, thank you for your generosity. Thank you (Fieldwork Diary 16 June 2013).

Both speeches acknowledge the 'togetherness' that WT events represented, and their words demonstrate that performances of care like this do make PFRB feel included, and do make PFRB feel like a part of the community. Moreover, by including PFRB in the event as speakers, volunteers and performers, WT provides opportunities for PFRB to express and perform care through welcome themselves, and to be contributing and active members of the Newcastle community.

Welcoming PFRB and others to Australia is not a practice free from critique. Similar to debates around tolerance, it could be argued that welcoming 'conceal[s] an implicit set

of power relations' (Valentine, 2008, p. 329) if only the dominant and privileged have the power to 'extend' or 'withhold' tolerance or welcome. Commentary on a nationwide campaign in Australia that saw thousands of posters put up around the country reading, 'Real Australians Say Welcome' suggested that such a welcoming campaign placed newcomers in a position of pleading with the host population, the people who have the authority to welcome them. It was argued that welcome serves two purposes: 'the first, to naturalise colonial sovereignty over the nation (you only 'welcome' into a house that you own), and secondly, to extend a condescending hand to those automatically presumed to be outsiders' (New Matilda, 2015). Welcoming is therefore perceived by some as a claim of ownership over national space , as an act by a rightful owner, but one that can be revoked as soon as a 'guest' oversteps the mark or overstays their welcome (New Matilda, 2015).

However, W2A approaches welcome in a different way.

> There are many people who have never heard or believed the phrase 'We're glad you're here' and we'd like to change that. We acknowledge the traditional custodians of this land and that many of the 'welcomers' have, in fact, also come across the seas (Welcome to Australia – Newcastle Facebook September 9 2013).

This quote reveals that the W2A approach to welcoming is different to the type of welcome critiqued above. First, it acknowledges that there is not one homogenous group of 'we' that can offer welcome; rather, many of the 'welcomers' have 'also come across the seas'. In addition, although people are being 'welcomed' as new members of the Australian community, this comes alongside an acknowledgement of the *traditional custodians of the land.* It is a welcome that centres round the idea '*that we've all come from different backgrounds, places and cultures but together we are writing the Australian story* (Welcome to Australia (Newcastle), 2013). According to the W2A website any 'welcome to Australia' must be in the context of the land still belonging to the First Nations People of Australia.

> We acknowledge and respect the traditional custodians, whose ancestral lands we are now a part of. We acknowledge that a 'welcome to Australia' comes, by

> its nature, either from the First Nations People of Australia or on behalf of them. We acknowledge and remember the horrific atrocities inflicted upon them. This is, and forever will be, their land (Welcome to Australia, 2015).

W2A understands that 'welcome' in the Australian context is complex, and that it needs to be critically considered and understood, and performed in a way that acknowledges the complete history of Australia's immigration story.

For the final part of the WT story, I draw on Denny, who has been living in Newcastle for around five years. He arrived in Australia as a student from Mozambique, but now Australia is his home. He participated in WT and was one of the performers too. He believes that events like this are important for social inclusion, and that they are '*a way to replace fears with friendships'* (WT Participant #4). He explained:

> I think they are very important, especially for the social inclusion. For both sides, refugees, foreigners and Australians. I have noticed that there is a little bit of fear there about different people from different places coming in [to Australia]. And I have noticed that there is fear on both sides and, events like that bring everyone together to celebrate diversity. And I think it is good if we can replace our fears with friendship, and we can replace our fears by talking together, sitting together, enjoying the same thing together, we discover that we are all the same. We are all normal people. We are all beautiful, so yes, and we share something together, we share culture together, food, there different food, I just love that everyone was being enjoying themselves and having a good time (WT Participant #4).

Denny has been involved with W2A and WT for the last few years and told me what this involvement has taught him about Australia:

> I have learnt that … communities are welcoming everyone, there is a force in the community that is raising our awareness that you know, people are welcome here … politicians are trying to misrepresent us but that's not what we are. They have got their political reason to do that but this is what we are, we are welcoming people, so that's a good thing to know and it doesn't matter

> what the politicians say, it is not really the reality of the Australian population (WT Participant #4).

Denny sees the expression of care from the Newcastle populace as a contradiction to the Australian government's policies. His words here highlight that, despite an exclusionary national narrative, people are welcoming. Welcome is happening, and a welcoming Australian population is a reality. Moreover, in Denny's words WT was fun, it enabled him to share a part of his cultural identity and gave him a greater sense of belonging to Newcastle and Australia:

> I had fun and I was really proud, I was really proud, proud of, proud of people that came, proud of feeling like I belong to the place and proud of the showing showcase my culture, my talent to the community that I have been living in, you know and sometime give my contribution to the community. So, you know, I think everyone was really happy, everyone was really proud and that gives, that was an opportunity for us to have, to take ownership, to feel like we belong to this place, we are not just passers-by, we are not just strangers, we may be different, but we accepted and we belong to the place (WT Participant #4)**.**

These comments highlight that events like WT are important to newcomers like Denny. Denny's story reveals a person who is giving and receiving care simultaneously. Denny is able to perform both subject positions as care giver and care receiver *in the same moment*, which is an important part of what events like this can do. Part of the WT care story is that the care made possible through WT enables Denny and others to be active participants in their new societies. While he was there as a performer, entertaining the crowd, welcoming people, at the same time he was receiving care from the Newcastle community. By his own account, WT made him feel happy, but more than that, it provided an opportunity *to take ownership, to feel like we belong to this place.*

The literature has not yet appreciated welcome as a performance of care. The discussion above has shown that the organisers and the participants of WT were actively seeking a way in which they could express and perform care to PFRB. They

chose to do so through welcoming, and in doing so, they received care from the other people participating in the event.

The following example explores welcome in a different way. This time it was the Africa Australian community in Newcastle welcoming the wider community to celebrate the many things that the Africa Australian community brings to Newcastle and to Australia.

Africa Day

The first Africa Day celebration was organised by HACC to celebrate African culture in Newcastle. Held at a local primary school which has a high number of students from refugee backgrounds, the event included African music and dance troupes, dancing, singing, African food, clothing stalls and hair braiding. The inaugural celebration attracted about 100 people from the African Australian and wider communities.

Organisers (HACC volunteers) were quoted in the local newspaper saying that the event celebrated the successes, cultures and talents of African people, and that it was a 'chance to foster harmony and respect between local Australian and African communities' (Ray, 2014).

The Africa Day event changes who does the welcoming and who can be welcomed. The HACC president said:

> that celebrating the day in the Hunter was a chance to foster harmony and respect between local Australian and African communities (Ray, 2014).

Like WT, Africa Day was about creating and being a part of an inclusive society and celebrating what African Australians bring to the community. It was an opportunity for people from African backgrounds to highlight their strengths, their culture, their love of dance and music, their colourful clothes and jewellery, and their sense of family and community. Moreover, it was an opportunity to welcome members of the wider community to celebrate alongside them.

In many ways, the event is a response to the exclusionary narrative and xenophobic undercurrent that permeates Australia, through a public display of social inclusion, welcome and a celebration of the rich culture and talents of the Australia African

community. Africa Day was about people from Newcastle's African Australian community welcoming people from the mainstream community into their lives and culture. It was about PFRB and people from migrant backgrounds *caring with* Australian people from backgrounds different to their own. People who attended Africa Day were welcomed and encouraged to learn more about people from different cultural backgrounds living in their community. The event was a sign of the strength and agency of the African community; it was the African community saying 'we are here, this is us, and you are welcome here'.

One of the key points about Africa Day is that it is a refugee/migrant-led activity. People from African backgrounds organised the event, volunteered at the event, set up food, jewellery and other stalls at the event, and performed at the event. They were being proactive in their care for the community. Rather than waiting to be welcomed, they were welcoming others. Moreover, they were encouraging others to celebrate the many things that African people bring to the community. I will explore Africa Day further in Chapter 8 as a space of encounter, but for now, the point is that Africa Day represents PFRB challenging the dominant representations of PFRB as passive, and it illuminates a wider notion of welcome, as something that all people have the power to perform.

WT and Africa Day are examples of people performing care *with* others through welcome. Welcoming is a performance of care for the self, for others and for the wider community. Welcoming events provide people who attend, including PFRB, the opportunity to be something other than passive refugee subjects. People become caregivers and welcomers, while receiving care from others, providing them with the opportunity to give and receive care *in the same moment.* Welcoming is not just about the mainstream welcoming Others. PFRB can welcome 'host' populations too, demonstrating their positions as active, caring people, who are moving towards the mainstream community in proactive ways – but not in ways where they need to assimilate; rather, they celebrate difference – at the same time as they connect with people through sharing identities as people living in the same place.

Welcome was also apparent in some of the previous stories from Section 6.2. For example, Sister Betty welcomed PFRB into her home, PH volunteers and staff welcomed PFRB, Tracey welcomed people into her English class and into her home, but also PFRB welcomed volunteers like Jenny and me into their homes and their lives. The stories of Chapters 7 and 8 extend the ideas of welcome introduced in this section by showing how physical spaces are performed as welcoming, and how encounters involve performances of welcome.

The following section draws on examples in which people performed care through teaching.

6.3.2 Performing care through teaching

When PFRB arrive in Western nations there are many things that they want to learn about the new countries, societies and neighbourhoods in which they find themselves. Every person and situation is different, but for many people coming to a Western nation involves learning a new language, learning how to drive, learning how to catch public transport, learning how to navigate a supermarket or to find other goods and services, and learning how to engage socially with different Others, in different places and situations. Learning these things in new societies sometimes involves carers who are willing to teach PFRB the English language and Australian ways of life. During this research I discovered many people willing to support PFRB as they settled into Newcastle, and in this section I focus on those that choose to perform care by teaching English to adults, or by tutoring young people from refugee backgrounds. I draw on my own experience as a volunteer English teacher at PH, as well as my observations of, and conversations with, people who performed care by teaching or tutoring. I draw on stories from Penola House's Monday English Class (Section 6.3.2.1) and Northern Settlement Services Homework Centres (Section 6.3.2.2). The people who performed care through teaching at PH and NSS were all volunteers. Most were not professional teachers but ordinary people who wanted to support PFRB. From an ethic of care perspective, they were *attentive* to the needs of PFRB in terms of language and education, and they took *responsibility* for that recognised need by volunteering in these programs. However, during the research process, it became clear that the PH

class and NSS Homework Centres were about much more than teaching language and helping with homework – they were spaces of care where people moved towards one another in care-full ways. In addition, performing care through teaching was a life enhancing experience for people, and an opportunity to learn new things, taught to them by students from refugee backgrounds. Therefore, I argue that the care relationships that developed through teaching represent moments where teachers and students were caring with, and embodying the roles of caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment.*

I begin with the PH English class and specifically the performance of two volunteers, Tracey and myself. I then discuss the NSS Homework Centre and the story of two volunteer tutors, Lee and Laura. All of the stories highlight the deeply personal and embodied nature of performing care with PFRB through teaching, and the connections that people make which are unrelated to their positions as refugee/non-refugee.

Penola House Monday English Class

Every Monday for three months, I helped with an English class at PH. The classes were open to anyone who wanted to attend. During the time that I was involved, the class attracted only female students and female volunteers. The classes were held in a small room at PH. As I previously mentioned PH was converted from a family home, so this room would have once been a small lounge area or living room. There was a table in the centre of the room that we would squeeze about eight people around. The class was different to a traditional classroom, where the teacher tends to stand in front of the class of students. Here, it was more informal, and the students and volunteer teachers would all sit around the table together.

The class brought together women from different backgrounds, cultures, nations and citizenship status. Many of the students had recently come to Australia from Afghanistan, Iran or Iraq but their migration stories were more complex than such descriptions can capture. As one young woman told me, 'I am from Afghanistan but I have never been to my own country'. There were also women who attended that were from various African nations. The women had been in Australia for different lengths of time, and each person had arrived with a different level of English language proficiency

and a different level of education. Reflecting on my positionality was important during my English class encounters. As I will mention, being a women assisted in my developing relationships with the students. However, it was also important to be aware and reflexive of my positionality as a University educated English speaker. There was a certain level of discomfort this produced in myself. At times I felt guilty or ashamed of my privilege, and at other times I felt uncomfortable because I couldn't communicate properly with the people I was teaching. The class started at around 10:30 am, we would break for lunch at about 12 noon and then try and work through till about 2 pm but it depended on how everyone was feeling, what else was happening that day, and the concentration levels of the students and volunteers.

The classes were informal and we performed a range of activities. We used worksheets to learn new words and sentences. We practised writing words, the students would read them aloud following each letter on the paper with their fingers. We would sing songs together – we danced to children's movement songs like the Hokey Pokey and Head, Shoulders Knees and Toes, which was challenging in such a small space – negotiating our way around the room to avoid bumping into the table, chairs or each other. We would do craft activities, which were popular. For example, we would cut pictures out of magazines to learn about clothes, glue the pictures onto paper, label them and hang them on the walls, or we would paint. The activities were designed to teach the students English, although the class was certainly about more than learning words. It could be a whirlwind of bodies, activities, conversations, interactions and objects.

Tracey, a dedicated volunteer, facilitated the classes. Tracey is a retired schoolteacher and she was in charge of the English language program at PH. She taught the English classes, ensured there were volunteers available to assist her, prepared activities, managed education-related donations such as books and kept the 'classroom' organised and up-to-date. Tracey was also proactive with student recruitment and retention, which she did in a gentle and encouraging way. However, the ways in which Tracey performed care went far beyond the practices related to education just mentioned. Tracey became a friend, a mother figure, an aunty; she cared for the people she provided lessons as though they are part of her family. Her care was gentle,

supportive and encouraging. She treated everyone on an individual basis and demonstrated a tremendous respect for each person.

The students returned the respect that Tracey showed. They listened to her instructions, they appeared to enjoy learning from her and they cared for Tracey in various ways. They brought along gifts of food, helped Tracey to clean up after class, made Tracey cups of tea, brought her glasses of water and offered to share their lunches with her. The English class was a space of care for the students but it was also a space to care (Mee, 2009). The students would go out of their way to care for Tracey. The English class provided the students an opportunity to be caregivers, *in the same moment* that they were receiving care from Tracey and the other volunteers.

As Tracey was a regular volunteer, she was able to have ongoing contact with the students. During my time volunteering with the class, I observed Tracey and the students building relationships of *trust* and *respect*, an important part of the *practice of the ethic of care*. In some ways, Tracey maintained a 'teacher' role with the students, however people can teach in many ways. For Tracey her way of performing 'being a teacher' included being caring, loving, kind and gentle. Her performance as a teacher included personal discussions about people's lives and their families. The students were able to talk with Tracey about any issues they were facing, whether they were problems with a service provider, issues with their children, difficulties they were having settling into Newcastle, or other things unrelated to being a 'refugee'. Tracey embodied a style of caring through teaching that included hugs, laughter and love – small gestures and acts of kindness (Horton & Kraftl, 2009) like a gentle hand on someone's shoulder or a reassuring hand squeeze across the table, accompanied by a warm smile. It was possible for Tracey to perform this type of care at PH because it reflected the way that Sister Betty and Sister Di interacted with people, and there was never an expectation placed on Tracey to teach in a more traditional, teacher-as-expert way. Tracey brought a particular performance of being a teacher to PH, infused with her kindness and gentleness. This ensured that the English class was a warm, friendly and safe space for women from refugee backgrounds.

Being a safe and supportive space played a significant role in the type of teaching/learning and caring that transpired. For example, many conversations took place that simply would not have happened if there were men present, or if *respect* and *trust* were not developed. In this female environment, students (and volunteers) felt comfortable asking each other personal questions that related to being a woman. For example, the students wanted to know the English terms for various feminine hygiene products and underwear, lingerie, mascara and lipstick. We talked and exchanged knowledge about different female grooming practices, about our relationships with men, about domestic roles and about children. These types of conversations and interactions only happened after we developed *trust and respect* for each other, and they were unique opportunities for everyone to learn more about each other, and about different cultural norms or practices. Tracey, myself and the other volunteer teachers certainly learnt many things from the students.

Like many other social situations with friends, not all our conversations were serious. We would laugh, smile and enjoy each other's company – we cared for one another. The English class was about much more than teaching/learning English; it was an opportunity for a group of women to connect. Importantly, these connections were not related to our identities as refugees and non-refugees; rather, the connections made were through a common understanding of being women.

The English class could also trigger difficult memories or emotions from some of the students. One example occurred after I had been away for a week. During this class Fahema, an older women, indicated that she had missed me the week before, and she asked where I had been. I had been in Melbourne visiting my mother, so I communicated this to her and explained that I see my mother twice a year. I visit my mother in Melbourne and then she visits me in Newcastle. Tracey then used this topic of conversation to help Fahema construct some sentences, she wrote on a piece of paper:

- Faith has been in Melbourne.
- I missed Faith when she was in Melbourne.

- Faith was visiting her mother in Melbourne.

After writing the sentences down for Fahema, we were asking her to read them aloud. Fahema got through the first sentence and then she froze. Initially, I thought that she was stuck on a certain word, but then we realised that she was holding back tears. She became visibly upset and tears began to run down her face. How quickly the atmosphere can shift. Immediately we hugged her, held her hand and comforted her. Gently, we asked her what was wrong, and after a moment Fahema just said '…mother….Iran…..sick….'. Tracey and I sat with Fahema. We held her hand, we stroked her back, and we spent some quiet moments with her – just being there. The English lesson was forgotten as we comforted Fahema and then Tracey gently said, 'Fahema, we are here for you. We are your Australian family'. Although this was a moment filled with despair, it was also a moment where Fahema received comfort, support, care and empathy. The class was about more than teaching/learning words. Performing care with PFRB is certainly not all about positive and happy moments; however, any sadness during the class was always coupled with support. This story reveals that while volunteers are trying to inspire hope, this is not always what happens –performing care can also expose some of the less hopeful experiences that PFRB have to endure.

Watching Tracey working with the students it was clear how much she enjoyed her role; it filled her with joy. She said:

> I can't even, I can't explain the satisfaction that I get, but then a lot of that too is because … my home life … you know I've lost my husband and my two daughters are in Sydney … I have the time and the emotional space, to do, to sort of go beyond … and go to their homes and do things like that, because I can … quite a few of the ladies here (volunteers) are, you know they are retired, their children are off their hands, they have grandchildren commitments … but I don't have grandchildren yet. So um, **you know you get a thousand times more than what you give, definitely** (PH Volunteer #1).

The English class was a space and opportunity for Tracey to perform certain aspects of her personality. Tracey's role as a teacher allowed her to continue to care for people now that her caring roles as a mother, a wife and a professional teacher were no longer a part of her everyday identity. Moreover, the students and other volunteers cared for her in return. As Tracey said herself, she gets '*a thousand times more*' than she gives. In other words, in performing care through teaching, Tracey also received care.

My personal experience of the English class was also transformative for me, and for my research. When I first started volunteering at PH I was anxious and had mixed feelings. It was the first time I had volunteered with PFRB, and it was researcher volunteering! I felt uncomfortable and I felt guilty. These emotions were intrinsically linked: I felt guilty because in my opinion at the time, I was the only self-serving volunteer at PH. Initially, I could not stop thinking that everyone else was there to care and I was there to get data, to get a PhD essentially – and these feelings had a significant impact on the way that I interacted with people. It made me uncomfortable, awkward and quite reserved or shy. These feelings were exacerbated in the beginning because, as I mentioned before, I had not been given a specific role at PH, which meant that when I was at PH I felt only like a researcher, rather than a volunteer or caregiver. Then Tracey invited me to assist with the English class, and my involvement with the class altered the way I engaged with people and it changed the way I thought about my role as a researcher volunteer. First, because it gave me something to do, it gave me a sense of purpose, the feeling that I was finally caring – I was finally doing something useful – teaching people English. Second, the English class was my first opportunity to develop relationships with women from refugee backgrounds and with other volunteers. These relationships gave me the confidence to just be me – because that is what everyone else was doing! Moreover, awareness and reflexivity of my positionality within this space drew my attention to the importance of emotions, affect and the interconnections between people and space that perform spaces of care into being. One particular student, Nooira, was so kind, warm and open to me, she helped me to relax within myself, and the way she cared for me and others, in many ways taught me how to care. I was able to perform the same care and kindness that she showed me.

My involvement as a teacher became important for Nooira, and her presence as a student was just as important for me. Of course, Tracey's gentle and kind teaching performance also helped me to find my confidence as a person, volunteer, English teacher and researcher in a space that was completely outside of my comfort zone. Although I know that many of the students that I assisted during these classes improved their English, my experience was about so much more than teaching English. My care-giving experience through teaching was definitely not a one-way practice of care. It was an experience that was fun. It taught me things about myself, about caring, teaching, about volunteering and about engaging with PFRB students and volunteers. As Barnes (2012, p. 25) notes, 'we develop our capacity to care through the practice of care with others', and this was certainly my experience. From an intersectional perspective, the class enabled me to perform different aspects of my personality. I was not only a researcher – I was a volunteer, teacher, woman, friend, caregiver and care receiver. Moreover, the practice of performing care through teaching gave me personal insights into the embodied and non-discursive aspects of care, which in turn, assisted me in developing an understanding of the importance of performing care as part of my research practice (Aim 5).

In order to explore the experiences that PFRB may face when trying to build new worlds, it can be important to consider less hopeful stories. One example of this that relates to the English class is about Nooira. Nooira clearly enjoyed being a part of the English class, and she demonstrated a sense of comfort and belonging to PH, which was an important part of her finding her way in Newcastle. However, shortly before my fieldwork finished Nooira and her family decided that they had to move to Sydney. Her husband was not able to find employment in Newcastle and he believed that living in Sydney, a larger city, would provide more opportunity. This move was difficult for Nooira, she had found a space in Newcastle where she felt welcome and was able to be something other than a refugee. She was concerned that she may not be able to find a space like PH, a space where people cared for her, but where she could also play a role in caring for others. I am not sure what part of Sydney that Nooira and her family moved to, and whether she found another place like PH. This story reveals a less hopeful side of re-building your life as a PFRB. While people may find places like

Newcastle and PH where they start to make connections and where they begin to build a new social worlds, they are not always able to stay.

Like the literature on volunteer and charitable care giving, I could discuss these and other examples of caring with PFRB through the lens of motivation. Within this literature the 'pure selflessness of altruism , often thought to be framed by faith-based, political or associated discourses, is set against the pragmatic self-interest of the needy volunteer seeking fulfilment through helping others' (P Cloke et al., 2007a, p. 1092). However, I discovered that motives are multi-faceted and cannot be framed as 'mere altruism or mere self-interest' (P Cloke et al., 2007a, p. 1092).

For example, Tracey was a woman who I came to know had religious beliefs akin to those of the sisters and PH. She had lost her husband, had no grandchildren and was looking for ways to keep herself happy by volunteering. If we only talked about what she did at PH in terms of her motivation, as acting in selfish or selfless ways, so much about what Tracey does for people and for herself through teaching/caring would be missed. My own story further demonstrates what can be missed if caring through volunteering is only discussed in binary terms of 'altruism or self-interest'. If we only talked about what I did at PH in terms of gathering research data, then the relationships I developed, the care and support I provided to the students and the other volunteers, and crucially, the care and support I received from the students, would become less important.

Performing care with PFRB through teaching can be a life enhancing experience for teachers and students. The volunteer teachers learn new things from the students, and the students learn things from the teachers. We all learn things about caring for, and receiving care from, different Others, as we make connections based on shared identities, as women, as mothers, as daughters, as friends.

The class provides the students with the opportunity to care for Tracey and the other volunteers – they become caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment*. Providing the opportunity for PFRB to be in both positions at the same time gives them personhood, as it enables them do what most other people do in order to sustain their lives – care and be cared for. This point connects to an intersectional understanding,

that PFRB can move beyond their refugeeness. PFRB are more than refugees in this space, and they are able to make connections with people that are not based on being refugees. During the English class, connections are being made across other intersecting identities – women, mothers, daughters and friends.

Despite the intention of the volunteers to teach people English, it became apparent that the care provided during the English class is much broader. It is broader because the volunteers reflect critically on the impacts of what they are doing. They listen, watch and learn about the students, they ask the students about their lives, and what they want to learn, and importantly, they then adjust the way they care, or the care they provide, accordingly. They perform care *reflexively* – which is something that the literature about caring with PFRB has not yet appreciated.

Next, I turn to another example of caring with PFRB through teaching, at NSS Homework Centres.

Northern Settlement Services Homework Centres

Northern Settlement Services is currently in its tenth year of operating four Homework Centres across Newcastle for young PFRB. They all operate one afternoon a week in school libraries at two primary schools and two high schools. People volunteering at the Homework Centres are asked to commit to a minimum of one whole school term (about 10 weeks).

Luke has been a volunteer at one of NSS Homework Centres for over two years. Luke is a migrant from the UK who had received help and advice from NSS when he was going through the process of migrating (one of the commercial services that NSS provides). When I began talking to Luke about his experiences volunteering in an NSS Homework Centre, he spoke about it being possible for him to participate because he had his own business, and therefore to a degree he could set his own working hours. He also thought that he could have some useful skills to offer and felt that he should reciprocate the support he had received from NSS. He said:

> I'm an engineer, I've got a degree, I love maths and science, never done any teaching but I just thought, it's giving up your time to help out and I felt like I

> owed NSS something from the way that Lulu helped me you know, I paid her for her services but I always kind of wanted to keep that relationship going (NSS Volunteer #4).

Since Luke has been volunteering at the Homework Centre he has been with the same student. The longevity and consistency of the relationship has enabled Luke and the student to form a kind of friendship. Luke spoke about this when I asked him about the relationship – did their conversations stretch beyond school and homework, did they discuss other things, did he know about the student's life. He said that the NSS coordinators essentially '*brought me up to speed*' before he started. They told Luke that although they cannot give him details, it is important to know that the boy's parents are not here. This is what Luke said the NSS coordinators told him:

> we can't tell you any details, but um, listen, the boy that you will be paired with, his parents aren't here, and, it's probably best not to bring it up, if he brings it up, tread carefully, but I can't tell you any more than that (NSS Volunteer #4).

