Indian Journal of Social Work
Education and Practice (IJSWEP)
ISSN: 2584-2927 Volume-1, Issue-2,
April 2024, @IJSWEP

The Constructs of Family Wellbeing: The Experiences of Chinese Families of Asylum Seekers and Refugees (ASRs) in the U.K.

*Suk Yin Caroline Cheng

Abstract

This paper aims to determine how families, as a collective unit, perceive wellbeing and their pathways to achieve those constructs facilitated by social capital particularly bonds and bridges in the U.K. Five Chinese asylum seeking and refugee (ASR) families from the People's Republic of China were recruited to participate in this study. By examining the different types and levels of support derived through social connections, this paper contributes to the understanding of subjective wellbeing and the unmet needs of these families. Thematic analysis and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) were employed as part of the data analysis process. It provided insights into how these five families pursue their own wellbeing priorities and the challenges they face in host country. The roles that social connections play in achieving wellbeing, and the impact of the apparent gaps in their social networks will be discussed. The paper argue that social work educators and practitioner need to aware of such experience and incorporate them into teaching and practice to advance social justice agenda.

Key words: Refugee, Wellbeing, United Kingdom, Families, Social Work.

Introduction

Chinese asylum seekers and refugees (ASR) in the U.K. has been increasing and the government policy of 'leave to remain' status grant this population temporary legal resident status in the country (Home Office, 2020). With the increasing number of people from China claiming asylum and given the 'leave to remain' status, very little is known of this population as local agencies seldom see them in the service delivery process. The lack of utilisation of services could signify the fact that they do not need help or that they are isolated and disconnected. There is little research

* Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Northern Michigan University, Corresponding Adress: 1401 Presque Isle Ave, Marquette, MI 49855, United States, Email: ccheng@nmu.edu

that would explore the ways in which 'hard-to-reach' populations live in host community, such as the Chinese ASR. In addition, factors affecting wellbeing for refugee youth include mastering the language of the host country (Chapman & Calder, 2002), academic studies at school (O'Sullivan & Ollif, 2006), living with supportive family members (Chapman & Calder, 2002), feelings of belonging to one's ethnic community (Brough, Gorman, Ramirez, & Westoby, 2003; Lustig et al., 2004) and being able to develop positive relationships with the broader host community (Beirens, Hughes, Hek, & Spicer, 2007). Research focusing on migrant families often involves youth and protective and risk factors contributing to healthy transition in host country. Social capital (Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 1998) is a key factor for young refugees becoming establishing in the new country (Beirens et al., 2007). Examining the challenges of family and children/youth in host communities will help inform policy makers and social workers how best to serve this marginalized population.

Critical issues and challenges facing this particular ASR have not been studied widely, unlike other groups of ASRs in refugee literature. Previous studies looked at what constitutes 'a good life' and the social capital and connections of the Chinese ASR (Cheng, 2018, Cheng & Kumar, 2022). This paper aims to discuss how family, as a unit, consider factors of living a good life, and its implications on service delivery in host country.

Definition and Construct of wellbeing

A number of broader theoretical and conceptual frameworks were studied to determine the most appropriate theoretical approach to understanding the types of issues potentially impacting the asylum seekers and refugees' wellbeing in a host country. In addition, the common ways in which refugee wellbeing is examined and measured in psychological literature are reviewed.

Wellbeing is an increasingly popular and growing area of research in recent decades (Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002; Seligman, 2011) even though its definition remains diverse and varied depending on disciplines and objectives of research. Ryff and Keyes (1995) concluded that "the absence of theory-based formulations of wellbeing is puzzling" (pp. 719-720). While Thomas (2009) argued that wellbeing could be defined as "intangible, difficult to define and even harder to measure" (p. 11), Martin-Willet et al. (2019) stated that the definition of 'wellbeing' is debatable, calling attention to the unreliability of surveys in measuring wellbeing. Although there is no universally agreed upon definition of wellbeing in the literature, there is a widespread understanding of wellbeing as emotional, physical, and cognitive components (La Placa et al., 2013). Frequently used indicators to measure wellbeing include physical health, mental health,

social relationships, work satisfaction, academic success, and overall life satisfaction.

More importantly, many have argued that the understanding of wellbeing is directly tied to the broader social environment in a host community. This relates to the physical surrounding within which the individual is living their life, particularly how open and socially inclusive the structures are in the host community. This paper sets out to investigate the subjective wellbeing of the Chinese ASR families, and it can be defined as how people evaluate their lives in terms of their happiness and life satisfaction as a whole (Diener, Sapyta, & Suh, 1998; Myers, 2000). How an individual defines the constructs of wellbeing or views what is important in lives is largely subjective and dependent on one's perception and experiences in a host community, and it is subjected to change over time. Therefore, a qualitative study was chosen to measure the family wellbeing constructs in this study.

Methodology: IPA

A qualitative research method is adopted to examine construct of wellbeing of refugee families in this study, which is rooted in constructionism and it assumes that reality is the product of social processes (Neuman, 2003). It resonates with what Crotty (1998) suggested that 'reality' is seen as an interaction between the objective and the subjective. Social constructionism implies that knowledge cannot be separated from our social experience. In this study, the family members are the ones who experience the reality of living in the host community, where they encounter a different culture, such as language and traditions. Their encounters with this new culture and people, engaging with this new world and making sense of it are often based on their historical and social perspectives (Creswell, 2002; Crotty, 1998), thus, participants construct meaning from their experiences and perceptions.

This study adopts an interpretivist epistemology inquiry, often an approach to qualitative research. It is assumed that truth and meaning are created by subject's interactions with the world. Participants construct their meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon, thus it is appropriate to explore the meaning of wellbeing and the challenges that asylum seekers and refugees (ASR) face from their perspective. Without the voice and understanding of the subjects, one cannot justify they are doing well or not by asking them to check a few boxes in a survey. The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used as a research method and five Chinese families, originated from the People's Republic of China were recruited for this research project.

FINDINGS

Constructs of Well-being

The five families were asked to come up with five most important factors that lead to living a good life in host country. As a result, families identified a few important constructs of living a good life in Glasgow (research site). All the five families mentioned U.K. legal status, social connections especially with Chinese friends, and health status of family as important constructs. Four of five families thought that children's education and having financial stability for the family are important. All families reported that English skills was a crucial facilitating factor in acquiring resources and information in host community.

Legal Status

All families thought having permanent legal status in the U.K. is extremely important for their families, especially for the children. Being asylum seekers or refugees having leave to remain (LTR) status for a short period, such as two years, creates a significant amount of stress and uncertainty for families. From the data, 'life in limbo' has been frustrating, depressing, and stressful for parents and their older children. This situation has an impact on a sense of control, choice, and autonomy. Researchers have identified factors such as poverty, time taken for immigration decisions, and isolation and instability as risk factors for the asylum population (Enthought & Yule, 2006; Fazel & Stein, 2002). The families feel that their lives are at the hands of others, particularly the Home Office.

"*We have applied for asylum over three years and haven't heard back from the Home Office…but I have a friend who has applied over eight years, believe it or not, and they are not called in yet; it was very unreasonable. Hope that someday things work out fine and my family can go back to China to see my parents and family there. It will be a dream come true.*" (Mother, Family 2)

The majority of families perceived the Home Office's rules, such as two and a half years