For Luke this has not really been a problem. He said:

> It's like, for me it's not so much a taboo subject, because the guardian is one of the older sisters and he refers to her as his mother. So, you know we have conversations where he will refer to his mum, and I know it's not his mum. And there is never really mention of his dad. There is never mention of what happened previously before he came to Australia. So other than that the relationship is pretty normal, he talks about his brothers and sisters, he talks about his out of school life, his in school life. He has told me that he refers to me jokingly to his teacher as 'his white dad'. There is a fair bit of banter … We talk about sport, he is really into his sports, so yeah it's, it's quite hard to keep him on school subjects. But I think that's part of having that relationship and that bond is, you know, you're not going to bond over Pythagoras theory, you are going to bond over which team he supports in the Premier League and stuff like that (NSS Volunteer #4).

The NSS Homework Centre is a device through which Luke can provide care, and because he is paired with the one student over a long period of time, they are able to build a relationship based around more than English or homework.

As the following quote demonstrates, Luke performs *being a teacher* in fatherly way, which includes banter and fun, discipline and care.

> [the Homework Centre coordinators] have said that my role, that he definitely sees me as a father figure that he doesn't have. He has got at least one older brother, two older brothers and one younger brother, but they don't fill that role for him. Whereas I will cajole him and nag him … what do you mean you have lost your calculator, you've got to buy one, you can't do well in maths unless you buy a new calculator, alright now homework, make sure you hand it in (NSS Volunteer #4).

People can teach or tutor students in many ways. Luke's way of performing *being a teacher/tutor* includes friendship, as well as the structure and the discipline that is often expected within student/teacher relationships, or a father/son relationships. He tries to ensure that the student gets his homework finished and handed in, but couples this with banter and conversations about life and football. In these moments, Luke and his student are not connecting as refugee and non-refugee, although this is a service for students from refugee backgrounds. Thinking through an intersectional lens, in the moments when they are together, the student is not being called upon to perform the script of refugee; he is like any other student or son, being cajoled and nagged by a teacher or a father-like figure. When Luke approached NSS to offer his services as a volunteer, he did so because he wanted to give back to an organisation that had helped him, and he thought that his knowledge in maths and science could assist. However, despite Luke's intentions, help with maths and science was not all that this student needed. What he needed was someone who could act as an Australian father, who could make sure that he got his homework in on time, make sure he had a calculator and who could talk to him about football. Luke recognised this and adjusted the way that he cared in order to accommodate the needs of the individual student.

Luke's broader intention regarding his volunteer work with NSS has not changed, but the way that he went about caring changed – he was able to perform care reflexively.

Significantly, care giving through teaching is not a one-way process for Luke. In the following quotation he spoke about what he learnt through doing this type of care work. He said:

> So, I think since I got involved there is that … kind of up skill in your knowledge of the geography of the world, where people are from, the diversity, and a bit more of an awareness of what is happening in those countries, or what has happened. And it certainly it opens your eyes to the … kind of burgeoning community that is in Newcastle (NSS Volunteer #4).

Through care-giving Luke is able to learn more about the world and about people living in his community. Furthermore, he has fun:

> It's good fun. It really is good fun. I could never be a teacher. I've got a lot friends who are teachers, both here and in the UK and I just don't think I could cope with the volume of trying to educate that many people, but with him, it's a bit like … I know they have changed it recently, but when I was at school, when you got to Year 10 you could leave school, and therefore the only people in Year 11 and 12 actually wanted to be at school, at its great to actually then be in a class where everybody kind of wants to be there. It's a bit like the Homework Centre, to a certain extent those that are there, want to be there, because they either want the help or they have got the knowledge that they need the help … you are helping someone that wants to be helped, it's good efficiency in it, it is hard to keep him on track, it's fun, its good interaction, um, to a certain extent, I don't know any other teenagers, the kids I know are either under 10 or in their 20's, there is no one in between so it's a different um, set of conversations and interaction as well (NSS Volunteer #4):

There are two important points to make here. First, Luke acknowledges that the student actively seeks this type of care. He is *attentive* to the needs of his student. The student is not a passive care receiver and that is important to Luke, because he does

not want to feel like he is pushing or forcing his care onto someone. The student is an active participant in the process, as he and Luke co-create a space of care. Moreover, they have clearly developed a relationship where they *trust and respect* one another (Engster, 2007; Sevenhuijsen, 2003). Secondly, from Luke's account, he has fun and he enjoys the unique relationships he experiences through volunteering. By his own account, he does not get an opportunity to talk with other teenagers and he enjoys the conversations they have. In other words, through the care he performs, he receives care in return. As the care literature has established, caring with people can be life enhancing. However, what Luke's story also tells us is that by performing care through teaching, he has learnt many things. The teacher learns through teaching.

Laura also volunteers at NSS Homework Centre. When I asked her how she found out about NSS she said:

> I found out about it on the internet. I had lost my whole family, my mother, my father and my partner, and I wanted something useful to do because I had been looking after them (NSS Volunteer #5).

Laura had obviously suffered deeply because of the loss of her *whole family* and made the decision to volunteer. Initially, she was not specifically looking to volunteer with refugees; rather, she was just searching for volunteer opportunities more generally. But during her online research she came across the NSS Homework Centre information and she said:

> being with children kind of appealed to me because I was a bit heavy hearted at the time and children are always delightful (NSS Volunteer #5).

Laura is in her third year volunteering at the Homework Centre, and she is currently buddied to a young Sudanese boy in primary school. For Laura, care-giving through volunteering is relaxing and provides her with joy. She feels that it is a *privilege* and she has also made *lots of friends*. However, the following quote demonstrates that the joy comes both from being able to care for someone, and from the happiness of the young students:

> I find it really good, I find it really relaxing, I think to see the children, you know, every time they come they get a stamp for homework, a stamp for attending and a stamp for behaviour and after nine stamps they get a gift, and to see them really enjoy that. It might only be a little sweet or something, or a rubber or something like that, they really strive for that and to see them at the end of the term, [inaudible] makes a little report and gives them all one and everybody claps and I find that joyous, they feel as if they have accomplished something (NSS Volunteer #5):

Her joy comes from watching the students feel accomplished and happy with their achievements and progress. Laura performs being a tutor in a gentle and caring way. She is a softly spoken woman, and although I did not observe her with the students, I do not imagine that her persona would change in that environment. Laura thinks that it is important not to be too strict or to get too personal with the young students. She said:

> I think you have to let your heart and your common sense take you as far as you can within a practical sense. You can't interrupt their family life and I don't think that you should, but I think if that little boy feels like crying one day you should allow it, if he feels like confiding in you, he should … he didn't speak to me the week before last, so I said look I'm a volunteer, I'm here because I want to be here, and I'm very fond of you, if you don't want to talk to me, if you don't want to be with me, I can understand that, I'll get Stephy to get you somebody else. You just have to tell me, you have to trust me, and even if you say no, I don't want to be with you Laura, that's fine, we will find somebody else, and he clicked onto that straight away. It was really good I think. You have to give them that feeling, without being too close, that they are very important to you (NSS Volunteer #5).

Laura demonstrates *responsiveness* (Tronto, 1993) through her performance as a tutor. She recognises the unequal power relations within their relationship, and the vulnerability of her student. She responds to this by trying to make the young student

feel important, by showing him respect, and importantly by asking him what **he** wants, giving him a voice.

The students are told by NSS that the people helping them are volunteers who are not being paid and that it is important to listen to them (and respect them). This is understandable and important, but equally important is what Laura describes here – that the volunteer tutors respect the students too.

Both of these examples (Luke and Laura) highlight the benefits and rewards that people receive from providing care through teaching/tutoring. Luke and Laura had different motivations for becoming involved in volunteering. Luke was initially motivated because NSS had helped him; he was essentially returning a favour to the organisation. Laura, on the other hand, was suffering a loss and was looking for meaning in her life. As I mentioned previously, if we only talk about what Luke and Laura did in terms of their motivation, then so much about what they do would be missed. Regardless of what got them to the Homework Centre, they both demonstrated a willingness and capacity to reflect on the type of care they were providing, to listen to the students, and to adjust the way they did things accordingly – they performed care reflexively.

Although these narratives do not include the experiences of the two students, it can be assumed that the students and/or the students' parents are finding the process beneficial as it is a voluntary system. Luke's student has been with him for over two years and Laura demonstrated that an important part of her performance as a tutor was about being responsive to the needs of the student. She communicates with her student to ensure that they are happy, or getting what they need from her being there. Luke and Laura both benefited from the experience in real and tangible ways. Supporting the students and watching them learn was clearly an enjoyable experience for Luke and Laura, but what their stories also show is how they were both able to learn new things through teaching.

What if we consider the English class and the Homework Centre within a relational care framework, where the volunteers, and the students are all active participants, moving towards one another in care-full and proactive ways? What if we consider the

English class and the Homework Centre as spaces of care and spaces to care, where people are able to perform both roles *in the same moment*? This then, sheds light on the mutual benefits of care giving and the hopefulness of care provided through teaching. Conradson notes that spaces of care are shared accomplishments (Conradson, 2003c) and this was certainly the case at both PH and NSS as volunteer teachers and students are involved in care practices that are mutually beneficial and transformative – volunteers and students co-create and perform the English language class and the Homework Centres into spaces of care.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that caring organisations do make certain caring performances possible through their ethos and the care practices and activities they facilitate. It has shown how organisational ethos and guidelines do play a role in how people perform care. However, the rules are not always followed. How people perform care is also based on their own personal ethos.

This chapter considered grounded embodied performance of care through a care framework, drawing on *the practice of an ethic of care* and *caring with* to highlight the relationality and mutuality imbued in care. In doing so, I have revealed care to be a co-creation between people who move towards one another. Volunteers, employees and others associated with each RSO or refugee support event were performing the practice of *caring with* PFRB rather than *caring for* them. The refugee literature has yet to consider the 'care' experiences of PFRB in Western nations through the lens of *caring with*. An understanding of care as something that people do *with* one another, rather than *for* others is important because it reaffirms the importance of dialogue within care relations, and it recognises that PFRB are not powerless or weak; rather, they are active participants in the process of care.

In addition, this chapter has made a contribution to the care literature by drawing attention to the importance of research that explores the grounded and embodied experiences of *both* people in the care relationship – care givers and care receivers. In doing so, it contributes to the care literature by arguing that while care roles are certainly fluid and shift across space and time, in many instances people are able to

embody both subject positions *in the same moment.* This contribution is significant, particularly for understanding *who else* people from refugee backgrounds are. It moves them away from a fixed subject position of 'passive' refugee client/care receiver that they are often called upon to perform, to recognise them as people first, people who are also able to care for others. We know that everyone experiences moments of vulnerability during their lives where they need care, and what I am suggesting is that in these moments of vulnerability people still have the capacity to care for others. In making this suggestion, I argue that the positive, live enhancing benefits that people attribute to care giving can sit harmoniously alongside the human vulnerability inherent in being in the position where you need care. Moreover, this chapter has demonstrated that most people are willing, and have the capacity, to adjust how they *do* care based on the context and the individual person they are caring with. People perform care reflexively.

Approaching care relations between PFRB and other individuals through an intersectional lens has also enabled the discussion to move beyond understanding PFRB in terms of a fixed subject position. This moves beyond the problematic representation of PFRB as eternally vulnerable and dependent people by revealing *who else* PFRB are. PFRB are also mothers, daughters, friends, cooks, fathers, sons, football players and students, and it was through these intersecting identities that people made connections. Given the right circumstances people were able to transcend the binaries of refugee–non-refugee or care giver–care receiver as people built on shared identities as mothers, friends, cooks, football players and people.

By bringing understandings of care, intersectionality and the experiences of PFRB together, this chapter offers new insights into how caring organisations and people care *with* PFRB. It contributes to the literatures on care and PFRB as it considers the ways in which embodied performances of care can enable PFRB to have agency, to co-create care relations and move beyond performing the script of refugee. I carry these ideas into the next chapter as I move to consider the spaces of care provided by the organisations and made into caring spaces by the shared performances which take place within them.

Chapter 7 Spaces of care: performing multi-scale spaces of belonging, home and hope

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored organisations, people and care performances to offer insights into how care giving and receiving happens through organisations. Spaces are also important for how organisations and people perform care. This chapter therefore draws on spaces of care literature to offer insights into the materialities and care practices that perform spaces of refugee care into being. For Conradson (2003) a space of care 'can be understood as a socio-spatial field disclosed through the practices of care that take place between individuals' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). A space of care is a space that 'extends beyond formal and professionalized interaction into domains where humour and play may be as important as serious discussion' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). Following previous spaces of care literature, I have chosen to explore a geographically fixed drop-in space of care (Penola House) and a transitory outdoor space of care (Welcome BBQ). In addition, I extend the existing space of care literature by exploring the use of public space to demonstrate in support of the rights of marginalised or vulnerable people (Walk Together). As Chapter 2 revealed, public demonstration spaces like WT have not previously been considered as spaces of care.

This chapter will continue to address Aim 1 by exploring the types of care made possible through different organisations. Following other spaces of care literature I explore the materialities and social relations that perform spaces of care into being. I uncover the transformative potential of spaces of care as I explore embodied encounters with the social and material relations that constitute spaces of care (Conradson, 2003c, p. 510). In addition, I bring an intersectional understanding to spaces of care, an understanding which offers new insights into how PFRB and other individuals connect with one another through shared identifies, addressing Aim 4.

This chapter also contributes to the spaces of care literature by building on understandings of spaces of care as performed into being through socio-spatial dimensions, to reveal connections between the performance of spaces of care and the performance of belonging, home and hope. And finally, this chapter draws on my own experience using my body as a research tool, as I perform spaces of care through my research practice, addressing Aim 5.

Drawing on empirical evidence, I reveal PH, Welcome BBQ and WT to be spaces of care that are shared accomplishments, co-created by PFRB and other individuals. I reveal that a lack of service provision in some spaces creates an informality that is important and affective, as it provides PFRB with safe and comfortable spaces and activities to participate in where their refugeeness is not at the forefront. Therefore, from an intersectional perspective, these spaces are affective and they provide PFRB the opportunity to perform different aspects of who they are. Across these multiple spaces, people are not called upon to perform *being a refugee*, and this is significant for nurturing feelings of belonging, home and hope.

Connections between belonging, home and hope have been discussed by many scholars (for example Wise, 2005; Wright, 2014; Zournazi & Hage, 2002). We know that home isn't simply about a place or a feeling it 'comes about through the interactions of place and feelings' (Wright, 2014, p. 395). For many PFRB 'the need to seek an experience of home is a primary yearning' (Fitzpatrick, 2002, p. 151). Moreover, following Zournazi and Hage (2002) I argue that feelings of belonging and home are interconnected with hope, as hope is the capacity to feel connected (Zournazi & Hage, 2002, p. 161) which is enabled by feeling at home.

To begin, Section 7.2 walks you through PH. I explore how the physical infrastructure and the placement of furniture and other material objects play a crucial role in how people use the space, interact and care for one another. From the bench seats on the landing outside the front door, to the informal reception area, through to the kitchen and dining room, I reveal how the PH building has been designed and decorated to encourage informal interactions, conversations and performances of care. I reveal practices and social relations at PH that demonstrate PH as becoming more than a

space of care. Specifically, I reveal PH as home-like space, where people perform home-making practices. These home-making practices are affective and nurture feelings of belonging and home for people while they are at PH, but they also assist PFRB in developing their own home-making practices in their new Australian homes. Therefore, I argue that PH becomes a home – a home that nurtures belonging, happiness and the 'capacity to feel connected' or hope (Zournazi & Hage, 2002, p. 161).

In Section 7.3 the Welcome BBQ is conceptualised as a 'transitory' space of care (Johnsen et al., 2005b) established to offer friendship to PFRB in an Australian suburb. The Welcome BBQ is a uniquely Newcastle way of doing welcome, as PFRB and other individuals move towards each other by participating in a typically Australian outdoor activity – a barbeque that includes playing informal games of cricket, soccer and other games. I focus on the specific materialities, everyday care practices and affective atmospheres at the Welcome BBQ that transform the public park into a space of care. The Welcome BBQ differs in important ways from other spaces of care, in that it is not focused on service provision. This is important for the Welcome BBQ's ability to nurture feelings of belonging and feelings of being at home in an Australian neighbourhood. This section includes stories about how people play, eat and share together during the Welcome BBQs, demonstrating how people are successfully *doing* togetherness. Moreover, I highlight that participants in the Welcome BBQ are sharing in a typically Australian way of spending time with family and friends. The Welcome BBQ is more than a space of care, it is an attempt to nurture belonging in the Australian suburbs.

In addition, I extended the existing spaces of care discussion to include the use of public space to demonstrate in support of marginalised people. Section 7.4 achieves this through an exploration of the Walk Together (WT) event held during Refugee Week in Newcastle, and in other cities and towns across Australia. The previous chapter discussed WT as a way people were performing care through welcoming. In this chapter WT is explored through the theoretical lens of spaces of care. First, I will argue that WT is indeed a transitory outdoor space of care performed into being through social and spatial dimensions. Second, I draw on WT as a national event that

takes place simultaneously across Australia as an attempt to craft the nation, Australia, as a space of care and belonging, and as a home for PFRB – those who are already here, and those who are yet to arrive.

7.2 Penola House

it's a home, I just call it home (PH Employee #1)

In this section I am interested PH as a drop-in space of care. As Fincher and Iveson (2008) point out, the physical arrangements of drop-in centres, and the interactions and relations that take place within them, are important to these kinds of spaces. Accordingly, this section will explore the physical infrastructure, material objects and everyday practices that contribute to the doing of PH as a drop-in space of care. Moreover, this section reveals how PH, at particular moments, becomes more than a space of care – it becomes a home, a home that nurtures belonging and the capacity to feel connected (hope) for the people who pass through, including PFRB, volunteers and employees.

I begin this discussion by revealing the physical characteristics of PH that contribute to PH as a home. It is really important that PH is located in a building that was formerly a house. There are only a few characteristics that differentiate the PH building from a typical Australia suburban family home. As the spaces of care literature notes, being home-like in size and internal physical features encourages informal social relations that are significant for the people who access drop-in centres (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 200).

As you enter and walk through the building, it becomes clear that PH has informal and communal spaces that are important for the type of care that is performed, and the way that people interact and move towards one another. Being a home-like rather than an office-like space encourages small-scale and informal social interactions and conversations. The outside of the building has a garden with plants and vegetables. There is a large landing with bench seats for people to sit on and connect with each other. Inside the reception area has a lounge chair where people can sit and talk with others. The reception space then opens out to a short but wide hallway in the middle

of the house where you can access the other rooms. There is a kitchen and dining room that is identical to many Australian family dining rooms and kitchens. Other rooms include a computer room that doubles as a space for English lessons, sewing and craft. There is storage area where donations of clothes, toys and baby things are kept, and a toy-room/playroom (which has toys, books, computer games, etc.). There are also three offices inside the building used by the caseworker, the housing officer and the sisters. These spaces are used for administrative purposes and for private meetings and conversations. The back yard includes a covered section with an outdoor table and chairs and barbeque, a small grass area, a sandpit, a cubby house, a vegetable garden and storage shed. There is also a large double garage that is used as a meeting space, a men's shed and a space for celebrations and other activities.

One of the objectives of PH, articulated in the quote below, is that volunteers and staff can provide a *house of welcome*. I asked this volunteer to describe PH. They said that it is:

> a house of welcome for refugees or people that have come from another country that need some kind of help that we can do, that we can give them, and friendship, and give them friendship and support in whatever area that they feel that they need – and just a safe place to come and sit and talk. You know sometimes they just need to just sit with their children in the toy area, or maybe the men go outside and potter around with some of the tools or just where they can be themselves again perhaps, you know with their long journey and what they have been through … so a house of welcome and settling – safe and comforting (PH Volunteer #1).

These words illuminate the argument that will be developed in this section – that physical infrastructure and material items and everyday care practices all play a role in performing PH into a space of care, belonging, home and hope. They also point to the affective atmospheres that can emerge at PH, as the space becomes one where people feel comfortable and able to talk. The quote suggests that the practices of the volunteers, the design of the space and the material items like toys and tools all play a role in making PH a *house of welcome and settling – safe and comforting*. What can

also be drawn from this quote is the importance of PH being an informal space. It is not only about service provision or program delivery, it is also an informal space where people can just *come and sit and talk.* As Conradson (2003) argues, drop-in centres should not be held to account because they do not provide more services. It is significant that there are places where people can just 'relate to others and simply be' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 521). Care is not always about providing people with a service, a program or hands-on practical care. As demonstrated by the above quote, care can also be about providing spaces for people to just be, and it can be about having volunteers and employees that recognise that care can also be about stepping back and letting people be. People do not have to be actively or obviously receiving care from other people at all times. They can spend time at PH, as they might in their own homes or the homes of family or friends, taking time to *just sit with their children* or *potter around*. The informal environment that enables informal interactions is also important as it facilitates agency. People who access PH can decide for themselves what they want and who they want to engage with.

There is still debate in the literature about the extent to which drop-in spaces should provide services to people. It is true that programs like English classes and driving instruction do help people, but according to Fincher and Iveson (2008) analysts are reluctant to suggest that drop-in spaces should become part of the 'social service system' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 205). An example from Permezel (2001) about adult education programs argues that making adult education classes more formal and holding them in classroom-like settings can threaten the home-like and supportive environments on offer in neighbourhood houses (Permezel, 2001), in other words the affective atmosphere can change. Permezel argues that any push towards more formal education makes the informal social interactions that they facilitate less significant (Permezel, 2001). Most of the programs held at PH are deliberately designed to be informal, and people who access PH make their own decisions about whether they participate in programs or not.

As Fincher and Iveson (2008) note, a central feature of planning drop-in spaces is that the centres be 'home-like in their size, internal physical features and the informal social behaviours they allow' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 200). This is certainly

reflected at PH. However, Fincher and Iveson (2008) suggest that this is important because it makes spaces 'readily comprehended'. They argue:

> Being home-like, they seem safe and their form is transparent or readily comprehended, and the expectation of informal social behaviour there …gives a degree of control by participants over their interaction
> (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 201).

Although I agree with the latter point, that a home-like space and informal social behaviour do give a degree of control and agency to people, it was certainly my experience at PH that the informality of the space provided PFRB with a level of agency, in that they had control over their interactions and participation. However, Fincher and Iveson's (2008) first point that the home-like space and atmosphere of a drop-in centre is 'readily comprehended' and therefore feels safe to people was not necessarily the case at PH. Indeed, this Australian 'home-like' space was very different to the spaces that many of the newly arrived refugees would have been living in prior to their coming to Newcastle (for example, dwellings in refugee camps or dwelling in countries with quite different home spaces). For that reason, rather than PH being home-like and readily comprehendible, the homeliness of PH was a way to care for people by helping them to negotiate and become familiar with an Australian 'home-like' spaces. The home-like space and home-making practices that people experienced at PH were in many cases new to them, and the space and practices were about more than making people feel at home at PH. They were about making people feel at home in Australia and in Australian houses. The home-like space and home-making practices at PH were able to assist people in performing their own new homes in suburban Australian houses. Having a home-like space to perform care in enabled the sisters and volunteers to perform a particular type of home-making and nurturing care that would be difficult in more formal spaces.

Section 7.2.1 describes some of the characteristics of the PH building, drawing on particular areas (the front entrance and reception area). I connect deliberate design decisions, material objects and care practices to demonstrate how they perform PH into a space of belonging and home. In Section 7.2.2 I concentrate on the kitchen and

dining room. Each day people gather here at different times to have cups of tea together, eat lunch together, and to share food and conversation. I argue that because the kitchen and dining room were accessible to everyone, they allowed for care and caring relations that were not only about volunteers caring for PFRB, they were about people caring for people. It was a space that enabled different aspects of people's personalities to come through, as people connected not as refugees and non-refugees, but as women, mothers, daughters, sisters and people. In Section 7.2.3 I continue the argument that the home-like space and home-making practices at PH also helped PFRB with their own homemaking practices in Australia. For example, this was done by: showing people how appliances worked in the kitchen or laundry, including people in traditional Australian rituals like morning tea, teaching people words that they could use at the supermarket or the bus stop, providing driving lessons, and giving blankets and baby equipment to people. These were all things that when combined, assisted newly arrived refugees in establishing their own new homes in Australia.

7.2.1 Deliberately designing welcome as 'a conscious exercise in welcome making'

Approaching Penola House…..

As you approach PH there is not much that distinguishes it from many other suburban homes (see Figure 7.1). It is a brick house, with a driveway, a letterbox and a garden. There is a concrete ramp that leads to a landing area in front of the entrance, home to two long wooden bench seats – it is a ramp that you may see on other suburban homes that have been modified to allow for wheelchair access. It is only on closer inspection that you will see things that distinguish this house from others in the street. First, a PH sign on the exterior wall (see Figure 7.2), a glass entry door covered with a collection of posters, information flyers, newspaper articles and details of the opening hours.

Figure 7.1 Penola House front view

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Figure 7.2 Penola House sign

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Physical infrastructure and material objects can be central to what transpires in spaces (Johnsen, Cloke and May 2005). Building design and furnishings have an influence on the affective atmosphere, and the way people interact within various service environments (see for example Cooper et al., 1999; Garside et al., 1990; Johnsen et al., 2005b; Veness, 1994). PH has been designed to be an informal space that people feel comfortable approaching, entering and using.

For example, one volunteer describes the significance of having a less formal looking building and entrance by suggesting that PH '*doesn't have to have that feel about it, like you are now entering an important place*' (PH Volunteer #1). This description of an 'important place' means a more formal organisational space, an office space or building that provides services to people. Many of the PFRB coming to Newcastle have had little experience with formal organisational spaces and office buildings before arriving in Australia. They then spend a large amount of time 'learning to be a client of a service' (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 14) in formal organisational spaces as they navigate the bureaucracy of resettlement services, government departments, education system, real estate agents, banking institutions. Therefore, having an informal entrance is one of the ways that PH performs care by deliberately designing a more welcoming space/entrance, where people do not feel like they are approaching as a client. The decision to design the entrance in this way was a conscious one, as Sister Diana explains:

> We came here in last December when it was still a residence … there was a humungous big scary cactus just outside where the front door is now, like it was a truck load of cactus and so the first thing that we had to make our mind up was, we needed a front door, there wasn't a front door at all, it was just a window with a huge cactus in front of it. So the very first thing we had to do was to make a front door, and so we, so that whole front door thing **is a conscious exercise in welcome making**, so there is a ramp going up to a pleasant landing with seats on it, one seat we brought from the old PH the railway seat and the other comes from my place … because I wanted that place to have that welcoming feeling. It's a conscious exercise (Sister Di).

The entrance, the front door, the landing and the bench seats were deliberately designed to make the PH approach and entrance more welcoming (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4) and an area where people would be able to hang out. The sisters believed that if they designed the outside landing this way, then it would be used by people to hang out with friends, to have conversations or to just sit and look out at the garden. It was about providing a comfortable space for people to 'simply be' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 521). And as the following two examples demonstrate, people did choose to use this

space, and importantly to use the space they did not have to access a service or engage in a program – they were free simply use the space to hang out.

Figure 7.3 Penola House front landing

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Figure 7.4 Penola House front entrance

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Jane

During my time as a volunteer at PH I spent many hours sitting and talking with people on the bench seats outside of the front door. Jane was someone that I spent time with on a regular basis (inside and outside of PH). Jane has a mental illness and suffers from often debilitating anxiety. When she visited PH, she preferred to sit outside on the bench seats, rather than inside the building. It gave her comfort to know she did not

have to engage with other people or sit too close to anyone she did not know well. Moreover, she was often uncomfortable talking about things that concerned her when other people might overhear. Therefore, this landing space outside PH and the bench seats provided Jane and myself with a comfortable space to sit and chat. Jane could talk freely with me in the space, and I am not sure this would have been the case if we had had to use one of the PH offices. Jane spends much of her time going in and out of formal office spaces, medical offices, Centrelink offices, the hospital, the physiotherapist's premises, and lawyers offices and I witnessed the change in her when she was in these formal environments. Formal environments made Jane anxious and nervous. She became visibly distressed entering them. Having the outdoor space available to sit and chat made Jane comfortable, which played a role in her continued engagement with PH. It was a space where she felt comfortable and which did not make her feel like a client. Watching how Jane moved through PH provided insights into her sense of belonging at PH. She often called PH her second home, and it is clear that spaces like the front landing nurtured this feeling for her.

Despite all the attempts to make PH a welcoming and comfortable space, it does not always feel that way for everyone. Drawing on my experience with Joyce, she was often very uncomfortable talking with me inside PH, particularly if there were others present from different religious and cultural backgrounds to her. This reveals that while the Sisters were trying to inspire hope that was not always what happened. At certain times Joyce felt uncomfortable and nervous at PH. Indeed, Joyce did have mental health issues, but the ability for her and I to move outside, away from people was extremely important for her, and having privacy to talk was an important part of building trust in our relationship.

Jimmy

Jimmy is an Australian with a West African background; he is an older man who came to Australia as a refugee. Like many other older PFRB, Jimmy has been unable to find employment, so he has a lot of time on his hands. I came across Jimmy many times on the front landing at PH; sometimes he was alone, sometimes he was with other people from similar African backgrounds, chatting or simply sitting

together in silence. The following quote came from a PH employee who talked to me about Jimmy and his friends hanging out together on the front landing. Our conversation was prompted because we could hear them talking out on the front landing while I was interviewing the employee in one of the front offices. He said:

> with PH, with the service that we give it's just to substitute, to fill some of the vacuum. Like this man, now, you can hear them talking. He is here 24 hours, or he is here every day, why? Because he feel proud that he is seeing people going around here, it's a drop in place, it's a relaxation place, because when they go to the pub they get trouble, that's why they sit here, some of a relief on them. That's why they sit here (PH Employee #1).

Jimmy uses the front landing at PH because it is a semi-public place that he can access where he feels comfortable. He is able to see familiar faces and talk to people (who may be PFRB or people who care about PFRB). When he is in this space, Jimmy does not get '*trouble*'. PH is a space in Newcastle where PFRB can potentially feel a sense of belonging or comfort, and there are undoubtedly other places where people experience the opposite. For example, during the same interview, the topic of racism was discussed and I was told the following story.

> 2008 December after getting out of the church in the evening, then I went to one of the pubs. Just let me go and see, because in the church people are few, but in the pub people are many. The noise was very high, I am just curious. I want to see what is happening. So I decided just to go there and when I was entering 'What are you doing here? The dog is supposed to be tied outside there'… I just kept quiet, continued my way in, went and asked for a glass of water, and because of this strong language, I just took the glass of water two mouthful and then put it back and then walk away, because I knew that if I stay more, I would hear more, or something bad is going to be happen, then I walk away. Then I walk away. (PH Employee #1).

Although I do not know of Jimmy's experiences outside of PH, this story reveals that overt, verbal racism happens, and it can make PFRB avoid particular public spaces in order to avoid 'trouble'. For Jimmy, PH is a place to visit, to hang out, where he can

avoid situations like the one described above. Furthermore, Jimmy doesn't need a reason to be there. He doesn't have to be at PH to access any particular service; he doesn't even have to go inside. He can just hang out on the front landing, sit on the bench seats, look out at the garden, watch people coming and going and catch up with friends.

The building design, specifically the front landing, is central to what transpires in this space, and in this case the affective atmosphere of PH was shaped by the materialities. Jane and Jimmy's stories provide insight into the affective dimesions of deliberately designed spaces at PH, and the role they play in how people interact with the space, with the organisation, and with the people. Moreover, the informal building design enabled Jimmy and Jane to both access PH not as clients, but as people.

Walking inside

As you open the front door to PH you enter the reception area. Everyone that enters is greeted by someone sitting at the front desk. The reception area is relatively informal (see Figure 7.5). There is a desk, a chair, a two seater lounge, a fish tank, a printer/photocopier, a small noticeboard with recent newspaper articles or upcoming events, a large colourful quilt made by a local primary school (with the words welcome, love, refugee, belonging, celebrate and visa) that covers an entire wall (see Figure 7.6), a framed picture of the Pope and a tribute poster to Mary McKillop.[4] The quilt is affective, it brightens the space and makes the reception area/entry feel informal and welcoming. The lounge chair brings a homely feeling to the space as well; it certainly does not feel like you are entering a formal office space or welfare/service organisation. For some Australians the religious photos and posters might indeed be homely objects, again reinforcing the space as being less office and more 'grandma's house'.

[4] Mary McKillop was an Australian nun who founded the Sisters of St Josephs. In 1995 she was declared a saint by the Catholic Church.

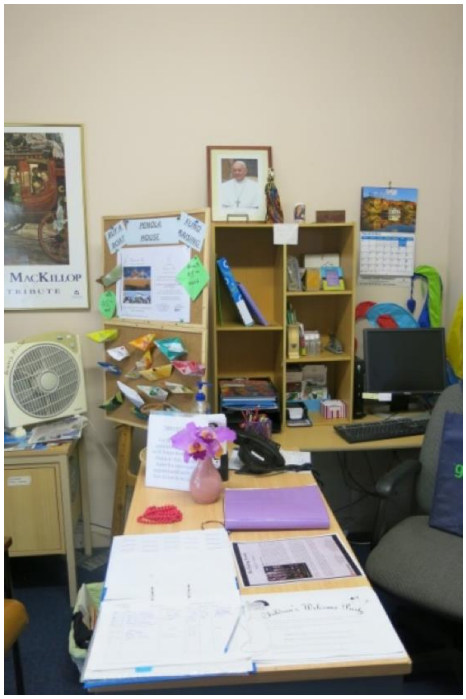

Figure 7.5 Penola House reception area

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Figure 7.6 Quilt made by local primary school

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Other research suggests that 'by controlling the interface between individuals, physical barriers such as reception counters limit depth of access for certain groups and thus reinforce power differentials between inhabitants of, and visitors to, institutional care settings" (Johnsen et al., 2005b, p. 327). The desk at PH is not a physical barrier that prevents people walking through to other parts of PH. Its purpose is not to vet service users. Rather, it was designed to ensure that anyone that walks into PH is greeted with a friendly face; its purpose is to welcome people. As was explored in the previous chapter, welcoming is a common way that people perform care, and in this case welcome is built into the space. The furniture is strategically chosen and placed to make this space feel relaxed and welcoming. Like everything in PH, the lounge chair was donated. This particular chair comes from Sister Di, who said *'it's my family's lounge chair, because I wanted that place to have that welcoming feeling',* demonstrating that Sister Di links a home-like space with feelings of welcome. By using furniture from her family home, she was attempting to remake PH as a home, a welcoming home for PFRB, and for herself and other volunteers.

Much of the research about the design and materiality of clinical or professional spaces tends to focus on the negative impacts of certain design features. For example, in a study on family planning clinics Gillespie (2002) argues that 'architecture, materiality and space can uphold dominant cultural discourses, social divisions and inequalities' (Gillespie, 2002, p. 211). The physical attributes that Gillespie believes reinforce unequal power relations include the location of the family planning clinics and the design of reception areas and waiting rooms, with 'the pivotal role of the receptionist positioned for easy observation of clients … who was able to allow or withhold access to services' (Gillespie, 2002, p. 216).

Johnsen et al. (2005a) reflect on day centres for homeless people and the potential of the premises to send damaging message about self-worth to service users. They acknowledge that many day centres do attempt to 'create a cosy and welcoming interior, for example, providing soft furnishings' (Johnsen et al., 2005a, p. 801). However, they also acknowledge that due to funding constraints and the 'raw challenge of making the day centre open to people excluded from mainstream public spaces' the 'maintenance of an aesthetically pleasing, welcoming and "homely"

environment is however very difficult in practice' (Johnsen et al., 2005a, p. 801). Although not necessarily an example of design and materiality resulting in a welcoming and inclusive reception space, Johnsen et al. (2005) at least make references to the alternative, and to ways in which organisations and people may be trying to provide inclusive spaces through design and materialities.

With this in mind, it is important that the literature includes examples where design and materiality is being used in ways that do not entrench unequal power relations. The PH reception area is one such space. The structural/physical characteristics (the small desk not blocking entry), the material objects (the lounge, cushions and chair) the placement of art (the welcome quilt) all play a role in what transpires in this space, and how people feel in this space. Like the outside landing, this area is conducive to conversation, the affective atmosphere enables people to fell comfortable and move towards one another. People using this area are either waiting to see one of the sisters or the case worker or they're on their way in or out of PH; or they are seeking out conversation and company. During my time volunteering at PH, I spent many hours in this space, sitting comfortably in the lounge chairs, chatting to people, getting to know people and greeting people as they walked in or out. The design of the reception area, and the affective atmosphere of the space played a significant role in making PH feel warm, welcoming and homely.

Being in this area involved a level of participation with what was happening around you – greetings, goodbyes, phone calls, enquiries from visitors and conversations. Sometimes these conversations were about incidental things like the weather. At other times I found that people were comfortable talking about some of the difficulties they were having (perhaps why they needed to talk to someone at PH) or just general discussions about things that were happening in their lives. These conversations and interactions are important for PFRB. Why? According to Sister Di, who has been working with PFRB for many years, when people arrive in Australia, they need services and assistance but *'The number one priority is making friends, is being socially acceptable, is feeling that you're home, that is absolutely the most by far important thing' (Sister Di).* Connecting with others, talking with people is a significant part of developing a feeling of belonging, the capacity to feel connected and hope. These

things can happen in people's homes, with their families and friends, but they can also happen in spaces like PH, if the spaces are designed like PH to feel like a home-space, if they are designed to be conducive to informal social interactions, if the spaces do not make people feel like clients.

I was often surprised at the openness of people in this space. Even people who didn't know each other talked with one another. These types of personal exchanges would be less likely to occur in more formal office spaces or reception areas (such as the NSS reception area that has a high bench, almost blocking the view of the receptionist, and certainly blocking the client from rest of the space, until a worker arrives and grants you permission to come through). The physical infrastructure and deliberately placed material objects, like bench seats and lounge chairs, were central to the care relations/performances that transpired at particular times, and care relations are important for facilitating an atmosphere of welcome and a sense of belonging (home).

7.2.2 Performing home in the kitchen

The dining room and kitchen area at PH was a hub (see Figures 7.7 and 7.8). This was the place where people came together every day to share food, drink tea, share stories and connect. Unlike other drop-in spaces studied by Cloke et al. (2005), Conradson (2003a) and Parr (Parr, 2000), the kitchen at PH was not designated for staff only, and it was not used as a site of refuge by the staff. The dining room, the kitchen, the equipment in the kitchen, the fridge, the cutlery, crockery, and the kettle were all available for anyone to use. On my first day volunteering at PH, I spent a couple of hours sitting around the dining room table having morning tea with a group of women.

> *Sitting around the dining room table at PH on my first day volunteering made me feel like I was in someone's home – we were just a group of women sharing lunch and chatting away. There were interruptions that you may not expect in a home as people came in to ask someone a question or because they were looking for someone, but it essentially felt like I was in my grandmother's house or someone's grandmother's house. It was a nice feeling – comfortable, welcoming, chaotic, busy, inclusive and homely all at once* (Fieldwork Diary 17 October 2013).

Figure 7.7 Penola House dining room and kitchen

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Figure 7.8 Penola House Kitchen

Source: Photo taken by researcher

During my time volunteering at PH I spent many hours in this space with volunteers, employees, visitors and PFRB. We laughed together, tried different food together, shed an occasional tear, and exchanged many smiles. Friendships were formed and grown in this space. Sitting around the dining room table at PH, whether you are a new

or more familiar face at PH, an affective atmosphere emereged, an atmosphere of care and kindness that made people feel comfortable. I paid attention to the small, yet affective acts of kindness, as people passed food, plates or napkins to each other. I saw the non-verbal gestures of care, for example when people moved chairs when someone needed to sit down, or when people nodded their appreciation towards someone. I cannot speak for anyone else, but spending time in this space with others, sharing food and conversation gave me a sense of being a part of the PH family.

Anyone who is at PH around lunch time will sit around the table and eat together. It does not matter whether you bring food along or not, because everything is shared. Sandwiches are halved if necessary. Extra plates are brought out to share salads or hot dishes. Nobody misses out. The kitchen is equipped with all of the things that you would expect to find: plates, cups, knives and forks. There is a dining room table and chair set (like the ones you would find in a many Australian family homes) that people sit around. There are also two lounge chairs that are used if there are not enough chairs around the table.

People bring food to share. Bringing food isn't a rule or requirement (it is a practice of care), different people just bring along things when they want to. It is just something that some people like to do (volunteers, PFRB, staff). I often brought muffins that I baked at home, and during my time at PH many of the women from refugee backgrounds would bring rice dishes, breads, homemade yogurt, stews or curries. Some of the volunteers brought homemade cakes, biscuits and jams. Lunch was fun. People sat around and talked, shared food, shared conversations, laughed with each other. We talked about our lives; we talked about all types of things. I will discuss the significance of making, sharing and eating food together for intercultural encounters/belonging in more detail in the following chapter. But here I want to highlight how important having a kitchen and dining room was for the care relationships that developed at PH, and for the affective atmospheres that emerged.

In many family homes, the food preparation and eating spaces are central to the relationships of residents. Having this area at PH, and having the table, chairs, plates, cups, kettle, and paper napkins, are important. They are an intrinsic part of the care

relations/performances and atmospheres that emerg in this space. Organising the kitchen in this informal and homely way is significant for how the space feels and for how care is performed at PH. The importance of this space became clearer to me the longer I observed and participated in the exchanges that occurred in it. There was something affective and homely about the way everyone came together and connected in this space. Crucially, it was a space where people were not clients, they were not called upon to perform their refugeeness. During my time, this was predominantly a gendered space, where women came together. From an intersectional perspective, people were not connecting here as refugees and non-refugees; rather, we connected as women who were mothers, sisters, daughters and wives. Our similarities became known, and we celebrated and talked about our differences. The multiplicity and fluidity of our identities emerged as we performed aspects of our identities unrelated to our 'refugee' or 'non-refugee' status.

Tea and coffee

A lot of tea and coffee is consumed at PH – when people arrive at the start of the day or the start of an activity, at morning tea time, lunch time, in the afternoons, and those times when people just want to sit and talk. There is free provision of tea and coffee, and as was previously mentioned, the use of the kitchen space is unrestricted; anyone can use it to prepare food, make a cup of tea, cook their lunch, clean up, do the dishes, or mop the floor. When it comes to making tea, my experience at PH differs from Darling's (2011) experience in a drop-in centre for asylum seekers. The kitchen area at the drop-in centre Darling discussed was similar to PH in that there were no formal divisions. However, unlike PH, Darling found 'alternative and competing claims to the kitchen' (Darling, 2011, p. 413). He describes an asylum seeker who took on the role of serving coffee and tea to people, allowing the asylum seeker to perform the role of host and to perform 'a subject who was at home' (Darling, 2011, p. 413). However, the competing claim came from two volunteers who assumed the positions of care-givers by taking the role of 'serving' tea and coffee to the asylum seekers. As Darling says, the role of the asylum seeker 'had been taken, his position of brief and fragile ownership had shifted in the face of two volunteers who also wanted to "give something back"' (Darling, 2011, p. 413). At PH, from my experience, it was different. Everyone had

access to the kitchen space and the free coffee and tea, and everybody used it – everyone either helped themselves or made tea and coffee for others. Volunteers made tea for PFRB, PFRB made tea for volunteers, volunteers made tea for the sisters, the sisters made tea for other volunteers and PFRB. Unlike the situation described by Darling, at PH there appeared to be no competing claims to this space, or the practice of making tea. Therefore the act of making tea, rather than reinforcing the unequal power dimensions experienced outside the drop-in space (Darling, 2011, p. 414) provided opportunities for people to move towards one another, performing the kitchen as a space of care, belonging and home for everyone.

What emerged from my experience in the kitchen at PH was a sense of how important this space had become for many of the volunteers and PFRB. It was a space where newly arrived refugees, longer-term or former refugees, asylum seekers, volunteers, staff and visitors of all different types of backgrounds come together – it was not only about PFRB accessing the space as clients. The kitchen and dining room, the tea and coffee, the kettle, the cups, the table, the chairs, the everyday caring practices of sharing food, tea and conversations, and the small acts of kindness (Horton & Kraftl, 2009) were affective as they interconnected to perform PH into a homely space – a space which is important for nurturing belonging, home and the capacity to feel connected (hope).

7.2.3 Penola House: performing an Australian home

As the previous two sections have shown, the physical infrastructure, the furniture, the material objects, the everyday rituals, the care relations and the affective atmosphere all play a role in how people use the space, and how they interact and care for one another. PH encourages the informal interactions and performances of care which constitute PH as more than a space of care – '*it's a home*' (PH Employee #1).

To conclude this discussion about PH I explore home-making practices in more detail and consider how they nurture feelings of belonging, home and hope for PFRB. To do so, I explore the various types of care performed by the volunteers and employees. As Lisa one of the volunteers said:

> Penola House is a welcoming home. And a home that people should be able to just walk in and out and know that there will always be someone
> (PH Volunteer #2).

The importance of this type of homely care was articulated by other volunteers too. For example, Tracey said:

> The situation here is like a house, someone's home, they feel very comfortable with us, when we meet them at the door we say, come through and have a cup of tea or a cup of coffee, the same as you do at your own place
> (PH Volunteer #1).

Tracey cares for people at PH in the same way that she would care for people in her own home. These types of home-making practices, that are not the types of care that people receive from more formal RSOs, nurture a sense of home and belonging for PFRB, but they do more than that. For PFRB still trying to navigate their way in a new society, a new culture, being included in Australian home-making practices like having *a cup of tea or coffee*, or gathering in the kitchen for a chat, can assist PFRB with their own home-making practices in their new Australia homes.

In this sense, making PH a homely space is about more than the home-like style and space; it is also about helping people to establish a sense of familiarity, belonging and *home* in their own houses. For example, showing people how to use unfamiliar domestic appliances (as Tracey did in Chapter 6), may assist people in establishing a sense of home in the often unfamiliar Australian-style houses they now live in. Furthermore, being involved in and participating in everyday rituals like morning tea and sharing lunch together around the dining room table introduced people to activities that they were likely to experience in other Australian homes.

Furthermore, other activities that take place at PH, like learning English, are also important for people to begin to feel a sense of home or belonging to Newcastle or Australia. Learning English at PH happens in both formal and informal ways – with classroom style lessons or just through day-to-day conversations and activities. One

volunteer explains how she encouraged students to learn English formally and informally:

> We encourage her to spend some time in the kitchen or in the dining room with us every time that she comes here. So she is learning the formal English with me, we reinforce what she does at TAFE, plus we might do something special like a shopping trip or something. And then sitting in the kitchen and discussing and listening. Listening to how the English is spoken by the native speakers. Yes, I think that's important (PH Volunteer #1).

PH also attempts to nurture belonging and a sense of home by providing free material objects for people, like furniture, blankets, food and clothes, so PFRB can create a homely feeling for themselves in their own homes. The type of care provided at PH is about assisting people with things that are often beyond the scope of many formal RSOs – it is the type of care and support that people would usually receive from their social circles, family and friends. It is a space of care that extends beyond formal and professional interactions (Conradson 2003).

Unlike other drop-in spaces explored in the spaces of care literature, PH becomes more than a space of care; it becomes a home-like space. It is a space of care that assists PFRB in developing their own home-making practices in their new Australian homes. At PH people move towards one another in caring ways – the everyday rituals and practices (like sharing lunch and cups of tea), the material objects (lounge chairs, kettles and cups), the physical infrastructure (the entrance, landing, dining room) and the different home-making practices give rise to a caring and homely space that nurtures belonging and the capacity to feel connected (hope) for PFRB, volunteers and employees.

I want to finish this section with some words about PH from John Sandy, who came to Australia in 2011. PH was one of the first places he visited. John's words in this media article highlight how important a place like PH can be for people:

> This place has changed my life forever. Without this amazingly welcoming place, I wouldn't be the person I am today. Without this place, I would be

> scared to be different. Without this place, I wouldn't have had the confidence to move on with my life, to make new friends and to pursue my dreams. The support I received from the volunteers has shaped me and changed me and I will never be able to show my gratitude enough (Sandy, 2016, p. 5).

PH was not only a space of care for John, it played a significant role in him being able to pursue a life here in Australia. He felt accepted in this space, and because of that he had the confidence to make new friends and pursue his dreams in Newcastle, his new home.

In the following section I explore the Welcome BBQ as a more-than transitory space of care.

7.3 Welcome BBQ

In this section I explore how a space of care emerges once a month in a suburban Australian neighbourhood park during the Welcome BBQ. I will reveal how the Welcome BBQ, like other spaces of care, is performed into being through combined spatial and social features (materialities and everyday practices). In addition I will argue that by providing a public neighbourhood space for people to move towards one another in proactive care-full ways (Conradson, 2003c) the Welcome BBQ is not only performing a space of care, it is encouraging the performances of belonging, home and hope in the Australian suburbs. I start by describing the Welcome BBQ.

Figure 7.9 Welcome BBQ Flyer

Source: facebook.com/welcome.newcastle

The Welcome BBQ is held on the last Sunday of every month, facilitated by the Newcastle branch of W2A. The Welcome BBQ is held in Webb Park, a quiet park in the Newcastle suburb of Mayfield. The park has a small amount of children's play equipment, but other than that, it is a flat, grassy, public space. This location was chosen by the Welcome to Australia Newcastle team because it is located in an area where many newly arrived PFRB find housing, and it is easily accessible to public transport. As the flyer (Figure 7.9) shows, the BBQ runs for three hours and includes free sausage sandwiches and drinks. People are encouraged to bring a plate of food to share, smiles, friends and a chair. The Welcome BBQ is designed to be a fun few hours where people of all backgrounds can connect with people in their neighbourhoods, enjoy an outdoor BBQ and other food, play some games and hang out together.

Figure 7.10 Welcome BBQ

Source: Photo taken by researcher

The volunteers at W2A Newcastle have a purpose-built a portable BBQ trailer that they tow along to the barbecue on the back of a van (see Figures 7.10 and 7.11). W2A Newcastle also brings along halal sausages, vegetarian kebabs (that they prepare in their homes the night before) and a large cooler full of soft drinks and bottles of water. A local butcher donates the halal sausages, which he stays back after work to make himself. At every barbecue there is always a range of other food supplied by people attending. Some are typically Australian contributions such as homemade cookies, Anzac biscuits or lamingtons, and other foods are not usually found at your typical Anglo-Australian barbecue, like Afghani rice dishes or African breads. In addition to sharing food, the barbecue always involves activities like cricket, soccer, Frisbee and other ball games. The sporting equipment is brought along by W2A or by people attending, and a game starts when someone or a group of people instigate it or decide to play – it is very informal.

Figure 7.11 Welcome to Australia barbecue trailer

Source: facebook.com/welcome.newcastle

The Welcome BBQ is a transitory space of care. Following Johnsen et al., (2005b), a transitory space of care is an outdoor space that is momentarily transformed into a space of care through the expression of care and the distribution of resources. Johnsen et al. (2005b) introduced the idea of transitory spaces of care while exploring 'soup runs' for homeless people in the UK. The soup run is a welfare service that provides hot drinks and food; material resources such as bedding and clothing; verbal advice, information and pamphlets about local emergency accommodation, day centres and hostels to homeless people (Johnsen et al., 2005b, p. 326). Soup runs are set up in different parts of cities, temporarily transforming ordinary urban spaces into spaces of care for homeless people. Similarly, the Welcome BBQ transforms an ordinary urban park into a space of care for PFRB and other individuals. However, the Welcome BBQ differs from the soup run in interesting ways, which I argue result in the Welcome BBQ becoming more than a space of care. The two key differences are that firstly, the Welcome BBQ is not about providing a welfare service or distributing resources to people – there are no service-related transactions taking place (or being promoted) at the BBQ. Secondly, although like the soup run, food is being provided to people for free, it is food supplied by the W2A team but also by everyone attending the BBQ. The absence of any welfare services means that PFRB who attend the BBQs are participating as something other than refugee clients. Like everyone else, they attend the BBQ as people interested in connecting with others in their neighbourhood. Moreover, it provides the opportunity for PFRB to perform care themselves through

bringing along food and activities to share with others. Understanding this through the lens of intersectionality, PFRB are not 'refugee guests' and longer-term residents are not 'hosts'; rather everyone is choosing to connect with others as friends and neighbours.

Section 7.3.1 draws on the materialities and everyday care practices that constitute the Welcome BBQ as a space of care. I focus on care practices, social relations, connections and atmospheres that emerge through often banal items like picnic rugs, sporting equipment and sausages. I argue that the experiences people have at the Welcome BBQ provide feelings of security and comfort (Lobo, 2010) which are fundamental to fashioning a sense of belonging and home (Noble, 2005).

Section 7.3.2 reveals the Welcome BBQ as a way in which PFRB can move beyond the performing the script of *refugee* or *asylum seeker*. PFRB are not attending the BBQ as refugee clients; rather, they are active participants in the co-creation of a space of care. They choose to 'move towards' and engage with people in their neighbourhood. The Welcome BBQ therefore disrupts the script of a powerless refugee in need of welcome and care – and uncovers subjects with agency, and as Westoby (2009; 2010) argues, achieving a sense of social agency is important for developing a sense of belonging to Australia.

In Section 7.3.3, through the story of a young asylum seeker playing cricket at the Welcome BBQ, I consider 'micro-moments of hope' (Wise, 2005). Drawing on Zournazi and Hage (2002, p. 161) notion of hope as the capacity to feel connected, I argue that an informal cricket game at the Welcome BBQ represents a 'micro-moment of hope' that constitutes the Welcome BBQ as a space of care, but which is also about nurturing a space of belonging, home and hope in suburban Australia.

Ultimately, these discussions contribute to the argument that in a uniquely Australian way, the Welcome BBQ is more-than a space of care; it is and attempt to perform a space of belonging, home and hope to an Australian neighbourhood.

7.3.1 Picnic rugs, sporting equipment and barbecue sausages: performing home in an Australian suburb

Picnic rugs

When I arrived at the Welcome BBQ, the W2A team had placed a few picnic rugs close together on the ground near the BBQ trailer. One of the picnic rugs had room for one more person, so I sat down and said hello to the group of women who were already sitting down. We didn't talk too much; there was a language barrier. However, one woman using broken English told me a bit about herself and the other people sitting with her. She has lived in Mayfield for about one-and-a-half years with her husband and two children. Like most newcomers she attends English classes at the local TAFE in the next suburb. The women were all originally from Afghanistan and they had all been in Australia for between one and two years. A few of their children were also sitting on the picnic rugs and the rest of their children were playing games with other young people. The third picnic rug was occupied by an Australian African woman and her daughter. Although conversations were not flowing between the picnic rugs, or even on each picnic rug, together we all sat and watched the activities taking place in front of us. We were watching the kids playing ball games with each other and with a few of the adults, we were watching people arrive and leave, we were watching people getting food from the trailer. Even though we were not talking, simply participating in this 'watching' gave us a sense of connection, and as affective atmpshere emerged. We would look at each other and laugh when the children did funny things, and we were all concerned when one of the boys didn't catch the ball and instead it hit his face. He cried and cried, and ran to his mother. We all showed concern, with words but also with our gestures and facial expressions (Fieldwork Diary 23 February 2014).

Figure 7.12 People using picnic rugs at the Welcome BBQ

Source: Photo taken by researcher

The placement of the picnic rugs was deliberate; it was to encourage people to sit together – the rugs were there to promote interactions and conversations between people. Moreover, the placement of the picnic rugs enabled small acts of kindness to take place, as people sat next to each other, smiled at one another, laughed together, helped each other with children, and communicated both verbally and non-verbally. The picnic rugs, placed as they were, invited strangers to sit together and connect. They were placed in a way that encouraged people to interact with one another, creating a warm and friendly atmosphere for strangers to come together. The friendly gestures and moments that ensued may appear trivial, however Ager and Strange (2008) argue that small acts of kindness have disproportionately positive impacts for refugees, and friendliness from 'the settled community' is important in helping refugees to feel secure (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 180). Moreover, Lobo (2010) suggests that friendly experiences or relationships with people living in the same neighbourhood (however fleeting or small) provide feelings of security and comfort for refugees. A sense of security and comfort is fundamental to nurturing feelings belonging and home (Noble, 2005, p. 113). These picnic rug moments encourage togetherness and are about attempting to make PFRB feel comfortable and connected in their new neighbourhoods.

Sporting equipment.

During the Welcome BBQ there are always different games being played – and the BBQ always involves some kind of sporting equipment. The games are informal, they start and stop – they move from throwing and catching a ball, to cricket, to kicking a soccer ball around. The sporting equipment is really crucial to the interactions that transpire at the Welcome BBQ. The sporting equipment encourages and enables people to perform togetherness by participating in activities. The spaces of care literature argues that material objects play a significant role in what transpires in space, and despite this being an outdoor space, the significance of these objects was not diminished (Johnsen et al., 2005b). How people interact with the sporting objects and how these material things facilitate encounters and interactions is significant in this space. Moreover, when the Welcome BBQ is viewed through the lens of intersectionality, it becomes apparent that the sporting equipment allowed people to perform different aspects of their identities by connecting them through play and through activities that had nothing to do with their refugee or non-refugee status. In the following extract from my fieldwork diary, I describe what I observed about people coming together because of the presence of the material objects (sporting equipment).

> *I notice that some people arrive at the BBQ by themselves, others with one or two friends, or some people arrive with family members. I watch as people initially stay close to the people they arrive with, or they might mingle with people they may already know. Some people do approach strangers and introduce themselves, but others are less inclined to do this. So I observe at times, separate groups of people, who stay comfortably with the people they know. But then someone grabs a soccer ball, or a football, and starts kicking it around. It is at this moment that I watch as some people feel leave the comfort zone of their group they are sitting or standing with as they move towards the ball game. Then another person, and another joins in as people start kicking the ball to one another. The group of people now playing are interacting and connecting, they are doing togetherness in a way that is not possible without the ball and the activity* (Fieldwork Diary 23 February 2014).

At the Welcome BBQ the soccer balls and other sporting equipment encouraged interactions between people that were fun and physical, interactions between people who may not have connected if these material things had not been there. The sporting equipment helped perform this park as a space of care; the equipment encouraged people to move towards each other in a different way. The interactions that the sporting equipment enabled were not about conversations, and indeed many involved little verbal communication. Rather, people were connecting through the balls, the bats, the games – laughing, running, playing and smiling together (see Figure 7.13). People would join in the activity for a short time or a long time; they would stop momentarily to grab a halal sausage sandwich or a vegetarian kebab. Other people would join in but then stop for a drink before returning to the game. The sporting equipment provided opportunities for people to do things together, it provided ways of performing togetherness.

Figure 7.13 People playing with sporting equipment

Source: Photo taken by researcher

Following Askin and Pain, attention must be paid to the materiality of intercultural encounters, or what they call the '*epistemological deployment* of materials within areas of social interaction' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 803). They argue that researchers should pay careful attention to how materials are utilised in activity/event spaces. They suggest that the 'ways in which material objects are deployed/employed may be critical within planning and implementation of activity, art or otherwise' (K. Askins &

Pain, 2011, p. 818). The sporting equipment at the Welcome BBQ was deployed and employed in ways that encouraged interactions, fun and play between different people, a convivial atmosphere emereged, thereby contributing to the performance of the park as a space of care.

Moreover, as I explored in Chapter 4, there has been little said in the refugee literature about the possibilities of informal recreational activities, as most of the refugee literature about sport tends to be based around organised or formal sporting activities. Olliff notes that informal social games played between friends and at community events are important for people from refugee backgrounds. He notes that this is commonly how sport is 'played overseas in refugee camps and other countries' (Olliff, 2008). The recreational activities at the Welcome BBQ demonstrated the importance of fun and play in bringing different people together and performing caring spaces into being. These activities will be explored again in Chapter 8 through the lens of encounter.

In the next section I turn to the food and associated items – the barbecue, the sausages, the drinks, homemade cookies, napkins, the sauce and the many other things that constitute the BBQ as a space of care, belonging and home in a suburban Australian neighbourhood.

BBQ sausages

During the Welcome BBQ, as is the case at other times when people share food with family and friends, there were many and varied acts of kindness that took place. At the Welcome BBQ I watched as people offered the food that they had brought along to others, passed each other napkins, made sure that someone had a drink, or a place to sit while they ate. I watched as people described the different foods to others, or took their plates to the rubbish bin. I witnessed people offering to help the W2A volunteers cook, or hand around vegetarian kebabs or halal sausages (see Figure 7.14). As mentioned previously, these acts of friendliness make refugees feel at home in their community (Ager & Strang, 2008), potentially providing feelings of security and comfort (Lobo, 2010).

Figure 7.14 People cooking and sharing food

Source: facebook.com/welcome.newcastle

Moreover, the Welcome BBQ provided the opportunity for PFRB to perform care by bringing along food and activities to share with others. They were not 'guests' and longer-term residents were not 'hosts'; rather, everyone was choosing to connect with others as friends and neighbours.

It was evident that the success of the Welcome BBQ was in many ways due to the work the W2A volunteers did. They are *attentive* to, and take *responsibility* for what they see as a need; they organise the barbecue, and bring the cooking equipment, food and drinks. However, despite the commitment from W2A volunteers in organising the BBQ each month, it is important to remember that the success of the BBQ cannot be attributed to W2A alone – spaces of care are shared accomplishments (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508) and the 'emergence and endurance of such spaces depends both upon the willingness of some individuals to move towards others and, amongst those being engaged in this way, upon a receptivity to such initiatives' (Conradson, 2003c, p. 508). PFRB are co-creating a space of care and belonging. At the BBQ, PFRB are active participants, willing to move towards others in proactive and care-full ways – subjects with agency deciding to become involved in the typically Australian practice of having a barbecue and playing games in a public space with friends/mates. Spaces of care like

the Welcome BBQ play a significant role in connecting PFRB and Newcastle residents in informal and fun ways.

Like other spaces of care, the materialities and everyday performances of care played a crucial role in what transpired in this space. This space is a place in a local neighbourhood where people come together and connect over food, outdoor activities and games. Not unlike Johnsen et al.'s (2005b) soup-runs, the Welcome BBQ temporarily transforms a public park into a space of care, a space that provides room for the expression and receipt of informal and relational care. As discussed in Section 7.2.1, some public places can be spaces that PFRB avoid because of 'trouble' or negative experiences – therefore, any attempt to open up a space of care, belonging and home for PFRB in a public space is really important because it nurtures feelings of belonging and feelings of being at home in an Australian neighbourhood.

7.3.2 Moving beyond performing the script of 'refugee'

> *The first person that I encountered today at the Welcome BBQ was a young girl of primary school age. Her name was Helena. She approached me soon after I arrived at the BBQ. Hello, she said. Hello I replied. Helena spoke English fairly well, so we were able to have a short conversation. Her voice was quiet and shy … but unwavering. My name is Helena. My name is Faith. We have a conversation, we find out things about each other. Helena is from Afghanistan, she has been in Australia for three months and she attends a local Primary School. She likes going to school and has made some friends there. Helena was then distracted by the other children playing a ball game. She ran towards them to join in the game. I watched Helena for the rest of the BBQ as she spent her time running around, playing ball games with the other children (and some adults), laughing, smiling, talking to people and having fun* (Fieldwork Diary 23 February 2014).

My moment with Helena at the BBQ is an example of people moving towards each other. Helena's family made a movement towards people in Newcastle by attending the BBQ, as I, and others moved towards PFRB. Helena and her family had only been in Australia for three months and the Welcome BBQ was a 'device' through which they

could connect with people in the community. It provided a unique opportunity for Helena and her family to participate in a safe, fun and friendly activity in their new neighbourhood. But the Welcome BBQ was more than that. Moreover, through my encounter with Helena I reflected on the contribution of situated knowledge, being knowledge that is relational and co-constructed. As this was one of my first encounters at the Welcome BBQ, it reminded me to be consciously reflexive, to be aware of my positionality, and the role that my body and my emotions play not only shaping research outcomes, but in creating more careful and hopeful worlds.

Refugees and longer-term residents of Newcastle who sought out the activity, in particular Helena and her family, move beyond 'performing the script of 'refugee' (Hyndman, 2010, p. 456) by enacting a will to engage with local people. They disrupt 'how those constructed as needing "welcome" and/or "care" may be reiterated as power-less (Korf 2007)' (K Askins, 2014, p. 354). They become active participants in the co-creation of this space of care.

At the Welcome BBQ, refugees are active participants, not passive clients. People are not coming to the BBQ because they need something. They are coming because they want to participate in an activity in their local neighbourhood and connect with other people. As previously mentioned, early settlement for refugees is largely about learning to be a client of a service, which does little to achieve a sense of social agency that can facilitate a sense of belonging or home (P Westoby, 2009; P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010). Therefore, having an activity like the Welcome BBQ where refugees are not 'clients' is important.

In an exploration of refugee assistance in the Czech Republic, Szczepanikova (2010) argues that the way in which non-governmental organisations (NGO) assist refugees and represent refugees to the public maintains 'unequal relations of power between NGOs and refugees' (Szczepanikova, 2010, p. 461). Szczepanikova's findings suggest that these power imbalances 'foster certain performances of *refugeeness* which support the construction of refugees as objects of assistance who themselves lack political means of influencing their image and position in a host society' (Szczepanikova, 2010, p. 461). The Welcome BBQ is deliberately designed to create an

environment where PFRB do not feel like 'clients'. There is no service-related material, there are no material donations given out, there are no brochures or pamphlets or people from other RSOs providing information. Rather, the aim is to create a space similar to many other barbecues where family and/or friends come together in a public place. As Westoby and Ingamells (2010) point out, 'critical practice requirements' when working with refugees are 'relationships, networks, long-haul commitment, imagination and the reflexivity to stay outside the narrow service delivery base (P. Westoby & Ingamells, 2010, p. 14). The Welcome BBQ is certainly a space outside of the 'narrow service delivery base' where relationships and networks are formed.

7.3.3 Cricket: performing hope in suburban Australia

In this section I move beyond the Welcome BBQ as a space of care, to consider the Welcome BBQ as a space of hope. I draw on Wise's (2005) idea of 'micro moments of hope' and Zournazi and Hage (2002) articulation of hope (the capacity to feel connected) as a theoretical filter through which to read an ethnographic story about a particular moment during a barbecue. According to Wise (2005), hope 'represents an opening to the world, to the other, to the stranger. It represents an opening up to new possibilities, for new ways of thinking, doing, knowing, an opening up to the possibility of new relationships and connections and is therefore not about stasis or fixity, it is about possibility' (Wise, 2005, p. 178). Wise argues that hope requires:

> a sense of community, but its conditions of possibility are a sense of belonging, trust and security of the outward looking kind, the kind that gives us a sense of belonging and safety from which we can embrace the world and other people in that joyful, hopeful, sense (Wise, 2005, p. 178).

For Hage, hope is also connected to joy and happiness. He describes 'hope on the side of life' as a bodily principle which 'drives us to continue to want to live, it is the existence of something to live for' (Zournazi & Hage, 2002, p. 151). For Hage, hope is about reaching a higher capacity to act, associate and deploy yourself in your environment, as it is happening (Zournazi & Hage, 2002). Hage describes it as 'a sense of community as a sense of articulation to others … the feeling of connection, of sharing, or recognition' (Zournazi and Hage 2002, p. 162) which is where a feeling of

belonging or homeliness comes from. The following extract from my fieldwork diary is about hope and a game of cricket that took place at one of the Welcome BBQs:

> *Cricket was on again at the Welcome BBQ this month. Today there were about eight people playing: people of all ages, from different backgrounds, with different citizenship or visa statuses. A few of the young men playing were asylum seekers who have been coming to the BBQs for a couple of months now. The game is light hearted as the bowler spins another ball down to the person batting. There is a cheer from the players if the batter hits the ball over the heads of the people in the field. There is concern from everyone if the wicket keeper misses the ball and it rolls out onto the road. The players all celebrate when a wicket is taken and sympathise with the batsman at the same time. Ahmed is an asylum seeker, and he is pretty good at playing cricket. Today he was having a great time playing. His face would light up when he was playing – simple, joyful moments. When he bowled someone out, a cheeky smile would appear on his face as the rest of the players applauded. For an hour and half it appeared to me that Ahmed was 'living in the moment', lost in the game, smiling, cheering, bowling, batting, bantering, laughing – perhaps forgetting the stress and uncertainty he is facing in his life. The uncertainty of not knowing when his claim for asylum will be processed; not knowing if he will be able to stay in Australia; not knowing what to tell his family. I know from talking to Ahmed that his first hope was to get his family to Australia, to safety, but that is no longer possible. People arriving by boat to seek asylum are now not permitted 'family reunions', it is not possible for this to ever happen (even if Ahmed is allowed to stay himself). His second hope then is to work and earn enough money so that he can at least get his family out of Pakistan –but at the moment he has no work rights. His family decided that it was not safe anymore in Pakistan, when Ahmed's uncle was killed by a bomb near their Sunni Temple –that was the turning point for the family, who pooled their money to get Ahmed out … When the cricket game was paused for food or drinks, Ahmed's demeanour changed. I can only speculate on what was happening, but what I observed was Ahmed moving back inside himself…He was still engaging with*

> *people, having conversations over food and his face was still bright after the physical exercise … But the joy I saw in him whilst he was playing cricket with others was gone. It was almost like he started thinking again* (Fieldwork Diary 27 April 2014)

This informal game of cricket highlights the materialities, performances and affective dimensions that constitute the BBQ as a space of care: the cricket bat and ball, the park, the grass, the chair used for cricket stumps, the people playing, the people watching, all play a role in what transpires. But what becomes apparent through Ahmed's story is the things that we can't see, the things that we can't touch, the micro-moments of hope (Wise, 2005), that matter too.

Although playing cricket is not a grand gesture, it can clearly produce affective affinity among the people at the Welcome BBQ, and for new-comers like Ahmed, a greater sense of home in an unfamiliar place (Wang & Collins, 2015, p. 7). In some ways the cricket game moments can be likened to Fincher and Iveson's (2008) neighbourly greetings, while 'fleeting and non-intrusive' they enable the development of small connections with strangers that stimulate feelings of happiness. Ahmed was clearly happy when he was playing cricket with other people. But did Ahmed walk away from the barbecue that afternoon feeling different, lighter, happier, even a little? I don't know. What I do know is that Ahmed keeps coming to the BBQs and he keeps playing cricket with everyone. And I know that his face lights up when he does.

7.3.4 The Welcome BBQ: performing care and belonging on a neighbourhood scale

The Welcome BBQ happens once a month in the same space and the repeated nature of this space of care means that people who attend regularly get to know one another. It becomes a familiar and comfortable space and activity. The BBQ goes ahead regardless of the weather – rain, hail, shine or searing heat, W2A made a commitment to be in this park on the last Sunday of every month to welcome people. As one of them said to me, 'if we say we are going to be here, we will be here' (Fieldwork Diary 25 May 2014). So despite the informality of the BBQ as a space of care, there was a certainty about it, and this is significant as it provides people with a sense of

familiarity, which links to feelings of belonging, home and hope (Zournazi & Hage, 2002).

The repetitive nature of the Welcome BBQ was a crucial part of performing the park into a space of care, belonging, home and hope. The consistency provided people with a regular space of care that they could rely on to be there for them. As Askin and Pain argue, although oneoff events and activities do have the potential for 'facilitating new social relations', there is also a need for 'repeated activities and 'use of things if any transformative changes in relations between people are to become routinized and the new norm' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011, p. 818).

In addition, the Welcome BBQ demonstrated people moving towards one another. This is significant, because as Chapter 4 outlined, too often all the burden to connect, to develop a sense of belonging, is placed solely on PFRB. But the Welcome BBQ is an example of people living in Newcastle recognising that it is not only up to PFRB to adjust to difference; it is up to longer-term residents to perform more inclusive and caring spaces and neighbourhoods too.

Moreover, thinking about the Welcome BBQ through the lens of intersectionality, the materialities and the care performances which constitute the BBQ as a space of care also enabled PFRB to move beyond their refugeeness, to perform different aspects of their identities. This was also the case for people not from refugee backgrounds, as everyone connected at the BBQ through activities that were not related to their different immigration statuses. Ultimately, this section has argued that in a uniquely Australian way, the Welcome BBQ is attempting to perform a space of belonging, home and hope to suburban Australian.

7.4 Walk Together

As the previous chapter argued, people attending WT were performing care through welcoming. Moreover, by performing care in this way, people also benefitted personally with feelings of joy, happiness, hope and a greater sense of belonging to their community. In this section I want to use the example of WT in a different way. First, I argue that the use of public space to demonstrate in support of marginalised

people transforms the public space into a space of care. Second, I will argue that WT was also about attempting to perform the nation, Australia, into a space of belonging, home and hope for PFRB – those already here and those yet to arrive.

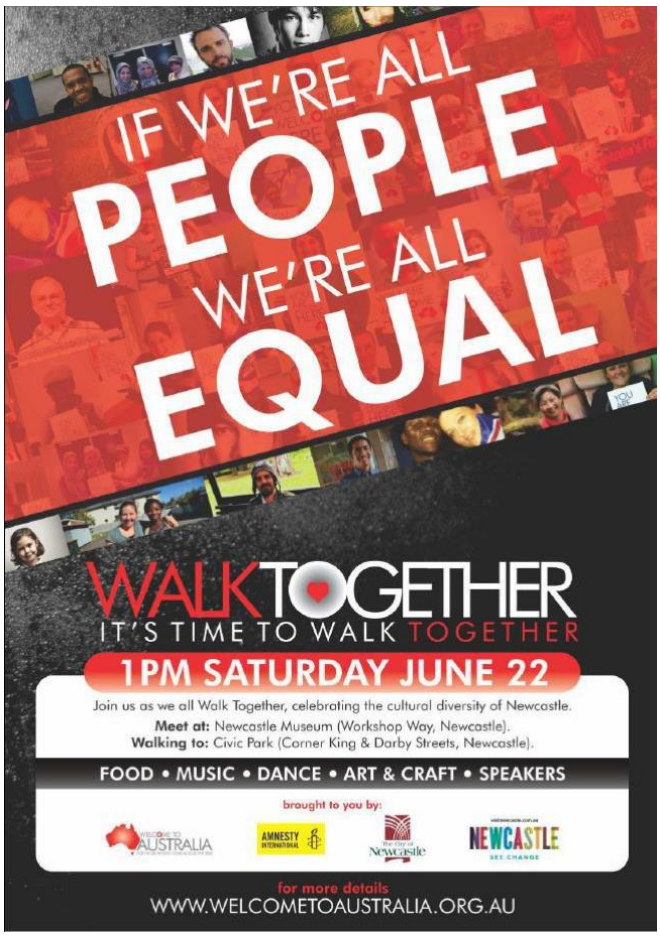

Figure 7.15 Walk Together flyer

Source: facebook.com/welcome.newcastle

In Section 7.4.1 I explore WT as a space of care that is brought into being through combined spatial and social features (materialities and everyday practices). The focus here is on material objects like t-shirts, posters, homemade banners, badges and balloons, as well as the affective and embodied care practice of people moving together and walking together in a very public way. Like other spaces of care described in the literature, I discovered hopeful positive transformations made possible through a space of care (Conradson, 2003c). WT made people happy and hopeful, and it gave people a sense of togetherness, an affective atmosphere emerged as WT became a local space of care from which people on the ground drew a sense of hope, care and belonging.

In Section 7.4.2 I continue to develop the argument that spaces of care in Newcastle are indeed attempts to create multi-scale spaces of home and belonging for PFRB. I argue that through a public expression of care, people at WT were attempting to perform Australia (the nation) into a space of care, belonging, home and hope for PFRB already here and those yet to arrive, as well as for the wider community.

7.4.1 Walking together in Newcastle: performing care and hope

Walking together in Newcastle

The Walk was set to take off from 12 noon from Newcastle Museum. People began gathering around 11:45, the crowd was diverse. It included families with children, older people and younger people, people by themselves, people with their dogs, people pushing prams, people with children on shoulders, teenagers on skateboards and people on bikes. There was an excited buzz running through the crowd, an affective atmosphere which grew as the crowd got bigger and bigger, everyone talking and waiting for the walk to begin.

The W2A team had designed and printed bright red t-shirts that were for sale on the day. On the back were the words 'If we are all people, we are all equal'; on the front, 'Walk Together'. People were proudly wearing these t-shirts. Other people wore 'welcome' badges or held W2A banners, and there were many homemade signs. The signs communicated a variety of messages. The W2A signs read 'If we are all people, we are all equal'; others read 'Welcome Refugees'. There were signs from a local activist group that read 'End mandatory detention' and 'No one is illegal'. White balloons with the Welcome to Australia logo were popular with young children.

The local television station had people there interviewing the organisers. The crowd increased from only about 25 people at 11:45 to many more by the time the walk began. The crowd was later estimated to be 1200. As the crowd grew, the atmosphere changed. The atmosphere was later described by someone in a post-Walk Together interview as being 'really nice' and a 'good vibe' where 'people seemed really happy and together' (WT Interview #1).

We started walking at 12 noon, it took about 30 minutes for everyone to arrive at the final destination, Civic Park. As everyone walked towards the park, there was a great vibe/atmosphere and strong sense of community. One of the main streets of Newcastle was blocked off to traffic and police where present to help with this. A number of people were held up in their cars as they waited for the walkers to pass by. *People were walking, talking, smiling, singing, chanting and playing music and musical instruments. People were carrying signs and banners in support of refuges, wearing bright red Welcome to Australia t-shirts and badges. It was a charged moment, and there was a feeling of solidarity amongst the walkers.*

Figure 7.16 Walk Together

Source: facebook/welcome.newcastle

The walk finished in Civic Park, where a 3 hour celebration took place. There was a large stage set up, a number of different food stalls, art, craft and information stalls, chairs for people to sit on and a large area in front of the stage for dancing. Throughout the three hours there were different performances and speeches that took place from the main stage. Performances included a Mongolian throat singer and an Afro-fusion band, which people danced and clapped along to. There was a joyful, positive feeling amongst the crowd. Amongst all the activities people were laughing, smiling and talking with

each other. Speeches were made by the WT organiser, an Indigenous elder, a representative from the University and the Lord Mayor of Newcastle.

Figure 7.17 Walk Together

Source: facebook/welcome.newcastle

Then it all drew to an end. People began leaving and by 4 pm a host of volunteers were starting to pack away everything. Soon, Civic Park would look like it did before the celebration, but perhaps it would never feel the same to those that were a part of Walk Together – it certainly doesn't for me (Fieldwork Diary16 June 2013).

Following Milligan and Wiles (2010) a space of care can be any space 'where caring interactions or an orientation towards caring occurs … such as the use of public space to demonstrate in support of the rights of (sometimes distant) others, etc.' (Milligan & Wiles, 2010, p. 740). As is the case in other transitory outdoor spaces of care, the material objects had a significant influence on the atmosphere and social interactions (Johnsen et al., 2005b, p. 327). The banners, the t-shirts, the musical instruments, the balloons all played a role in the affective atmosphere that emerged, which in turn brought people together with a feeling of togetherness and solidarity.

Furthermore, material objects and the actual practice of walking together encouraged encounters, conversations and interactions with other people. As the crowd made its way from the museum to Civic Park, people rubbed shoulders, talked to each other, swapped banners, chanted, danced and had conversations. With over 1000 people and prams, bicycle, children – we all had to negotiate space and pay attention to other bodies and things. Walking together this way added to the experience of togetherness, and certainly connected people with others they may not have normally encountered. For example, one participant said that she:

> enjoyed talking to people whom had not been in Australia for long and learning of their experiences here (Scully, 2013).

As Chapter 6 explored, people's expressions of care at WT were transformative for themselves and for the other people at the event. WT emerged, as not just a space for people to express care – it became a space where they received care (Mee, 2009). The following quote highlights the relational nature of performing care:

> well you feel kind of special participating in something like that…. in a way that it is leading to something else bigger, I think. Not in like 'oh I did that, I'm good now I can just like go on a do my day' it's more like 'well I hope that matters, I hope that does something. It's not exactly ….well I guess it is personal in a way but it also attached to bigger things (WT Participant #1).

> I think it restores hope … in yourself … I just felt really happy after and I felt like…oh my god, maybe the world's not so bad, maybe people do actually care (WT Participant #1).

Participating in WT made this person happy and hopeful; a more positive self was made possible (Conradson 2003). Furthermore, this quote and other narratives describe the affective dimesnions as people felth that they were a part of something bigger. People felt a strong sense of happiness and joy at being surrounded by other people who felt the same way as they did (welcoming and caring towards PFRB). As one person said, it gave you 'a sense that you are not alone in your care'. Not being alone is immediately tied up with the idea of belonging. By nurturing belonging for

PFRB, participants at WT are also fostering their own sense of belonging, care and hope.

Like the Welcome BBQ, WT also demonstrated people moving towards one another. Rather than the burden being placed on PFRB to adjust, the people at WT were actively performing a more caring, open and inclusive Newcastle, and Australia. It was an example of people living in Australia recognising that it is also up to them to adjust to an increasingly diverse nation.

7.4.2 Walk Together: performing care and belonging on a national scale

WT was a demonstration, but it was also a festival. Indeed, the festival literature is extensive and talks about festivals as 'events that are constructed by local government, organisations and audiences as being about local communities situated in a particular place and celebrating a local communal identity (Duffy, 2000; 2001)' (Permezel & Duffy, 2007, p. 363). However, WT was slightly different to this; first, it was not constructed by local government. Newcastle City Council supported the event by allowing it to take place, and the Lord Mayor make a small speech, but WT was organised, funded and run by WT volunteers and members of the Newcastle community. Second, WT was not only about 'local communities situated in a particular place and celebrating local communal identity' – it was more than that. WT was an event that was held simultaneously across Australia in over 10 locations. Therefore, WT was about more than the Newcastle community. It was about the Australian community; it was about celebrating an Australian 'communal identity'. This was expressed in the following extract from the speech at WT from the W2A Newcastle Branch Director.

> It is entirely clear that we live in a multicultural reality, where asylum seekers, refugees, and other new arrivals are our neighbours, our friends, and our work mates. At W2A we believe it's essential for our future that we all learn to see the humanity in each other, to hear each other's stories, and to walk together in building communities where everyone can belong. We know that a sense of belonging is essential for people to contribute to a community and a nation and

> we know that belonging isn't about legislation, it's about welcoming communities, extending the hand of friendship. Look around you today, there is so much to celebrate about the beauty of our diverse community and the huge contributions that migrants make to our lives and culture and our society. Today ladies and gentlemen we played a part in changing the public conversation from fear to welcome. Today we played a part in creating the kind of communities we'd like to live in, the character of a nation we can be proud of, an Australia that recognises in its public debate, media conversation and legislation that if we are all people we're all equal, equally deserving of freedom, fairness, opportunities to contribute, welcome and belonging. Today ladies and gentlemen we walk together (W2A Newcastle Branch Director Speech at WT 2013)

WT is a space of care performatively brought into being through expressions of welcome and care towards PFRB performed by organisers, volunteers, performers and the people who attended the event. WT let PFRB know (in a public space) that they were welcome and that they were 'recognised as belonging' (Noble, 2005, p. 114). The aim was to create a local and national (multi-scale) place of belonging for refugees.

WT was certainly an event that was scaled-up, in the Valentine sense. It was transformative beyond the event in Newcastle itself. Its transformative nature was due to: its publicness, the social and mainstream media coverage it attracted, the conversations it started (as Amanda pointed out in Chapter 6), the other walks taking place simultaneously across Australia, the affective, embodied and care-full encounters on the day. The organisers hoped it would 'change the conversation'. I cannot be sure if it achieved this. However, it certainly started conversations that carried beyond the event itself. It is important to note that just because the event was 'scaled-up' this does not make it any more important than the other spaces of care discussed in this chapter. PH, the Welcome BBQ and WT were all spaces of care performed into being through socio-spatial dimensions, and although each space was different, they each revealed connections between the performance of care, the affective atmospheres and the performance of belonging, home and hope. Therefore, as the conclusion below will argue, care performances evoked by the presence of PFRB

in Newcastle are crafting more than just spaces of care. These spaces of care encourage performances of belonging, home and hope for PFRB, and other individuals across multiple scales of home, neighbourhood and nation – regardless of whether they are scaled-up or not.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that PH, Welcome BBQ and WT are all spaces of care performed into being through socio-spatial dimensions. I have revealed that spaces of care are important for people (both PFRB and other individuals), as people have positive experiences when they pass through different spaces of care. Physical infrastructure, furnishings, material objects and affective atmospheres play a significant role in how people experience space and how people interact with one another. I have revealed that certain material objects are significant in enabling people to move towards one another in positive and care-full ways. While the focus of this chapter is on PH, Welcome BBQ and Walk Together, the importance of embodied and affective care relations, building design, furniture placement, material objects and atmosphere was also observed in other research sites, such as NSS Homework Centres, Simba Football, Africa Day and the Refugee Family Picnic.

This chapter has contributed to the spaces of care literature by revealing that care performances evoked by the presence of PFRB in Newcastle are not only performing spaces of care into being, they are simultaneously creating affective spaces of belonging, home and hope across multiple scales. The home-like space and home-making practices at PH nurtured feelings of belonging to PH, but they also assisted people with their own home-making practices in Australia. The Welcome BBQ, as a space of care, came into being through typically Anglo-Australian activities and objects like barbecue sausages, cricket and football games. Moreover, it was these types of socio-spatial phenomena that also revealed the Welcome BBQ as an attempt to make an Australian neighbourhood a space of belonging, home and hope for PFRB. And finally, WT was revealed as an attempt to create a national space of care, belonging, home and hope for people from refugee backgrounds already living in Australia, and for those yet to arrive.

This chapter and the previous chapter have highlighted that it is important to develop care relations and spaces of care that extend beyond formal relationships, into areas where fun and play are important. The informality and lack of service provision shaped the affective atmospheres that emerged, creating safe and comfortable spaces for PFRB. Moreover, I have considered spaces of care through an intersectional lens, arguing that certain spaces of care enable people to perform different aspects of their personalities. People make connections through shared identifications. There were affective moments, activities, everyday rituals and conversations where people connected with others, not as refugees and non-refugees, but as people, people wanting to connect and perform more caring homes, neighbourhoods and nations into being.

Each of the three spaces of care in this chapter encourages performances of belonging, home and hope. In addition, they reflect a recognition from people already living in Newcastle that it is not up to people from refugee backgrounds alone to adjust to difference; rather, it is also up to longer-term residents to perform more inclusive caring spaces and neighbourhoods. Ultimately, this chapter has revealed how spaces of care encourage performances of belonging, home and hope across multiple scales of home, neighbourhood and nation. In the next chapter I turn to the literature on encounter to show that more can be said about care performances and spaces of care through the lens of encounter.

Chapter 8 Care-full, fleshy and fun encounters

8.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters have offered insights into the ways that care is performed by organisations and people, and how spaces of care are significant for how PFRB experience new societies. This chapter provides additional insights into care performances by looking through the lens of encounter. A care-full approach to encounter research can be used to explore the ways in which people who are open to difference approach intercultural encounters with an ethic of care. Accordingly, this chapter offers insights across a range of encounters that have come into being through care, where PFRB and other individuals choose to move towards one another in care-full ways. This approach reveals the complexities of living together with difference that focusing on encounters between seemingly prejudiced 'host' populations and different minority groups cannot reveal.

As I have made clear, I am not approaching intercultural encounters, as others have, by judging them as amenable to 'scaling up'. Rather, I am more interested in thinking about the possibilities that lie within care-full encounters. In doing so, I continue to develop the argument from Chapter 3 about the importance of embodied moments of encounter by exploring fleshy and fun encounters where people eat, move and play together, addressing Aim 2. In addition, by demonstrating that encounters are valuable even when they are not obviously scaled-up, Aim 3 is addressed in this chapter. Furthermore, unlike existing refugee research, I draw on intersectionality as a way of thinking through the experiences of PFRB and other individuals, including myself (addressing Aim 4).

My approach in this chapter addresses Aim 5, as I perform care-full encounters and spaces through my research practice. Rather than talking to people about their experiences and feelings of doing encounters, or simply observing people from different social groups doing encounters, my empirical evidence comes from my own immersion in the field, my own embodied experience of doing encounters with PFRB

and the people caring with them. I argue that an embodied and sensuous approach to geographic encounter research can reveal possibilities, intricacies and nuances that simply talking to people about encounter, or watching people do encounter, cannot expose.

The existing encounter literature notes that increasing the number of opportunities for people to experiment with different others in a range of different situations is important, because it provides a resource for opening up opportunities for all people to experience difference without 'rejection and/or indifference' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 154). With this in mind, this chapter explores the Simba Football Club (SFC), the Refugee Family Picnic (RFP), and the Ladies Fun Club (LFC) at Penola House, as well as other spaces previously discussed such as the Welcome BBQs, Walk Together and Africa Day celebrations, as each space provides multiple opportunities for people to experiment with different others in a range of different situations.

However, my aim is also to move encounter research in a more sensuous and playful direction. The stories I draw on highlight the fleshy moments of encounter as bodies come together and do togetherness in fun and playful ways. A care-full embodied approach to encounter research shifts the focus away from scaling-up, and I reject the notion that encounters are only meaningful if they have wider impacts on social relations in the city. Rather, I argue that care-full, fleshy and fun encounters are valuable in and of themselves, as they enable people to experience a shared sense of togetherness with different Others. I focus on encounters that come into being through care, that involve fleshy and fun activities, to draw attention to the scale of the body and the spontaneous ways that people, and bodies encounter difference and do togetherness through play. To do so, this chapter draws on Lobo's (2016) notion of playful encounters to highlight the spontaneity of doing togetherness, and demonstrates the importance of not trying to predict the wider outcomes of encounters that are essentially unpredictable moments. Moreover, I argue that by bringing care thinking into the encounter equation, and sprinkling it with fun, we are able to reveal moments full of potential, and therefore the possibility of a different way of doing Australia in an extremely intolerant time.

I participated in many care-full, fleshy and fun encounters throughout the research, and in this chapter I have categorised them into three key types of activities. The first in Section 8.2 explores what happens when people play together, specifically through formal and informal sporting and recreation activities. Section 8.3 then draws on food encounters where people eat together. Then in Section 8.4 I discuss moments where people move together, when bodies come together to dance, sing and have fun.

Section 8.2 begins by exploring encounters that involved formal and informal sporting activities. The limited exploration of the role of sport in offering possibilities for encounters with PFRB and other individuals in Western nations was noted in Chapter 4. Most academics have looked at PFRB and their involvement with sport via an exploration of formal sport as an integration tool. Chapter 4 discussed how an integration framework places much of the responsibility on PFRB to 'integrate'. I have argued that such a model can reify the notion of PFRB as needy, as it presents PFRB as lacking (see Chapter 4). I look at formal and informal sporting activities through the lens of care-full encounters. In this section I first explore SFC as a formal sporting activity, but also as a space of encounter that enables people to have informal encounters as part of their association with the club. I explore encounters that the players have both on and off the field, and then I draw on my experience on the sidelines, as a supporter of SFC. Section 8.2 then turns to earlier examples of people coming together through play, through informal sporting or recreation activities, namely, playing ball games, football and cricket at the Welcome BBQ or Refugee Family Picnic (RFP). Thinking about sporting activities and playing together through the lens of care-full encounters, and drawing on the embodied, fleshy aspects of these encounters, I highlight how playing and having fun are important ways that people are *doing* togetherness in the Australian suburbs.

Section 8.3 then turns to care-full food encounters. As Chapter 3 noted, to explore diversity through food requires a closer look at what is taking place during food encounters, beyond the assumption that 'eating the food of the Other' will automatically have positive outcomes (Wise, 2011, pp. 83-84). Accordingly, Section 8.3 draws on the embodied performance of eating and drinking together with different Others. I explore food encounters as fleshy, and highlight the sensuous and intimate

aspects of preparing, sharing, tasting, touching and eating food with others. Moreover, I reflect on my own food encounters during the research project, and discuss how these fleshy and fun moments of encounter opened me up to possibilities and people. It was through food that I was able to feel like I belonged in a different context – further highlighting the importance of performing care-full encounter for research practice (Aim 5). This section supports previous findings about the significant place that food has in bringing people together (Wise, 2011). In addition, I argue that food encounters are important because they enable PFRB and other individuals to do togetherness in very ordinary and everyday ways. Food is familiar, and it opens our senses, and when we do familiar, sensuous and everyday things with different Others, it provides a sense of comfort, and a sense of togetherness.

Continuing to think about care-full intercultural encounters in a sensuous way, Section 8.4 explores spaces and moments of encounter where bodies danced and moved together. Like Permezel and Duffy's (2007) exploration of festival bodies, I look beyond the intended purpose of these encounters to pay closer attention to what people are actually *doing* – how bodies are moving and grooving, how they respond to music, and interact with other bodies. In these moments, small gestures and smiles, and other playful ways that people connect, are important. People come together and connect spontaneously through their bodies, and words become less important.

As Chapter 3 noted, repeated or sustained encounters are often valued over more fleeting encounters. In Section 8.5 I reveal that the repetition of certain encounters does make them valuable, not because repetition could enable them to be scaled-up, but rather because repeated spaces of encounter become familiar to people; they become comfortable safe spaces for people to experience difference in their own neighbourhoods. However, I also want to highlight that even if fleshy and fun care-full encounters are one-off events or more fleeting moments, they are still valuable because they enable people to feel a sense of togetherness. Chapter 3 noted that even if the fun, or sense of togetherness, is only for the duration of the encounter, it is still important for the people experiencing these moments – the joy, care, love, the delight and wonder, and the 'becoming with others' all matter because they provide PFRB

with hope and reveal how living together with difference is being achieved in Australia in positive and fun ways.

8.2 Playing with PFRB

This section draws on encounters that involve people playing together through formal and informal sporting activities. I begin by exploring Simba Football Club (SFC). The SFC was established in 2010 when the HACC assisted a group of young men, predominantly from African backgrounds, to form the club. The club provides a range of opportunities for encounters for people involved with the club as players, volunteers, coaches, parents, friends or supporters. People come together on the field during games, at training, driving to games, organising food and drinks for home games, selling food and drinks to people at games, cheering for the team on the sidelines and just hanging out at the club. People associated with the club are *doing* togetherness through the very Australian and ordinary activity of playing and watching competitive sport on a Saturday.

SFC has junior and senior teams, and is open to players from all backgrounds. As their website states:

> Hunter Simba FC is an open and inclusive club that welcomes players and volunteers from all backgrounds in the spirit of good football, good fun and a great social atmosphere (Hunter Simba Football Club).

HACC's objective was to provide young men, predominantly from refugee backgrounds, with the opportunity to 'compete at the highest level of competition possible while giving youth from the area an opportunity to enjoy meaningful integration and participation in mainstream sport' (Hunter Simba Football Club). In an interview, the HACC Secretary explained these objectives:

> with Hunter Simba we focus on youth and getting them integrated into mainstream sport and mainstream society. So using soccer as a vehicle for integration. We believe that we can get our youth involved with an organised activity that leads to some social interaction within themselves and also within the mainstream society, so that is one of our focuses (HACC INT#2).

This quote demonstrates that HACC considers playing formal organised sport to be a *vehicle for integration.* This objective mirrors the literature, which focuses on sport as an integration tool for PFRB. However, as I have made clear, my approach to exploring SFC is through the lens of fleshy care-full encounters, as opposed to only thinking about sport as something that young men from refugee backgrounds should do in order to 'integrate'. Therefore, I concentrate on SFC as a space where young people from many different backgrounds choose to move towards one another in care-full ways as teammates. In addition, I highlight how the physicality, spontaneity and fun of playing football *with* different Others enables people to make connections across shared identity as people who enjoy football, rather than as young men from refugee backgrounds integrating into a host society.

SFC is an ethnically and culturally diverse club, with players from migrant, refugee and Anglo-Australian backgrounds. As Chapter 4 notes, most of the literature on PFRB playing football in Western nations explores the experiences of young men from one ethnicity that play for mono-ethnic clubs. SFC is far from mono-ethnic. Like the HACC it is multi-ethnic – more diverse than many of the other clubs in the local competition. In the following quotation an HACC representative discusses the diversity of the HACC organisation more generally, but she uses Simba FC as an example:

> When they play soccer the soccer team is made up of, you know … it's the skills that will get you in the team, you know, there is one Ethiopian, one Sudanese, one Somalian and Australians as well, and they form the best team. They learn, I mean, we do occasionally have some scuffles but not any more than any other. Whereas it's different to say like the Croatians, like they are all one Croatian group … whereas Africa is a big continent, so one from all the different countries makes for a very diverse group … so it's very interesting, we are not ethno, you know, separate, or one ethnic group, we are actually of all ethnic groups of Africa to make one group and that is what is good about it. (HACC Volunteer #1).

This quote highlights two points. Firstly, it shows that SFC is a diverse club with players coming from many different backgrounds. Although it is not mentioned in this quote,

SFC also has players who have come to Australia from the Middle East and Asia. Secondly, and importantly, by suggesting that it is '*the skills that will get you in the team'*, an intersectional approach is revealed within this space, as young men from refugee backgrounds are recognised for their ability to play football, not their refugeeness. This is important, because it provides young men from refugee backgrounds a space to be something other than a refugee.

Although it is an organised sporting club, SFC also provides opportunities for many informal encounters. The young men spend a lot of time together, training, playing games, travelling to and from training and matches, and hanging out around the club. The players are from vastly different backgrounds and these encounters enable them to learn new ways of being together with this difference.

I talked to a HACC representative about the young men, and we discussed the unique challenges that are involved in coaching, managing or playing in a team that has so many players from extremely diverse (and often traumatised) backgrounds. The President of HACC said that some of the players had no previous experience of playing organised sport, and they each have a different understandings about what playing in a team requires. She said there can be communication and language barriers, coupled with the egos of young men. Therefore, she said that it is important for their game preparation that they spend time together, train together and learn to trust one another. This points to the importance of embodied encounters – the players learn to communicate using their bodies, as they train together, hang out together and play together. It is through these fun and fleshy moments that the players develop the trust and respect necessary for any sporting team. And importantly, they are learning new ways of doing togetherness through an activity that they choose to do, and love to do. The following insights from a player, in a media report, touches on the unique opportunity the club can provide for PFRB.

> It's a place where even if you can't speak the language, you can't speak English, or you come from a completely different culture, you come onto the field, you are one (Hammond, 2011).

This quote demonstrates the sense of togetherness that players feel from being involved in the club. And it highlights that the young men are not asked to perform the script of *being a refugee* when they play football. When they are on the field, in those moments, they connect as football players. Another player said:

> people here play for the love of soccer. I love the social side, it brings people together … We don't have any other places to meet each other, so here's a good place to meet people (Hammond, 2011).

There are two important things to draw from this quote. First, it illuminates an intersectional understanding of people connecting over the shared identity as people who love football. Moreover, as other examples in Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrated, in Newcastle, which has less ethnic and cultural diversity than Australia's major urban centres like Sydney and Melbourne, it can be difficult for PFRB to find public places where they can (comfortably) hang out, without fear of 'trouble'. Particularly, young African males who have been stigmatised in the national and local media as being 'unable to assimilate' or they are perceived as 'gangs' when they get together in public – resulting in many African youth feeling excluded from open public space. However, the local oval where SFC trains has become a place of belonging and comfort for many of the players. It becomes a safe and comfortable space of care-full encounter that provides opportunities for the young people to explore aspects of their identities, and this is extremely important as it empowers the young players and provides them the opportunity to have fun in safe and culturally appropriate ways – with different Others. At Simba FC they do not have to be 'refugees', they do not have to be 'trouble' – they are football players. Their identities are not prescribed in any way, and nor is there any suggestion that one sort of person is a better 'fit' within the club than others.

While Newcastle City Council attempt to make the city a safe and welcoming space for PFRB, by declaring Newcastle a Refugee Welcome Zone in 2015, young African Australian men still feel that they do not have any public spaces where they can hang out. So while NCC is trying to inspire welcome, it does not always translate in public spaces. Therefore, the transformative of the football field at Tighes Hill into the safe

and comfortable space is really important. Moreover, it is not just on training and match days that I see this space being used. I see groups of young men using this space almost on a daily basis.

As Chapter 4 explored, sport has been understood as a site of conflict and tension because it is competitive and demands winners and losers. On the other hand, the mutual goal present in sporting activities has been suggested to have the potential to negate the politics and hierarchies of race and ethnicity (Sherman 2009). Indeed, either could be true in different situations, with different players, different home grounds, and different affective atmospheres. From my experience watching SFC playing home games, I saw players engaged in physical, affective moments of encounter on and off the field. There were certainly moments of anger and frustration, and moments of conflict. But there were also moments of joy and happiness, and signs of camaraderie, admiration and appreciation of people's skills and talents. SFC provides players with encounter opportunities that are not available to them in many other spaces in Newcastle. Playing at the club offers moments of commonality and solidarity; it nurtures a sense of belonging, allows them to be something other than a refugee. Moreover, it is a fun activity that they love to participate in, and can do so comfortably, even if it may be difficult to verbally communicate with one another.

When these encounters are valued in this way, when they are not judged in terms of their capacity to do something beyond these moments, we are able to see and value the fun moments of togetherness that the players share on a regular basis, regardless of what that means for wider relations in the city. This scale of embodied encounter matters.

Before I move to a discussion about less organised sport and recreational activity, I want to briefly reflect on being involved with SFC as a supporter. As Chapter 5 noted, part of my participant observation was attending home games of SFC. The SFC home ground is at a TAFE oval, at the end of the street where I live. In fact, when SFC play I can hear the games from my house, the players calling out to one another, the crowd cheering, the whistle blowing. On game days I would walk down to the ground and watch the games. Being a new SFC supporter, I initially did not know many people at

the games. When I arrived, I would make my way over to where most of the SFC supporters were and find myself a seat. Although I did not have too many conversations, or make connections with people that went beyond my time at the games, my embodied experiences cheering and supporting the team provided me the opportunity to encounter and do togetherness with people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds. As supporters on the sidelines we would gesture to each other when things went bad, we would cheer together when things went well, our eyes would connect as we shared moments of disappointment and moments of joy. When people on the sidelines talked with one another, the conversations were nearly always directly related to what was happening on the field. However, these encounters were about more than connecting through words. Following Lobo (2016), they are about connecting with others 'through playful acts and gestures of sharing space' (Lobo, 2016, p. 168). The people in the crowd connected through the game. We shared the space and the experience, all the highs, the lows and the anticipation. And importantly, we connected, not as people from different backgrounds, but through a shared identity as part of SFC.

The encounters that I have described that result from being a player or supporter of SFC offer insights into ways in which people are doing togetherness, in fleshy and fun ways. The experience of being involved with the club was a positive one, and there were many moments of encounter, like smiling at others, cheering with others, that may appear small or insignificant, but which are important examples of refugee and non-refugee people doing togetherness in Newcastle in playful ways. Moreover, drawing on previous discussions (Chapter 6) about the importance of having care relations and spaces that extend beyond professionalised interactions into areas where play is important, SFC provides opportunities for playful and fun encounters that are unlikely to occur in more formal settings.

Turning to other, less formal sporting activities, I want to draw on some of my own experiences, as well as examples that I have already discussed (in Chapter 7) as a way of demonstrating how the spontaneity of playing physical games can bring bodies, and people together in ways that 'disrupt rules and mutate codes that typically restrict the movements of bodies and add to the conviviality of place' (Chacko et al., 2016, p. 159).

As Lobo (2016) argues, because play 'escapes focused attention' it has the potential to contribute to ways of living together with difference that go beyond intentionality.

For example, as I discussed in Chapter 6, at the Welcome BBQs young Helena was confident enough to approach some people and introduce herself; however, most of her encounters were through playing games with other children and adults. She would run around the barbecue catching balls, throwing them to other people, chasing runaway balls, and generally moving with other people and objects in fun and fleshy ways. These activities were moments of encounter where Helena connected with other people, sharing an activity, doing it together. Bodies moved together in spontaneous ways, people came together without having to think about what to say or what not to say. The people playing the games shared a sense of togetherness as they used the material objects, the sporting equipment and the park itself to do togetherness with difference. Lobo's (2016) recent work on encounter also appreciates the materialities of encounter. She argues that encounter research needs to consider the non-human and material objects that form part of intercultural encounters. In Chapter 6, I did consider the socio-material aspects of these encounters through a spaces of care lens. For example, I revealed the importance of sporting equipment as a material object that played a crucial role in performing the suburban public park into a space of care. This discussion can also be linked to Ahmed's experience of playing cricket at the Welcome BBQ. Those moments of encounter mattered to Ahmed, and they appeared only to be possible because of the fleshy and fun activity of playing sport together.

This analysis also resonates with my own experiences at the Welcome BBQ playing games with people and also at the RFP when I played a game of volleyball with a group of strangers. I found that during these types of encounters, it was the fleshy and fun nature of the activity that enabled a comfortable and convivial moment. These types of encounters connected me to others in ways that would not be possible without the fleshy, fun, physicality of bodies moving together. Trying to play a game together (that no-one was very good at) connected us, and we shared moments of togetherness. We laughed together, our bodies moved together, we connected through our eyes and through friendly gestures – things that would not happen so easily through encounters

where bodies might be present in the same space, but where connections were being made through conversation rather than play.

Often, when intercultural encounters take place, there can be an emphasis on talking and getting to know one another through words. For some people, myself included, meeting people for the first time can be awkward or challenging. Do you ask where someone is from? Or how long they have been here? Do they want to talk about themselves? Or should I not ask anything about their lives before Australia? Trying to say the 'right' thing can be difficult, and at times, it can actually stop people from attempting to connect. But playing a game together, a physical game, where communication comes from bodies moving and having fun together, rather than from verbal communication, provides a unique sense of embodied togetherness. Such encounters can also allow people to overcome difficulties they face communicating through limited shared languages by doing togetherness without words.

Fleshy and fun moments like these have yet to be appreciated in the encounter literature. One of my goals here is to argue that those interested in encounter should not always need to make wider claims in order to demonstrate value (i.e. scaling up). Rather, they should remain open to the different ways in which encounters come to matter as sites of possibility and hope, in and of themselves. In order to do this, I have drawn on the fleshy, sensuous and intimate moments of encounters. Encounters are not just about two people coming together, they are about two bodies coming together, and therefore it is important to look beyond the spoken word and to consider the way that bodies move together and communicate during encounters. Accordingly, the following two sections continue to explore encounters across difference through a care-full, intersectional, fleshy and sensuous framework. The examples all include my body as a research tool – moving with, eating with, and playing with people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds in fleshy and fun ways.

8.3 Eating with PFRB

This section draws on the embodied performance of eating with PFRB. I explore food encounters as fleshy and sensuous and highlight what happens when people share and eat food with different others.

My food encounters

During this research project I shared food with people from many different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. I shared food with people on dining room tables, lounge room floors, picnic rugs and standing around in public parks. I ate food that I had never tried and cooked food I had never cooked. I witnessed the Welcome BBQ evolve from halal sausages and store-bought lamingtons to include a rice cooker and homemade sweets. I experienced food traditional to Ethiopia, Eretria, Afghanistan, Poland, Iraq, Australia and more. Food was bought in stores, prepared in homes, cooked in parks – food was exchanged, gifted and shared by the people (mainly women) who made it. I cooked with herbs and beans hand-picked from PH's garden and shared oranges plucked from my tree at home. For the first time in my life, I started baking, taking vegetarian muffins and banana bread along to different occasions. I ate food, baked food, cooked food, picked food, talked food, shared food, exchanged food – and importantly, each food experience was shared with other people. My food encounters were a significant part of my research journey.

Being a part of so many food encounters I became aware of the ways in which these shared embodied food encounters generated particular kinds of connections between people. My food encounters were embodied, intimate and sensuous, and affective. They enabled me to feel more connected to people, and gave me a sense of belonging. They provided me with the opportunity to share, to care and to feel like I was useful, that I had a role. For example, the first time I baked muffins and took them to Penola House to share with everyone was a joyful experience. For the first time I felt like I had a sincere role as a care-giver, and the offering of my own food also gave me a sense of connection to others. It made me feel useful and gave me a feeling of belonging to PH and the people there. The preparation and sharing of food helped me to establish affective ties amongst people at Penola House (Johnston & Longhurst, 2012, p. 325).

There was also something about approaching people for the first time with fresh baked muffins as a buffer. Somehow, making that first connection this way allowed me to relax, to be me, and to not worry so much about doing research encounters wrongly or uncaringly. And because of this it opened up so many possibilities for connections and conversations, and not just because I had delicious muffins, but because what the process of baking and sharing food with strangers sparked within myself.

This section will demonstrate how care-full food encounters provide people with the opportunity to do togetherness, in ordinary ways and fun ways. As Chapter 3 explored, food plays an important role in intercultural encounters. Through notions of hospitality, reciprocity, sharing a part of oneself with different others, blurring the boundaries of cultural identities, and as a catalyst for intercultural conversations and cross cultural knowledge exchange, food encounters make opening up to Others possible. This was certainly my experience during the research. Moreover, my food encounters were about more than words. When we *come to our senses*, when we explore the fleshy, sensuous and intimate practice of *doing* food with others, the body becomes important. These encounters were not just about people coming together; they were bodies coming together. Therefore, the stories which follow describe moments where people were learning new ways of being together as bodies tasted, touched, smelt and experienced food together.

Ladies Fun Club

Ladies Fun Club (LFC) was a bi-monthly event held on a Saturday at Penola House. It was a women-only club that provided opportunities for women from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds to socialise. LFC was held from 10am to 12 noon and had an informal structure. Women brought food along to share, and they participated in different activities such as dancing, singing, and other physical and fun activities. The number of women that attended varied each time, however there were usually somewhere between 20 and 30 women in attendance. Men were strictly forbidden to attend, and the women were strongly encouraged to not bring their children along. The following story about LFC was drawn from my fieldwork notes.

Before most people arrive at Ladies Fun Club a few of the women transform the Men's shed at the back of Penola House. Tool benches are covered with tablecloths, the hot water urn is filled up and plugged in, chairs are positioned along the walls in a large circle and one or two tables are placed in the middle of the room for people to put food on. As people start arriving different plates of food start to build up on the table. The space starts to fill with women and noise, as people start to talk and catch up, and make each other cups of tea. Women who have met before sit together and make one another cups of tea. If someone is attending for the first time, they usually arrive with a friend or someone who has been before. People continue to arrive, newcomers are introduced to others as they arrive, more cups of tea and coffee are made, and as the crowd grows, so does the variety of food plates on the table.

The food at LFC is representative of the many different cultures, ethnicities, backgrounds and traditions of the women who attend. There are always many choices, from Afghan rice dishes, African breads and stews, Iraqi desserts, homemade hummus, Australian lamingtons, homemade cakes and biscuits, store bought dry biscuits and dips, traditional Polish savoury snacks, sweets and lollies and fresh fruit. As the women place their dishes on the table, people admire them and complement each other on how the dish looks or smells, compliments come in words, but more often, they are small gestures of acknowledgement and curiosity. The food is not eaten straight away. First, a welcome ritual takes place and then some kind of activity that always involves music and dancing. It is after the welcome and the first activity that everyone sits down (or stands around) to share and experience the food, that has been collectively and caringly prepared for the occasion.

People walked around the table looking curiously at different foods, perhaps things they have not seen or tasted before. Things are picked up, put down, smelt, touched and talked about. Some women are adventurous enough to try a bit of everything; others are clearly not so willing to sample some of the foods. People often express their curiosity or disgust at the sight or smell of a dish through their facial expression, or their bodies give it away as they move closer

to or further away from a particular dish. Throughout the process of approaching the table, walking around the table, choosing food or leaving food along, senses are heightened. People smell, taste, touch and look at the food. At the same time, bodies are in close contact as the women negotiate other bodies in the small space. Bodies touch as we pass one another plates, knives, forks, spoons and napkins. Eyes connect as we communicate and connect with our bodies.

People move chairs around to make sure everyone is comfortable. Questions are asked or gestured about particular dishes. What is this dish called? Did you make this one? Can I please have the recipe? Your dish was lovely. I did not like that dish. Did you see that dish, what was it? I didn't try it. Thank you. Can you pass me that plate? Do you make this often? Have you tried these? It is my mum's recipe. I make this on special occasions. I cannot find the correct ingredients here in Newcastle. Have you tried looking in …?

Everyone looks to the Sisters and ensures that they have enough food and a cup of tea. The students from the English class fuss over Tracey and make sure she has a cup of tea, and that she has tried the foods that they prepared, or dishes prepared by others that they enjoyed. Tracey accepts their kindness gracefully and occasionally tries to get the women to repeat their offer in clearer English. Would you like a cup of tea? Would you like to try this? Some of the students are keen to take on the extra lesson, but others are too busy chatting and eating to be too receptive to this – after all it is Saturday and LFC is about food, fun and hanging out with friends.

LFC is a space that enables women to come together in ordinary ways. It enables encounters where women can share their culture or identity with others through food. The women prepare food, eat food, talk food, share food – and through the very ordinary and everyday practice of preparing, sharing and eating food together they learn about one another, and learn new ways of doing togetherness. As Wise (2011) notes, there is something a little different that emerges out of a convivial feast of commensality. There is a welcoming and caring environment at LFC which, combined

with the intimate and sensuous qualities of food, interweaves 'in an embodied way with feelings of belonging and intersubjective relations' (Wise, 2011, p. 97). I watched as the women at LFC appeared to become more confident and comfortable in the space. As each LFC passes, many of the women move around the space with a greater sense of comfort and belonging. Their voices are louder, their laughter stronger. The women attend LFC as active participants looking for connections. They are moving towards others in proactive ways, and they are connecting with people from many different backgrounds, and these connections are being made through shared identities as women, as mothers and as friends – not as refugee clients.

In addition, by 'bringing a plate' of food, many of the women (refugee and non-refugee) were offering a part of themselves and their culture to others, and at the same time, by accepting the gifts of food from others they were open to the food and culture of Others (Wise, 2011, p. 100). I would argue that the practice of 'bringing a plate' appeared particularly significant for women from refugee backgrounds because it gave them the opportunity to step outside the role of care receiver/refugee client by demonstrating their strengths as cooks and as caregivers. It was a situation where they were able to move beyond performing the refugee script, as they entered a space and took part in multiple encounters where the focus was on sharing, reciprocity and being together as women and as friends.

And finally, LFC is also significant because there is no obvious host/guest divide. All of the women are hosts to some extent and they are all guests too. People are not served tea or food by volunteers; everyone is encouraged to help themselves, and the way the eating and drinking takes place is very similar to how it would happen in many ordinary social gatherings in Australia. As Wise (2011) argues, these types of encounters are a non-dominant form of host–guest relations, as this was clear, for example, in how many of the women from refugee backgrounds served the sisters, and in how the English class students cared for Tracey. The women from refugee backgrounds were able to extend care rather than being simply positioned as receivers of care.

Bringing care thinking into the food encounter equation more explicitly, I want to suggest that care was expressed and performed within the context of preparing, sharing and eating food together. Moreover, as a participant in these encounters, I became aware of the ways in which these embodied, sensuous and intimate food encounters were affective. They generated particular kinds of connections between the women, a sense of warmth and comfort within the group and the space. The food encounters nurtured as sense of belonging and solidarity between the women and there was a strong sense of shared experience. And importantly, the food encounters at LFC were fun, stimulated the senses, filled people's tummies and made people happy.

I will now turn to the Refugee Family Picnic (RFP) and a different kind of food encounter.

Refugee Family Picnic

The Refugee Family Picnic (RFP) was held during Refugee Week on a Sunday from 11am to 3pm. It was supported by a number of different organisations in Newcastle including NSS and HACC. The RFP was held at a sports oval in Jesmond, a suburb of Newcastle where a large number of newly arrived PFRB live. There was a free barbecue, a jumping castle for the children, and a volleyball net set up between two trees; there were informal sporting games such as cricket and soccer, and a friendly organised game of soccer as well. There was a sound system for playing music and signing. The RFP attracted approximately 200 people (Gleeson, 2014). The following vignette describes a food encounter that was significant for me as it made me feel welcomed and gave me a sense of belonging.

> *As I was walking around the RFP today, I ran into Sanjeev and Ahmed two young men who I knew from the Welcome BBQ. Although there was a free bbq, Sanjeev and Ahmed had brought along their own food. They had laid out a couple of picnic rugs on the sports ground and were in the process of unpacking their picnic as I walked passed. There were plates, cups, cutlery, salads, breads, lentil dishes and more. As I walked passed, I said hello and asked them if they were enjoying themselves. Not surprisingly I had seen Ahmed earlier over the*

other side of the ground playing cricket. Ahmed is always keen for a game of cricket at the Welcome BBQ. Sanjeev and Ahmed invited me to join them for lunch. I was initially polite and kindly declined. But they insisted that I sit down with them and share some of their food. I happily accepted their kind offer and sat down to eat. The food was spread out in the middle of the rugs, and we sat down around the outside. They passed me a plate and then each different dish to try. We did not talk much, rather we gestured our appreciation of different smells, tastes and food, and at the same time gazed out towards all the other activities taking place, the cricket, the soccer, and the children running around. We did not need to speak, we were connecting in others ways as we shared this intimate moment together (Field Diary 15 June 2014).

Like LFC, this is an example of how food encounters enable people to be together in ordinary ways. In this situation, Sanjeev, Ahmed and I were all experiencing a different situation and different people. Although we had encountered each other before at the Welcome BBQ, this was a more intimate encounter which centred around food. Moreover, it was a food encounter that emerged through an invitation from Sanjeev and Ahmed, to myself. They were caring for me by inviting me to share food with them. This is significant because it provided Sanjeev and Ahmed the opportunity to be the 'hosts', to be care-givers. They were not performing the script of asylum seeker/refugee, they were active participants in a social gathering, they chose to come along to the RFP and they chose to extend an invitation to me to share a part of them by sharing the food they had prepared and brought along.

I think it is important to point out that my role as a researcher would not have been known to Sanjeev and Ahmed. Although I had encountered them at the Welcome BBQ and again now, I did not talk to them about my research. I did however know that their caseworker, who often accompanied them to events, was aware of my research. As Darling (2011) experienced in his research with asylum seekers, there were 'inevitably points at which my identity as a researcher slipped from view and I became readily associated with other volunteers' (Darling, 2011, p. 409). While I attempted to be clear about my role and purpose at all times, this was difficult to accomplish across so many different spaces and public events. And despite this crossing my mind while I sat and

ate with Sanjeev and Ahmed, I take lead from Darling who notes that there were different times when stating my position felt uncomfortable, 'points at which breaking out of a conversation to clarify one's position would have undone the affective and emotional work of care in these interactions' (Darling, 2011, p. 409).

This food encounter at the RFP was also significant for me. Their kind offer to sit down and join them for lunch was very welcome. Sharing an intimate moment like this gave me a feeling of being welcomed, it made me feel comfortable and it gave me a sense of belonging – that I was part of this community. It was also nice to feel like I knew people, and perhaps this is how Ahmed and Sanjeev felt as well. There is comfort in seeing a familiar face, connecting with someone whom you may not know well, but who is a familiar to you from other activities. Through this shared experience, we were learning new ways of doing togetherness, and such moments of shared identification 'can play a part in producing positive relations across difference, and indeed, help knit together new intercommunal identities' (Wise, 2011, p. 107). It was a lovely moment for me, and it appeared to me that Sanjeev and Ahmed were pleased to be able to share their food and picnic rug with a familiar face too. While the Refugee Family Picnic was a one-off event, our encounter at that event was clearly based on a familiarity formed by repeated encounters at the Welcome BBQ, signalling again the importance of repeated encounters for building hopeful possibilities in the city.

As I have argued, learning to live together with difference is a shared responsibility. It is not only up to PFRB to adjust to a new society. It is also important that longer-term residents move towards PFRB too. In this moment Sanjeev, Ahmed and I were moving towards one another. They invited me to share a moment with them, and I accepted. My point here is to highlight what care-full encounters mean for other volunteers and people not from refugee backgrounds. This moment gave me a greater sense of belonging to a multicultural Newcastle, the sense of togetherness we shared was as important for me as it was for Sanjeev and Ahmed.

These care-full food encounters at Ladies Fun Club and the Refugee Family Picnic are examples of positive intercultural experiences which nurture feelings of togetherness. The intimate and sensuous moments of the food encounters I have described are

affective, they make people feel connected and spark a sense of togetherness through the shared experience. Moreover, I have considered these encounters through the lens of intersectionality to suggest that for many PFRB food encounters allow them to move beyond performing *being a refugee*. Through preparing and sharing food, they are able to perform other aspects of their personalities, as care givers, as talented cooks, and as active participants in social gatherings. Through these food encounters and practices, people can reveal to others and celebrate some of their strengths and other aspects of themselves. Moreover, by doing everyday and ordinary things with others like eating together, a sense of comfort and a sense of 'we-ness' is established, even if, as Wise (2011) argues, it is only for the duration of the meal.

8.4 Moving with PFRB

In this section, I shift from food and begin to consider intercultural encounters that involve bodies dancing, grooving and moving together. A significant number of the encounters that I participated in involved music, and bodies moving together. I danced, sang, played percussion instruments and did Zumba with women at LFC, I danced to live music performances with people at Africa Day and at the RFP, I listened and moved to music with people at the Walk Together festival, and I sang and danced the moves to 'head, shoulders, knees and toes' during the English class at PH. I now return to LFC to discuss the importance of shared bodily movement as part of encounter.

Ladies Fun Club

> *Today at LFC we moved and grooved!! Kaewa and her friend played ukuleles and the rest of us attempted to follow along with different percussion instruments. We hit drums, clapped hands, struck triangles, clicked castanets and shock maracas. In the beginning, many of us were a bit shy and reluctant to have a go. But we were encouraged by others to get involved, even if we just clapped our hands. As more people joined in, the music got louder, the mood lifted, the smiles grew and the bodies started to move. People jumped up from their seats and starting dancing and moving to the music. Someone had bought along a lovely Egyptian scarf that was covered in bells, it would jingle when it*

> *was moved. We decided that we should pass the scarf from person to person - it was wrapped around waists, draped over shoulders and swung around in the air. People passed the scarf to those who were still sitting down, to encourage them to join in, to get up and move and groove. The room filled with a celebratory feeling, as we bumped bodies, bumped chairs, played and passed instruments, laughed with one another, clapped hands, held hands and we moved and grooved along to the music* (Field Diary 7 June 2014).

We used our bodies to communicate. We responded to one another through movement and we communicated with one another through our bodies. We connected in ways that are not possible through words. Our bodies responded to the music, to other bodies, to the space, to the scarf. We giggled, laughed, and moved together, as our bodies moved around the small space. People encouraged others to move too, sometimes grabbing their hands and gently pulling people from chairs. There was a sense of togetherness.

Such moments are 'spontaneous multisensory encounters' (Lobo, 2016, p. 163) as we connect with one another through fun and playful acts, and gestures of sharing space (Lobo, 2016, p. 168). Through the experience of listening to and making music, dancing and moving together at LFC, the women were performing togetherness in intimate and sensuous ways. As our bodies moved together, as we danced together, we smiled and laughed and we felt connected to one another in those shared moments. As Permezel and Duffy (2007) note in their research about the festival spaces, the bodies of the women at LFC demonstrated that 'movement with and through music' is a resource for individuals and groups to perform identities, and not be confined to prescribed roles. Moving to music at LFC enabled people to perform 'a more authentic form of being together against the taken-for-granted rhythms and routines of everyday life' (R Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 173). We were getting to know each other in different ways, as we learnt new ways of doing togetherness by moving our bodies together.

Another example from LFC was when some of the younger women played pop music from Afghanistan and showed the rest of us how to dance. It was a style of dancing unfamiliar to many of us, with your hands raised above your head, moving your hips

and feet, connecting with someone by looking into their eyes and your body moving in the same direction as their body. Although the dancing was unfamiliar, we impulsively mimicked how they were moving as best we could – smiling and laughing the whole time. Like the Australian students learning Capoeira, these moments represent people doing culture together, as we performed new bodies and cultural identities within and through dancing (Wulfhorst et al., 2014). Moreover, these intimate moments of encounter were not about PFRB adjusting to difference, rather it was me, and other non-Afghani women reinventing ourselves, as we embodied other forms of doing and being through dance.

Lobo (2016) argues that 'playful events of "being with" other bodies and things 'lightens the moral burden of being ethically responsive towards ethnic minority migrants that involves asking them to share their personal stories' (Lobo, 2016, p. 168). An example from her research describes how a group of people decided to start a multicultural seniors group, hoping to give newcomers a space share their stories. However, 'ethnic-minority newcomers' did not want to talk about their problems; they preferred to participate in activities, in this case gardening (Lobo, 2016, p. 169). LFC was similar, in that it was a space of engagement outside of service provision, outside of the Monday to Friday operations of PH. It was a space to have fun and hang out with other women. It was not about discussing resettlement-related issues, immigration issues or even personal journeys. Rather, LFC was established so that the women could have fun. It was a space where people's 'problems' or their 'refugeeness' were not the focus of discussion.

For me, the experience of moving my body and dancing with others brought joy. The atmosphere in the space was uplifting. As I looked around at all of the smiling faces, I felt happy and it opened me up to an opportunity to explore a different part of myself. I moved my body at LFC in ways that I have not done before. My volunteer/researcher/ identity shifted as I became someone else as I danced and shimmied around the room with other women. Despite many of us initially being reluctant to move and get involved, we all did. We were all in it together. We performed individual and shared identities that were significantly different to the identities we performed at PH during the week, when it was operating as usual. LFC facilitated intimate and sensuous

encounters underpinned by an ethic of care, which involved moments of togetherness and shared identities.

What is important about LFC and the embodied encounters also relates to LFC being a gendered space. LFC was a space only for women. The fences in the backyard at PH were covered to ensure that no members of the public walking past could see in. This level of privacy was culturally important to many of the women, and therefore important for what transpired in this space. It was a culturally appropriate and safe space for women to take off their headscarves, for women to move their bodies, to dance, to shimmy and experiment with new activities and identities. Other than perhaps in their own homes, or the homes of friends, these types of spaces are not often available for women from refugee backgrounds in Newcastle

Another important aspect to the encounters at LFC was that they are repeated encounters. Each month we come together for LFC and each time we become more familiar with each other, we become more comfortable with living with difference. Although it is not always the same women present at LFC, over the weeks friendships do form, people do become more comfortable with one another. I know I definitely did. The repetitiveness gave people a sense of familiarity and comfort that made it easier to be open to the Other, to perform different aspects of our personalities and put ourselves out there, and be more open to Others.

At LFC we did a number of Zumba activities, not full classes, but one of the women was an instructor, so she would take us through two routines. And it was on the third time that Zumba was held at LFC that I saw a woman who had been present at the other two times occasions, get up and join in. I did not ask her why she decided to join the Zumba class that day and not before. Perhaps she was more comfortable, perhaps she now had more trust in the people around her, or perhaps she had watched how the rest of us interacted and had fun and now she felt comfortable enough to join in. I do not know the reason why, but I do know that she smiled and moved her way through these two routines in a fun and joyful way.

If these encounter stories of movement at Ladies Fun Club were analysed through an encounter framework focused on scaling up, then so much would be missed. It would

take away the embodied nature of this experience. Certainly, these moments may not have any immediate or obvious implications for wider relations in the city, but they were meaningful moments because women from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds took the opportunity to be something else, to do something different, to perform other parts of their personalities. It was a moment of joy, of happiness, as the women opened themselves up to different Others and new ways of being. Moreover, this moment highlights the importance of finding appropriate ways for women from refugee backgrounds to belong through culturally appropriate encounters in safe spaces.

Another two spaces of encounter that enabled bodies to move and groove together were the RFP and Africa day. Below is a short vignette from each event from my Field Diary. This is followed by further analysis of these types of moments.

Refugee Family Picnic

> *From where I was sitting I heard music. It hadn't been playing before. I looked over and a crowd had gathered over near the P.A. system. There was a young women singing and music blaring from the speakers. I was not the only one attracted to the music as a number of people started heading over to the music. As I approached I saw people starting to dance, by the time I reached the crowd, most people were dancing or at least moving their bodies from side to side to the music. The music and the movement attracted more and more people to the area. People that had not yet encountered each other started dancing together, the middle aged Anglo-Australian woman holding hands and dancing with a young Afghan girl, teenagers from all backgrounds dancing and laughing together trying to get some of the older people in the crowd to join in, the elderly Afghan man smiling as he watched his grand-daughter have fun – the joyful feeling was infectious and spread throughout the crowd. Significantly – this was the only time during the whole day that I saw nearly every group represented (young, old, Afghan, African, Australian, male, female, children, teenagers). It was the only activity on the day where this coming together of everyone occurred* (Field Diary 15 June 2014).

Africa Day

> *There was such an amazing vibe at Africa Day today. When I first arrived it felt similar to any other school fete type event, with a small number of food, clothes and gift stalls. Parents were talking amongst each other, children running around and playing. There was a sound system and microphone set up at the end of the half size basketball court, and heaps of chairs placed around the court. It was when the performances started the place started jumping. The music came on and was first accompanied by a young women singing, then there were a female dance group that performed a routine (all the girls from different backgrounds), there was an interactive Capoeira display that had the crowd laughing. Once the music and performances began the atmosphere shifted. The crowd became more excited and happy. People got up off their chairs and started dancing along to the music. I joined in. People who did not know each other came together on the basketball court to dance together, move together, and enjoy the moment together. I watched as the people were pulled towards the music and the movement. If they were not dancing, they were standing on the sidelines swinging their hips, or sitting on chairs close by clapping their hands. What a great time!!!* (Field Diary 25 June 2014)

The encounters at RFP and AD were less intimate than those in the semi-private space of LFC, because they occurred in public spaces. However, the fleshy and fun encounters that occurred at the public event spaces were no less important. As both stories demonstrate, people were moving, dancing, and having fun together. Different people came together in the moment. They were open to one another, identifying with one another, and there was a sense of joy, fun and togetherness.

Embodied knowledge derived from these moments of togetherness is important. Although fleeting, these experiences were affective, joyful moments of togetherness as people from refugee and non-refugee backgrounds were doing togetherness through music and movement. Bodies touch, eyes connect, friendly gestures are made, faces smile, people laugh, and people relax as they enjoy the moment – the moments are meaningful.

By being present in these encounters, by being in the moment myself, dancing, laughing and smiling with Others, I can see these moments are joyful moments of togetherness; I can feel these moments are meaningful and transformative. I felt the sense of togetherness, I sensed the positive energy emanating from the crowd as we moved and grooved together. I could only have these insights about the actual mechanics of doing togetherness by immersing myself and my body in these moments of encounter.

Some encounter research tends to dismiss the role of one-off events such as JFP and Africa Day. It suggests that for encounters to offer transformative change, they need to become routinised and the new norm (Askin and Pain 2011- 818). I am not denying that sustained and repeated encounters are transformative; they do enable people to build relationships of trust and respect, as I discussed in this chapter in relation to SFC and LFC. We know that building friendships and connections with people involves 'creating common experiences, which take time, and require space and effort by both parties' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 729). However, it is not helpful to dismiss more fleeting encounters entirely. They are affective, they are transformative and they are examples of people doing togetherness successfully. After being a part of these events, after sharing these moments with others, I would tend to follow Askins and Pain who argue that 'one-off events are not without potential' (K. Askins & Pain, 2011). As Wise (2005) has also argue, fleeting but convivial moments represent micro-moments of hope. Lobo (2010) notes that fleeting convivial experiences 'satisfy curiosity, create surprise and provide feelings of security and comfort' (Lobo, 2010, p. 93). Similarly, I argue that care-full fleeting moments of encounter are full of potential and the possibility for a different way of doing Australia in an extremely intolerant time. Moreover, while one-off events such as the Refugee Family Picnic and Africa Day attract people who have attended other repeated encounters of caring with refugees (like Sanjeev and Ahmed), they also attracted people who were unable or unwilling to commit to repeated encounters, thus broadening the hopeful possibilities of care-full encounters.

8.5 Repeated and fleeting encounters

The repeated encounters that I have described in this chapter were transformative because they enabled people to get to know one another more intimately. They also led to friendships that went beyond the space of the encounter. For example, at LFC women exchanged phone numbers and Facebook details and made arrangements to meet up for coffee, or to communicate outside of LFC. As I argued in Chapter 3, by placing less emphasis on reducing general prejudice towards a particular group and making more visible something that was sparked or created within the encounter (like friendships between women) a more hopeful story is revealed.

However, it is not only the repetitiveness of encounters that made these encounters transformative or valuable; their meaning also relates to their fleshiness. The intimate encounters that I described as people ate, moved and played together involve close bodily contact, a 'sensory mingling's with other bodies' (Price, 2012, p. 581) through which different bodies emerge. People were doing togetherness through their bodies – as they came together without words being necessary. And I argue that these types of fleshy encounters, where people embodied a different disposition, even if only for fleeting moments, have transformative potential. For example, many of the encounters at the RFP were fleeting, as people played games with different Others at this one-off event, and the fleetingness of these moments, as bodies come together in fleshy and fun ways, did not make these moments any less valuable than if they were repeated – they were just different. Whether encounters are fleeting, random, repeated, convivial or engineered, when people come together in convivial or care-full ways, when bodies perform fleshy and fun moments of togetherness, we get a glimpse of how living together with difference can happen.

The literature suggests that repeated encounters are valuable because they make encountering difference normal, and this chapter has demonstrated how repeated encounters offer PFRB a sense of familiarity and comfort which nurtures belonging and hope. They provide people with places to go where they can capture those feelings again and again, like Ahmed returning to the Welcome BBQ, or SFC players having a space to hang out and have fun, or the women coming back to LFC each month.

However, this chapter has also offered new insights into why *all* encounters are important, whether they are fleeting, one-off, engineered, sustained or repeated encounters. By paying attention to the embodied, fleshy, sensuous and intimate moments that constitute care-full intercultural encounters, playful moments of togetherness, of joy, hope and a shared sense of togetherness are illuminated. Encounters are not always about making it okay for people like Mawa to walk into a pub, or ensuring that Jerome does not find 'trouble' as he goes about his day. Rather, encounters are important in and of themselves because for those moments (whether fleeting or repeated) people take on a different embodied disposition. When Ahmed plays cricket, what he takes into himself as a part of that encounter is valuable, in and of itself, in that moment he has an escape, he has a safe and fun space to be. And yes, because the barbecue is repeated, Ahmed can find that escape more easily, but even if that moment only lasts for the duration of one cricket game and one Welcome BBQ, that too is valuable, in and of itself.

8.6 Conclusion: Fleshy, fun and meaningful encounters

This chapter has argued that care-full, fleshy and fun encounters that involve bodies playing, eating and moving together represent 'spontaneous multisensory encounters' that see bodies drawn into the 'eventfulness of the world' (Lobo, 2016, p. 163). Fleshy and fun encounters enable people to do togetherness in playful and spontaneous ways. Encounters are not just two people coming together, they are two bodies coming together. It is not just about the spoken word and what happens; it is about our senses. Touching, tasting, moving, dancing, playing – and it is about the way that these fun (playful) interactions have an affective component which exceeds the moment, but not in terms of scaling up.

In all of the examples, I have highlighted the ways that people 'connect with others through playful acts and gestures of sharing space' (Lobo, 2016, p. 168) rather than words. Stories of fleshy and fun encounters demonstrate the spontaneity of doing togetherness, and the importance of not trying to predict the wider outcomes of encounters that are essentially unpredictable moments. Even if the fun, or a sense of 'we-ness' is only for the duration of the encounter, it is still important for the people

experiencing these moments – the joy, care and love; the delight and wonder; the 'becoming with others' all matter.

This thesis has argued that exploring experiences of care is as important as investigating injustice or negligence. Therefore, I deliberately focussed on the hopeful. However, a critical exploration of care and hope requires contrast, or an account of the less hopeful. While it was my overall aim to bring a more hopeful disposition to research about the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations, I do not want to discount problematic performances and spaces of care – because they do exist. The challenges that PFRB face when trying to re-create a new social world can be significant. Moreover, the care practices engaged by some individuals and organisations can be problematic. Subsequently, I have included some narratives of hopelessness, but not so that we despair, rather, these are included to highlight the importance of continuing to perform more hopeful, care-full and just worlds.

When we pay attention to our bodies, how we move together, eat together, share and play together we capture the potential for transformative moments of togetherness. A care-full embodied approach to encounter research has enabled me to provide examples of hope residing in the city, as I reveal new caring and hopeful ways of doing togetherness with difference.

Chapter 9 Conclusion: hopeful developments

9.1 Introduction

An exploration of caring organisations and caring people has allowed this thesis to tell a more hope-full story about the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations. By bringing together literatures on care, spaces of care and encounter, I have highlighted that care and hope do exist, despite exclusionary government policies and xenophobic attitudes. In doing so, I address the overall aim of this research and bring a more hopeful disposition to research on people from refugee backgrounds.

While it has been argued that Australia has some of the best government-funded settlement services in the world for people from refugee backgrounds, it has also been suggested that such services alone are not able to provide the kind of support that people who have been uprooted from their homes need to 're-create a new social world' (P Westoby, 2009, p. 2). Therefore, additional engagement opportunities are needed. This thesis has explored these types of additional engagement opportunities through an exploration of caring organisations and caring people, to reveal that people from refugee backgrounds and people already living in 'host' nations need (and want) additional engagement opportunities to assist in developing a sense of belonging to the ever changing and increasingly diverse societies they find themselves in. I have demonstrated that it is through caring organisations like Northern Settlement Services, Penola House, Welcome to Australia and the Hunter African Communities Council, and the people associated with each organisation, that engagement opportunities exist which enable people from refugee backgrounds and host populations to move towards one another in care-full ways. In doing so, they are able to develop connections across shared identities and build a sense of belonging and hope together.

This thesis has argued that exploring experiences of care is as important as investigating injustice or negligence. Therefore, I deliberately focussed on the hopeful. However, a critical exploration of care and hope requires contrast, or an account of the

less hopeful. While it was my overall aim to bring a more hopeful disposition to research about the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations, I do not want to discount problematic performances and spaces of care – because they do exist. The challenges that PFRB face when trying to re-create a new social world can be significant. Moreover, the care practices engaged by some individuals and organisations can be problematic. Subsequently, I have included some narratives of hopelessness, but not so that we despair, rather, these are included to highlight the importance of continuing to perform more hopeful, care-full and just worlds.

I conclude this thesis by outlining the key contributions of the thesis. I then provide a brief update about some of the changes that have taken place across the landscape of refugee care in Newcastle since I concluded my fieldwork. In doing so, I highlight the fluidity and ever-changing nature of refugee care and emphasise the important role that caring organisations, caring people and care-full research approaches play in a world primarily attuned to exclusionary practices that undermine people's capacity to care for people from refugee backgrounds. I discuss directions for future research and then the conclusion turns its attention to hopeful developments by providing examples of care, spaces of care and care-full encounters in other parts of Australia and in other Western nations, in describing these examples, I aim to highlight the potential for the wider application of my research approach.

9.2 Key contributions

9.2.1 Key contributions: care

In addressing Aim 1 of the thesis, I reveal that the case study caring organisations of this thesis make different types of care performances possible. For example, as Chapter 6 detailed, volunteers can make home visits and friends through Northern Settlement Services. At Penola House people receive love, support and safe, culturally appropriate spaces to hang out. Welcome to Australia brings care into public spaces and enables people to give and receive care through ordinary and everyday activities. Through a strengths based approach the Hunter African Communities Council care with people through a celebration of African culture. Significantly, none of these caring

performances is an example of mainstream populations caring *for* people from refugee backgrounds. Rather, each organisation, in different ways, creates opportunities for the practice of *caring with* people from refugee backgrounds. *Caring with* relies on communication, dialogue, mutuality and expressions of solidarity, where care is an exchange between people who develop respect and trust with one another. By providing spaces and activities for the practice of *caring with* to flourish, caring organisations empower people from refugee backgrounds to move beyond their refugeeness, and in doing so they recognise that people who are in a position where they need care are not powerless or weak. Rather, they are active participants in the process of care. This is the first time that the practice of *caring with* has been discussed in the refugee literature. Introducing an understanding of *caring with* to the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds highlights the relationality and mutuality imbued in the grounded embodied performance of care, and recognises that people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals in Western nations co-create care relations, spaces of care and care-full encounters.

Through an understanding of care as something people do *with* one another, I have argued that dialogue and communication are important. Drawing on the *practice of an ethic of care*, this thesis has documented examples of attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness, trust and respect as a way of highlighting the ongoing process of care as something that is relational and contextual and which changes across different spaces and relationships. Care does not require a predetermined set of responses; on the contrary, care requires people to be reflexive, to be aware, to listen to people, and to acknowledge that the person receiving care is often in the best position to know what they need. Providing reflexive care can be difficult within an organisational context, particularly if organisations and/or people make assumptions about the types of care they think people need. However, this thesis has demonstrated that organisations and people can perform care reflexively, and that in doing so they are able to *care with* a person, rather than *for* a 'refugee' subject. For example, when Nadir called upon some of the volunteers at Penola House to hem his jeans so that he could go on a date, he was not turned away because such a service did not fit in with a predetermined view about the type of care that Nadir should need as an asylum

seeker. Rather, he was embraced as a young guy with a social life by people willing to care for him, in whatever way he needed. They demonstrated the capacity to adjust the care they provided to suit Nadir's individual needs. They were willing to be reflexive, which is important for people like Nadir because it shows him that people in Australia see *who else* he is beyond his asylum seekers status.

Caring organisations established to care for people from refugee backgrounds also provide the opportunity for people to perform care through welcoming and teaching. I have revealed that welcoming and teaching are important because they are performances of care that both people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals can practice. Welcoming and teaching as performances of care have not been recognised in academic enquires into the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds. Therefore, this thesis has offered new insights into the importance of welcoming and teaching as ways of challenging dominant representations of PFRB as passive subjects. In the case study organisations explored in this thesis, welcoming and teaching enabled PFRB to become active caregivers as they welcomed people into their lives and communities and taught people things about themselves and their cultures.

This thesis has also offered new insights into care roles. The existing care literature makes clear that at different times in our lives we all take on the role of care giver or care receiver. And while most of us will not spend our lives completely dependent on others, we certainly pass through times of dependency, and varying degrees of vulnerability. Care ethics understands this as an important part of our lives, as caring and being cared for sustains our lives. I agree that giving and receiving care is an important part of ensuring individual and collective well-being, and that care roles are fluid across space and time. On the other hand Askins, who is the only academic who looks specifically at care and the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds, argues that there are times when the role of care giver is *reversed*. For example, Askins describes situations when refugees become hosts by caring for the volunteer in their home. Although I agree to a certain extent with Askins' view, there was more happening within the care relations I explored than a simple shift from care receiver to care giver. People actually become caregivers and care receivers *in the same moment.*

For example, when Jenny visits Malika in her home as an NSS volunteer, Malika receives care from Jenny, but at the same time, *in the same moment* she is caring for and welcoming Jenny into her home. Also, when Tracey volunteers her time to teach English at PH, she is providing care to the women who attend her class, but during those classes the students care for Tracey – they bring her gifts, make her cups of tea and they talk to her about her life, showing concern for Tracey's well-being – they move towards Tracey is proactive and care-full ways. The care literature has yet to appreciate moments like these, where people embody both subject positions at once, and therefore the possibility of giving and receiving care *in the same moment* is an important contribution that this thesis makes to the care and refugee literatures. It is of particular importance to people from refugee backgrounds (and other marginalised or vulnerable people) that at same time that they are receiving care, their ability and willingness to care for and support others is recognised and valued. Therefore, they are able to become more than their refugeeness, more than their vulnerability. This insight undermines problematic representations of passive refugee subjects (or passive care receivers) to provide a more nuanced understanding of what it can mean to receive and give care. In doing so, it offers a more hopeful and relational account of care and caring.

9.2.2 Key contributions: spaces of care

My research, like previous research about spaces of care, reveals that geographically fixed drop-in spaces and transitory spaces of care are performed into being through socio-spatial dimensions, and have transformative benefits for those who access or pass through these spaces. In addition, I have extended the concept of spaces of care to include public spaces when they are used to demonstrate in support of marginalised people.

Moreover, my research reveals that care performances evoked by the presence of PFRB in Newcastle are not only performing spaces of care into being, they simultaneously create spaces of belonging, home and hope at multiple scales. For example, the home-like space and home-making practices at PH nurtured feelings of belonging for people towards the safe and culturally appropriate spaces at PH as well

as towards their own new homes in Australia. The Welcome BBQ transformed a suburban park into a space of care, belonging, home and hope for PFRB and other individuals learning to adjust to an increase in diversity. Moreover, the use of public space to demonstrate support for PFRB through WT constituted a public, local and national space of care for people from refugee backgrounds.

My exploration of a drop-in space, a suburban park and a public space illuminate that care practices evoked by the presence of PFRB in Newcastle perform multi-scale spaces of belonging, home and hope in Australia, with each scale being as important as the others. Importantly, it became clear that the informality of these spaces (including informal spaces in PH) and the absence of formal service provision in these spaces provided people with safe, comfortable and fun places to be in Newcastle. PFRB attended these spaces because they wanted to, not because they needed a material or formal service. Therefore these spaces enabled people to perform something other than being a refugee. Their refugeeness was not the focus in these spaces. Rather, in these informal spaces people connected across shared and intersecting identities as parents, young people, families, footballers, cricket players and people who lived nearby one another.

9.2.3 Key contributions: encounter

This thesis has recognised that *caring with* people from refugee backgrounds involves fostering the means of *living with difference.* Through the lens of encounter, this thesis has explored how people *do* togetherness, because how we *do* togetherness is bound up in how people care. Care is an embodied practice; it is performed on the ground by people, by bodies moving towards one another in order to facilitate or promote well-being. Understanding care as performed through embodied encounters has enabled an enhanced understanding of care, because it recognises that care is more than a just a feeling; it is an affective orientation towards someone that finds expression as a material practice.

The encounter literature, which until now has not considered 'refugee' encounters, needs to move beyond the notion of scaling up, shifting the focus away from what is to be reduced in the encounter (prejudice) towards an interest in what is sparked within

moments of encounter. In this spirit, I focused on encounters between PFRB and other people open to difference. This revealed the complexities of living together with difference in ways that a traditional approach which focuses on encounters between seemingly prejudiced 'host' populations and different minority groups cannot.

This thesis has taken the geographic encounter literature down an embodied and sensuous path by drawing on care-full, fleshy and fun encounters. Encounters are essentially unpredictable moments, in which two bodies come together, and when encounters are valued for something beyond the moments in which they occur, it takes away from people's embodied experiences, and it essentially judges the scale of the body as less valuable than other scales. I found value and meaning in fleshy moments of encounter in which different bodies came together in fun and playful ways. For example, when Ahmed played cricket with people at the Welcome BBQ, this encounter was unlikely to have wider implications for relations in the city, but it was meaningful for him. It was an opportunity to have fun, to live in the moment and to share an experience with other people. It provided Ahmed with the opportunity to do something he loved to do in a safe and culturally appropriate setting, with different others. It demonstrated how living together with difference can be done through playful encounters with different others in suburban public spaces – and even if the sense of togetherness, that shared fun experience, is only for those moments during the cricket game, it is still important, it still matters to Ahmed. And what matters to PFRB is important in creating more care-full and hopeful cities.

This thesis is underpinned by care. It recognises the importance of care and caring in all of our lives, but it was through an understanding of care as performed through embodied encounters that I began think about the importance of *coming to our senses.* The sensuous, intimate and fleshy moments of encounter, when two bodies came together through care became an important part of this thesis. The small acts of kindness, slight gestures of care, eyes connecting, a hand on someone's shoulder, a smile, are all things that are often missed or dismissed as unimportant in encounter research that is focused on scaling-up. Therefore, to explore the capacity to live together with difference through care-full embodied encounters, it is important to pay attention to the body and the fleshiness of moments of encounter. In doing so, we

become aware of the informal interactions and gestures that are often not valued in encounter research. Moreover, a focus on fun and playful activities has highlighted the activity-ness of encounters and how the physicality of these moments becomes a crucial part of doing togetherness, and *caring with* others. The spontaneity of fun and playful activities enabled moments and connections that were less likely to occur through more formal interventions or through situations that rely on verbal communication and conscious thought. As Lobo (2016) argues, because play 'escapes focused attention' it has the potential to contribute to ways of living together with difference that go beyond intentionality. By bringing care into the encounter equation, and valuing the scale of two bodies coming together, I reveal fleshy and fun moments of encounter full of potential and the possibilities for a new way of doing multicultural Australia.

Moreover, thinking about the experiences of PFRB through the lens of encounter is not just a way to create more hopeful accounts for PFRB. What this thesis reveals is that care-full encounters and the possibilities they provide are important for other people as well. They are important for those attending protest rallies or marches and Welcome BBQs and for those volunteering with caring organisations. Previous accounts of the experiences of PFRB based on integration do not capture this because they are focused on what PFRB need to do. Accounts based only on the very real problems of marginalisation of PFRB can have a tendency to leave people despondent, but the accounts in this thesis open up possibilities about how those who care about PFRB can *do* care. A care-full account provides stories which show that despite how difficult things are, people can and do care with PFRB, and this matters.

9.2.4 Key contributions: intersectionality

As Chapter 4 noted, literatures on refugees do not deal with the intersecting identities of PFRB, or the people who care with them. Intersectionality has also been relatively absent from the care literature. For example, the literature tends to view the refugee subject, or the care receiver, as a fixed subject in terms of their care needs, and this can perpetuate the idea that people have a fixed identity as eternally vulnerable and dependent. In order to move people beyond a fixed and passive subject position, this

thesis has introduced intersectionality as a way to overcome some of the determinism of ways of thinking about refugee identities. In doing so, I have been able to draw attention to *who else* refugees are. In saying that, it is important to understand that in some circumstances, for various reasons, people to do choose to perform, or are forced by circumstances to perform, a refugee identity, but it is crucial to also understand that this is not their only identity.

An intersectional approach is not only valuable for researchers exploring the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds in Western nations, it is also a useful framework for caring organisations and caring people who support PFRB. For example, if organisations and people can look beyond a person's refugeeness, they empower PFRB to be more than a refugee subject. For example, the women at Ladies Fun Club are able to show off their strengths as cooks, they are able to connect with other women in that space, not as refugees but as people who want to make friends and have a good time. The young men playing for SFC are empowered through the opportunity to show off their skills as football players. Being a part of SFC provides them the chance to do what so many other young Australians do on the weekend – play sport with their friends. They make connections with other players through a shared love of football, not because many of them share the same immigration status. By providing these types of engagement opportunities, caring organisations empower PFRB to perform identities that enable them to connect with others as someone other than a refugee. Introducing intersectionality to this discussion has offered new insights into how PFRB and other individuals make connections through shared identifications as women, mothers, daughters, friends, teachers, football players, cooks, dancers, singers and neighbours. In doing so, it highlights the strengths and talents of PFRB, as opposed to their needs. It highlights their willingness to move towards others in the host community, and it enables the host community to see *who else* PFRB are.

9.2.5 Key contributions: research practice

By adopting a performative approach, this research was able to bring more caring worlds into being through research practice. Adopting a performative approach involved thinking through my role as a researcher in performing worlds, and making

decisions about the types of worlds I want to encourage and nurture (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 2008). This involved taking *care* seriously, making care and care performances more visible and participating in care-full research practice.

I initially drew on other researchers who have explored spaces of care and encounter. Within this body of work, researchers have explored various spaces of care through participant observation, interviews and researcher volunteering. However, in terms of research practice, they tended to focus only on one or two space of care or encounter. For example, Darling (2011) explored the Talking Shop which was essentially two drop-in spaces that operated for two hours and three hours per week; Conradson (2003c) explored one space of care, Bexton House, over a four-month period. My approach was different, as I immersed myself in a number of spaces and encounters across the landscape of refugee care in Newcastle – providing examples of how care is performed across multiple spaces and relationships, through various organisations and activities. Moreover, I have taken a much more embodied approach than most encounter researchers. For example, Valentine's (2008) encounter research draws on interviews, as do Andersson et al. (2012). However, because I became interested in care as performed through embodied encounters, I found that *coming to my senses* was important, and an appropriate way to explore the embodied nature of care-full encounters. I walked, danced, baked, ate, grooved and moved my way through the research sites as I participated in fleshy and fun activities with research participants. This approach of using my body as a research tool across a variety of research sites and relationships has offered insights that a less embodied methodological approach would not have been able to provide.

The motivation for undertaking this research project can be ascribed to a commitment to social and personal change. While planning the research, it was important for me to incorporate fieldwork in which I would be able to engage and assist PFRB in some kind of practical way. Of course, my research interest also included talking to people who were already involved in care activities. I chose methods that meant I could become involved with caring organisations and the caring people within them. From initial meetings, it was important for me to start to build relationships with people within the organisations and the spaces and activities that they facilitated. On the one hand, this

was not difficult to do because I was welcomed with care wherever I went. On the other hand, this was personally an emotional and difficult task, and this related to my position as an 'inexperienced' researcher.

Throughout my undergraduate degree and honours research I had become increasingly interested (and concerned) about refugee 'issues'. Aware that the refugee 'issue' is a global problem with Australia playing such a small role, my interest began to narrow: I became interested in how PFRB were treated once they arrived in Australia. Until my PhD research, how I manifested this concern academically was through choosing this area as a topic for undergraduate essays and then for my Honours research (see Curtis & Mee, 2012). I also engaged in bringing refugee 'issues' to the attention of people in my social world – those physically around me, and people in my social media world. I signed loads of online petitions opposing Australia's mandatory detention regime and I wrote letters to politicians. When I started tutoring at the University of Newcastle, I often used refugee 'issues' as examples when discussing theories, world views or social issues to undergraduate students. I also attended Refugee Week events and multicultural celebrations. But until my PhD fieldwork started, I had never volunteered or worked in any capacity with a refugee support organisations. I had never (knowingly) met a refugee or asylum seeker in my local community. This caused me a significant amount of distress and guilt when I began this research process.

I became involved with refugee support organisations as a 'researcher', and this was emotionally challenging for me. Being surrounded by people who have been volunteering or working with people from refugee backgrounds for many years, sometimes decades, at times gave me an overwhelming feeling of guilt. Despite having good intentions, in the beginning of my fieldwork I felt like I was an outsider, who was taking from the refugees and volunteers and giving nothing in return. The organisations were opening their doors for me, and people were opening their hearts and homes to me; everyone was extremely kind to me and caring towards me, and all that I felt that I was doing in return was gathering 'data' – and this didn't feel good. Thankfully this changed. And there were a number of reasons for this.

First, I started participating in activities that I thought were more useful or practical (particularly the English language class) as opposed to the behind-the-scenes jobs I'd been doing. I became a 'care-giver' and for me, this shifted my identity away from only being researcher (who takes) – I became a volunteer (who gives). Prior to that, especially at PH, I was participating in activities that did not see me have much contact with refugees. I was involved in activities that I didn't, at the time, think were as important as activities which involved direct contact with refugees. I am now aware that every activity related to the running of these organisations is useful and an act of care.

Second, things changed when I started to understand that the people that I was interviewing appreciated and really cherished the opportunity to tell their stories. During these times I became a care giver as I listened to people's stories, showed empathy towards individuals and praised people for the work that they did, or for their strength, resilience and talents. The interviews I conducted came to be about so much more than the words spoken, recorded, transcribed, analysed and used in the preceding empirical chapters. The interviews were care-full encounters between myself and research participants. Within these moments I embodied an ethic of care as I listened to people's stories, laughed with people, cried with people, expressed frustration with people, handed people tissues, touched peoples shoulders, looked them in the eye. I came to think about these research encounters, like many of the other encounters I explored, as a relational process, as caregiving and care receiving *in the same moment.* The participants cared enough about me to share with me their thoughts, feelings and lives; they cared enough about me and my research to take the time to answer my questions, but *in the same moment*, I was also caring for them, listening to them, moving towards them.

Third, spending time and building relationships with people inevitably had implications for how I viewed myself within different spaces and organisations. I became a part of Penola House, I became a volunteer (rather than a merely researcher) and at the Welcome BBQs I became a regular participant, like many others. And across the other spaces of refugee care in Newcastle, I became a regular participant, I started to

develop a sense of security and comfort (belonging) to the refugee support community in Newcastle – and after some time, I no longer felt like an outsider.

Fourth, I began to recognise myself as a recipient of care – and not just in terms of receiving care from volunteers and PFRB, but more generally too. My experience during the year-long journey of fieldwork was transformative. Through the process of performing care I was becoming a different person. My PhD journey was life changing. Not only was I was performing more caring worlds into being through my research practice, I was developing, learning, changing and growing as a person. I became acutely more aware of how caring for others was inextricably linked with personal growth and feelings of being cared for. This personal journey opened me up to the possibilities of care in real and personal ways. Which in turn led me to be able to think more critically about what was happening around me across the different research sites. My embodied and emotional experience opened up possibilities for me about how to think about, talk about, observe, record, analyse and *do* care performances.

The care-full approach that underpins this thesis demands a situated perspective and attentiveness to my positionality with the landscape of refugee care in Newcastle. Research is always performative and attention to positionality and the role of the researchers body is crucial in shaping how research is practiced and presented, and the performative role that research plays in bringing more caring and hopeful worlds into being. Through my ethnographic fieldwork I was able to draw on my embodied positionality as a key source of knowledge production, and as a way of problematizing the often fixed categories of care giver and care receiver. It is through reflexivity as a researcher that I was able to reflect on my position of privilege, as well as my situated positionality within care relations and encounters.

Performing caring encounters and spaces through research practice, immersing myself in spaces of care and encounter, and using my body as a research tool provided rich insights into care and caring that would not have been possible with a less care-full or disembodied approach. Moreover, performing caring encounters and spaces through research practice shaped the research, because it shaped me as a researcher, a

woman, care giver, care receiver, volunteer, a friend and as an Australian, in ways that would not have been possible had I chosen a different approach.

9.3 Newcastle Update

I have included a Newcastle update section because it is important to understand the fluidity and ever-changing landscape of refugee care. As this thesis has discussed, many organisations that provide support to vulnerable or marginalised people are volunteer-based organisations. Certainly, some have government funding like NSS, or support from other entities like the support PH receives from the Catholic Diocese, but organisations like HACC and W2A are entirely run by volunteers and funding comes from small grants or fundraising (NSS and PH also rely heavily on the support of volunteers). Either way, *caring organisations* that have a large number of volunteers and limited funding are vulnerable to change. In terms of RSOs, funding might be reduced if less people are being resettled in an area. Volunteers may move away or decide to stop volunteering for various reasons. Other caring organisations may come into play that suit volunteers or PFRB better. A lack of fundraising or an unsuccessful grant application may reduce the types of things an RSO can provide. In short, there are several reasons why RSOs are vulnerable to change – and the RSOs that have been explored in this thesis are no exception. In saying that, I wanted to include this section because despite some of the changes that have taken place in the landscape of refugee care in Newcastle, the important role that care and caring performances play in the lives of people from refugee backgrounds and the wider community has not diminished. Moreover, what I have found is that many of the research participants find ways to express care and receive care through material practice despite the shifting organisational landscape of care.

Penola House

The most noteworthy change has been the demise of Penola House. In April 2015, the Maitland-Newcastle Catholic Diocese released a statement saying that Penola House would now come under the auspices of its mission and outreach agency Catholic Care (Gregory, 2015). Penola House was renamed Catholic Care Refugee Service, and is now completely managed and run by the Diocese. Moreover, Sister Di and Sister Betty were

unceremoniously relieved of their duties. The local media reported that a Diocese spokesperson declined to comment about why the sisters would not be working with the organisation under its new structure (Gregory, 2015). The news was a shock to many people in Newcastle, as witnessed through people expressing their thoughts, concerns and support for the sisters through online comments sections following online news media reports. For example, the following comments were posted in response to an article published in the Newcastle Herald 'Refugee support service Penola House loses sisters' (Gregory, 2015).

> Sister Betty and Sister Diana are amazing people who have given their time and energy to help refugees for years and this is how they're treated? It's going to be very difficult to find anyone who can match their efforts.
>
> Sister Dianna and Sister Betty are the best thing that happened to the refugee community of Newcastle. They have worked tirelessly and often without support and even with opposition from the refugee support agencies. I hope this is not another case of these fabulous ladies being pushed to the side because they deserve so much better.
>
> The whole guts of the story is these lovely ladies being thrown out by the Catholic bullies.
>
> Penola House was established long before it moved to Mayfield. Sister Betty & Sister Di have done an amazing job with very little financial backing. I sincerely hope that their vision and ethics are maintained in the new structure.

As Chapter 6 explored, during my time at Penola House there were certainly changes starting to happen. The Diocese was implementing new rules and new systems, and attempting to change the ethos of *whatever presents itself* care. As the demise of PH occurred after I had completed my fieldwork, the only statement from the Diocese I have access to is an official public statement that thanked Sister Di and Sister Betty for their 'tireless contribution' and which noted that the sisters 'will no longer be involved in the co-ordinating and administrative functions of Catholic Care Refugee Service …

We thank them for their selfless work and generosity and we are sure their interest in the wellbeing of refugees will continue' (Gregory, 2015).

However, perhaps the following words from Sister Betty, sent to people associated with Penola House, can tell us more. She said:

> *By now you will know that Sister Diana and I are not involved in the Penola House ministry at Mayfield … We thank all of you who supported the Penola House ministry by your presence, your commitment of time and talent. We truly appreciate your willingness to 'do what it takes' and we hope that your participation has been rewarding for you. Particularly I thank the management team for their efforts over the years – for love, friendships, patience and commitment beyond the call of duty. I have been honoured to know your goodness and to work with you. I regret that my best was not good enough for the diocese system and that our dismissal ends a ten year partnership that evidences the dichotomy between the preaching and practice of love* (Sister Betty email correspondence)

Sister Betty articulates her views on what went wrong, and for her, it relates to the *dichotomy between the preaching and practice of love.* Extending this argument to care thinking, as I noted in Chapter 6, there was certainly a dichotomy between the Diocese's '*emotionally distant*' (PH Employee #3) approach to care, which was viewed as necessary to ensure '*intellectual dialogue about what care might look like'* (PH Employee #3) and the sisters' approach to care that was described as '*welcoming love, support and mutual acceptance' (Sandy, 2016).* How Sister Betty and Sister Di loved and cared for people from refugee backgrounds appeared not to be the type of care that the Diocese could endorse. There is of course much that could be said about the professionalisation of volunteer organisations, which the literature has said can change organisational spaces and dynamics, values and philosophies. There are also things that could be said about proselytising, or the type of care that Catholic Care Refugee Services may be advocating for with this change. However, as I continue to search for care and hope, I am more interested in hopeful developments, and when we are

talking about Sister Di and Sister Betty, you can be assured there have been hopeful developments, since they had to walk away from Penola House.

While the Catholic Care Refugee Service continues to offer service to refugees and some of the Penola House volunteers and PFRB have remained in this space, other volunteers and PFRB have moved along with the sisters. Unsurprisingly, a setback like this has not stopped Sister Di and Sister Betty, or slowed them down, and together with other volunteers and people from refugee backgrounds they quickly started a new organisation called Refugees and Partners. The following quotation from the Refugees and Partners website talks about how the demise of Penola House, and the change to Catholic Care Refugee Services affected people from refugee backgrounds.

> The subsequent change in direction of that organization – its vision, structure and goals, meant that many projects planned to meet emerging needs of refugees were delayed or abandoned. This caused great disappointment to local refugees who were not consulted about changes which affected their lives. They felt angry and disempowered. They suggested the formation of an organisation that was more inclusive of refugees and other members of the community, less structured and controlled than required by institutional formalities (Refugees & Partners, 2016).

This quotation highlights a number of things. First, it points to the need for dialogue and communication with PFRB, and it also demonstrates the benefits of inclusive and informal spaces of care. The vision for the new Refugee and Partners organisation is quoted below:

> Refugees and Partners, Newcastle is a welcoming and inclusive not-for-profit organisation which facilitates social interaction, communication and cultural exchange between refugees and the people in the Hunter region. Our members address issues affecting relationships between refugees and the community - e.g. racism, islam-a-phobia, home ownership, jobs, drugs and alcohol, domestic violence, women's dignity, child care and cultural difference by programs and workshops, advocacy and media interaction, communication technology,

> personal integrity and commitment to shared goals (Refugees & Partners, 2015).

The name of the new organisation and the words above suggest that Refugees and Partners is an organisation committed to *caring with* people from refugee backgrounds. Moreover, as the following quotation demonstrates, they value and support *who else* refugees are, by recognising and supporting people's strengths and talents.

> Refugees and Partners is a network of friends. Some have outstanding handcraft skills. Some have entrepreneurial experience. Some have ability in marketing. Others have skill with on-line shopping and telemarketing. Whatever their gift or experience our partners are committed to empowering refugee women living in the local area (Refugees & Partners, 2016).

In addition, in June 2016 Refugees and Partners opened Zara's House. Zara's House is named after an Afghan woman who came to Australia with her family in 2014. Zara and her three daughters were regular attendants at Penola House English language class and at Ladies Fun Club. In establishing Zara's House, the website notes that Sister Di was 'informed and enthused by her interactions with the Afghan women during fun activities with them at Penola House' (Refugees & Partners, 2016), so she set about finding a space 'where women could interact safely to share time and talent' (Refugees & Partners, 2016). Zara's House is a safe and culturally appropriate space for women from refugee backgrounds to meet, learn, connect, create, have fun and teach. Moreover, it aims to nurture the skills and talents of women. The Zara's House dream is articulated below:

> In recent times, women have come to Newcastle with their families from Afghanistan, Iran, Eritrea, DR Congo, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda and West Africa – most recently from Syria and Iraq. Many of the women will struggle to learn English and find mainstream employment closed to them. Family responsibilities, cultural differences and lack of formal education after years in refugee camps are a challenge – BUT they bring MANY WORLD CLASS TALENTS AND TRADITIONAL HANDCRAFT SKILLS such as weaving, furnishings,

> accessories and making high fashion “modest” garments which are massive industries world-wide. With local partners contributing technology and business skills, it is THE DREAM of Refugees and Partners to help these women find personal fulfilment, purpose in life and gain financial independence (2016).

Zara’s House is clearly about *who else* women from refugee backgrounds are. It is a place where each woman’s talents and skills are recognised, embraced and nurtured. Importantly, it is also a place for Sister Di and Sister Betty to continue to give (and receive) care from people from refugee backgrounds and other members of the community.

Welcome to Australia (Newcastle)

There have been a number of changes at Welcome to Australia (Newcastle). First, in March 2015 they acquired a physical space and opened a Welcome Centre. The Welcome Centre was initially used to host special events aimed at bringing people together and fundraising. They held pizza nights, and African nights with traditional African food and music. Then, towards the end of 2015, they launched a café at the Welcome Centre that would be open most days. W2A shared the following information on their facebook page about the cafe:

> The Introduction of our trendy new cafe "The Leaky Boat", will provide a place for people of all cultures to come together to socialise with each other sharing their music, food, dance and art (Facebook, Sept 16, 2015).

Since that time the café and the Welcome Centre have closed down, for reasons that I am not privy to. However, considering the Welcome Centre was most likely funded by the branch director and his family alone, it is likely that the centre closed for financial reasons.

Welcome to Australia did continue to hold their monthly barbecue (although in a new location) for approximately 12 more months after I finished fieldwork. At a Welcome BBQ in March, 2015 there was a more formal cricket game that was played between a team made up of Afghan Interpreters and a local team from a suburb in Newcastle, Toronto. It was a great engagement opportunity, particularly because it was a space

where people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals connected over their love of cricket, in a friendly and still relatively informal way – and it brought together people who may not usually encounter one another. The opposition team's club assisted the Afghan team by providing equipment and buying them uniforms. One of the Afghan participants wrote on the W2A facebook page 'That was a great day of cricket I will remember forever' (March 2, 2015). However, it appears that W2A have also stopped the regular monthly Welcome BBQs, with the last one being held in June 2015.

The Walk Together event in Newcastle was held again in 2014 and 2015, however it moved to a different date and was therefore not held during Refugee Week. This was a decision made by the national branch of W2A and therefore the Walk Together event was still held simultaneously across the country but in October. A Walk Together event for 2016 in Newcastle has only recently been announced (information was posted on facebook on September 30), and the event is being held on Sunday October 23. However, this year it is being facilitated by a different group, 'Grandmothers Against Detention of Refugee Children Newcastle' rather than the Newcastle branch of Welcome to Australia, who appear to be less active at the moment.

The changing landscape of care

These examples reveal the temporal and transitory nature of caring organisations and spaces of care that exist for particular times and then disappear. Caring people continue to care for people from refugee backgrounds to the best of their ability and relationships built between volunteers, and with people from refugee backgrounds, do continue, as I demonstrated above with Sister Di and Sister Betty. Other examples include some of the Penola House volunteers continuing their volunteer work through Catholic Care Refugee Services, or the people who followed the sisters and volunteer with Refugees and Partners, and at Zara's House. Moreover, even if there is no Walk Together held in 2016, there have been different refugee support demonstrations that have since been held by other groups in Newcastle. For example, an annual celebration/demonstration event, the Newcastle Unity in Divercity Festival, took place in 2015 and 2016 and attracted large crowds. However, there are no drop-in spaces

like Penola House for PFRB currently operating in Newcastle, or alternatives to the intimate setting of the Welcome BBQs for people from refugee backgrounds to hang out.

The fleeting or transitory nature of spaces of care and encounter should not constrain our understanding of what these organisations, spaces and encounters can achieve. As Chapters 6, 7 and 8 explored, experiences in these spaces – the care relationships, feelings of belonging, home and hope – resonate in the lives of people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals, who were touched by the transformative experiences they had through these organisations, activities and events. People's experiences at Penola House, Walk Together, the Welcome BBQs were important, and even though those these spaces and events do not exist anymore, people's lives were improved and people were transformed by encounters with others within these spaces.

Moreover, as Section 9.5 (Hopeful Developments) will demonstrate, there are myriad different caring organisations, caring people and spaces of care and encounter that exist across Australia and the Western world. These types of caring organisations and caring people are less likely to attract media attention, or the attention of researchers. However, they provide spaces of care and hope, and examples of doing togetherness and living together with difference in extremely intolerant times. And what I have aimed to highlight in this thesis is that even if they are temporary, fleeting or vulnerable to change, that they exist, even for a moment in time, matters. It matters for people from refugee backgrounds and for those people wanting to move towards them, and care with them, and it matters for the wider community.

9.4 Future research directions

This section offers some suggestions for future research. The limitations of current understandings of the 'refugee' as a fixed identity could be addressed by introducing an intersectional approach to care-full research on the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds. By highlighting *who else* refugees are, intersectionality enables a greater understanding of the strengths that people from refugee backgrounds possess, the talents they have, the things they like to do and their abilities to be carers, even in

times of need. An intersectional exploration could mess up the dichotomy between refugee and non-refugee and between care giver and care receiver.

A care framework drawing on the literature on encounter could also broaden the scope of research into the experiences of people from refugee backgrounds by placing value in the fleshy and fun moments of encounters where bodies come together and do *togetherness*. Such research will be better able to capture the small acts of kindness that make a difference in the lives of people trying to 're-create a new social world' (P Westoby, 2009, p. 2). Such research is more able to provide hopeful stories of PFRB building their lives than research focused entirely on discrimination, racism and oppression.

Beyond this, however, there is a very real need to create a space for care-full and hopeful explorations in diverse areas of study within geography and elsewhere. Exploring experiences of care is as important as investigating injustice or carelessness. Research must also describe positive experiences, moments of happiness and hope. This is not to discount the injustice that exists in our communities and nations. Rather, taking a performative approach is about an enrichment of understandings about the varied and unexpected ways that hope exists, and it is about research practice playing a role in bringing more caring and hopeful worlds into being.

In order to highlight the wider implications for a care-full and hopeful research agenda, I now turn to some examples from other parts of Australia and Western nations where people from refugee backgrounds and other individuals are moving towards one another.

9.5 Hopeful developments

While the media coverage in Australian and around the world continues to focus on the 'refugee crisis' and the potential negative consequences that increased numbers of people from refugee backgrounds may have on host communities, there are countless examples of caring organisations and caring people moving towards PFRB in proactive care-full ways. In this section, I can only provide a few examples from Australia and

Canada. Each outlines an organisation or activity that is providing extended engagement opportunities beyond government-funded resettlement services.

In an Australian school in Sydney, you will find the Parents Café. The Parents Café is not actually a café but a space established to support parents from refugee backgrounds, with a 'vibrant meeting room, commercial kitchen and office space, plus a market garden' (Knox, 2016). The Parents Café did not begin this way, but has grown because of its popularity with parents from refugee backgrounds. Essentially, it provides people the opportunity to come together through food. People cook together, eat together and share their food with people using the space. They hold information sessions for parents, hospitality and horticultural courses, welfare assistance, hair and beauty training, local excursions and more. They have even developed a social enterprise catering business. The Parents Café uses food and community engagement to change lives; it is a 'platform for parents to talk about their needs and feel empowered by reclaiming their independence' (Knox, 2016).

Another Australian example that uses food *and eating at the same table* to bring people together is the Welcome Dinner Project. This initiative enables 'newly arrived people and established Australians to meet over dinner conversation in the comfort of their own home' (The Welcome Dinner Project, 2016). Through the Welcome Dinner Project people attend pot luck-style dinners, which are essentially *bring your own plate* dinners with the aim of creating 'a platform throughout Sydney for meaningful connection, sparking friendships between people of diverse cultures who are living in close proximity to one another but have not had an opportunity to connect in a supported environment' (The Welcome Dinner Project, 2016). Since its launch in March 2013 The Welcome Dinner Project has held over 200 Welcome Dinners, and spread from Sydney to Perth, Hobart, Launceston, Melbourne, Bendigo, Geelong, Brisbane, Toowoomba, Adelaide, Darwin and Canberra (Joining the Dots, 2016). They have over 300 trained Welcome Dinner facilitators across Australia and 5000 people have been able to participate in a Welcome Dinner. The following words are from one of the Welcome Dinner hosts about the first dinner she held in her home:

> We had our eyes opened to the kindness and willingness of the new arrivals to be accepted into Australian social life. It's all too easy to forget that there might be someone who would love to get to know ordinary Aussies living ordinary lives. It was a terrific experience and we'd be very happy to do it again (Joining the Dots, 2016).

This quote illuminates what this thesis has said about the transformative potential of ordinary everyday food encounters. Moreover, it highlights the willingness of people from refugee backgrounds and host populations to move towards one another. Given the right opportunity, people want to share the responsibility of performing new caring worlds into being in increasingly diverse societies.

Other examples, such as the Eat, Learn and Greet initiative from the House of Welcome organisation, is a program that sees women from refugee backgrounds run cooking classes, where they cook dishes from their homelands and introduce participants to their food and culture. Before facilitating a class, they are provided training in areas of occupational health and safety and food handling, and the House of Welcome executive officer said that the classes provide the women the opportunity 'to share skills, generate income and return their dignity' (Flaxman, 25 July 2016). During the classes the people exchange stories and cooking tips. One woman from Iran who has run several classes said 'When I teach, I'm learning and I'm really happy. It's a good experience' (Flaxman, 25 July 2016).

As this thesis has noted, spaces of care and encounter also come into being through formal and informal sporting activities. In Melbourne, the North Melbourne Football Club (NMFC) has created The Huddle, which is a program that targets disengagement among young people from refugee backgrounds. Through Australian Rules Football (AFL), the NMFC and The Huddle program engage young people in areas of sport, study and leadership. The programs are delivered by staff and volunteers, in conjunction with the NMFC players and young people in the local community. The aim is to help young people reach their potential by supporting the next generation to study, train, play and connect (North Melbourne Football Club, 2016b). They offer free programs that run after school, on weekends and over the school holidays with the view that

‘sport and recreation plays a significant role in helping engage young people from a range of cultural backgrounds and create a stronger sense of belonging across different geographical regions’ (North Melbourne Football Club, 2016a, p. 3). One young participant said that The Huddle accepts you as you are. He said ‘Out on the street you have stereotypes, here at The Huddle, differences are accepted’ (North Melbourne Football Club, 2016b, p. 5). The Huddle also runs The Sisters Through Sport program which connects women and girls with opportunities ‘to get active in safe, inclusive and culturally appropriate environments’ (North Melbourne Football Club, 2016b, p. 13). The Huddle illuminates the potential for sport and recreational activities to provide safe, culturally appropriate spaces of care and encounter for people from refugee backgrounds.

A more informal example of sport and recreation activities providing spaces of care and encounter is Football United in Sydney. Football United is a drop-in football program in Sydney that holds after-school sessions, gala days and school holiday camps. Football United uses football to help young people, including many newly arrived people from refugee backgrounds, to learn English, make new friends and feel at home in their new community (Sadler, 2016).

The last example comes from Canada. In Canada, groups of private individuals come together to nominate one or more refugees for resettlement, under private sponsorship legislation. The individual sponsors band together in small groups and personally resettle a refugee family (Kantor & Einhorn, 2016). The sponsors must raise the equivalent of one year’s social assistance and undertake to financially support the refugees (The Conversation, 2016). The advocates for sponsorship in Canada argue that ‘private citizens can achieve more than the government alone, raising the number of refugees admitted, guiding newcomers more effectively and potentially helping solve the puzzle of how best to resettle Muslims in Western countries’ (Kantor & Einhorn, 2016). The Canadian government has reported that there are thousands of sponsors, but the groups have many more extended members. One example, reported on in a *New York Times* article, talked about Ms McLorg and her sponsor group which provided financial and practical support to their refugee family ‘from subsidizing food and rent to supplying clothes, to helping them learn English and find work’ (Kantor &

Einhorn, 2016). Before the family arrived, Ms McLorg and her sponsor group raised approximately $40,000 Canadian dollars, selected an apartment, talked to the local school and found a nearby mosque.

Since November 2015 the Government of Canada has resettled 30,467 Syrian refugees, 11,239 of them privately sponsored (Government of Canada, 2016). I have included this unique and caring approach in the conclusion, not because I want to suggest it as a normative mode of resettlement, but because it is an example of ordinary, everyday caring people taking care-full proactive steps towards people from refugee backgrounds, outside of government-funded resettlement programs. And as this thesis has demonstrated, care and caring is not easy – and this has certainly been shown through some of the stories from the sponsorship program in Canada. Reports from various people about how these agreements work highlight that caring for people this way, taking complete responsibility for the resettlement of a refugee family, is fraught with difficulties, ambiguities and questions about power, responsibility and how much involvement in family decisions the sponsors should take. Despite being a care-full response, it certainly highlights that care, caring and being cared for can be hard.

These sponsorship groups and the refugee families are learning together. Through the process of giving and receiving care. They are learning how to care, and they are learning about each other. And although some critics are worried that the sponsors 'are overpowering the refugees with the force of their enthusiasm' (Kantor & Einhorn, 2016), I would argue that being welcomed with forceful enthusiasm and care is potentially a better beginning in a new society than not being welcomed at all.

Moreover, these care-full welcomes are coming in the context of an increasingly welcoming Canadian population, one which witnessed their Prime Minister physically greet and welcome the first group of Syrian refugees at the airport on their arrival, where his message to the Canadian people and to the world was one of inclusion. He said '*Tonight, they step off the plane as refugees. But they walk out of this terminal as permanent residents of Canada'* (Zerbisias, 2015). And his message to the Syrian people from refugee backgrounds was simple, he said *'You are home … Welcome home'* (Alcoba, 2015).

It is fitting that this thesis end with such a hopeful example of a caring encounter. There is significant potential for more research with PFRB to adopt approaches which value caring *with,* and the moments that stem from fleshy, fun embodied encounters. Such accounts help perform a more hopeful future.

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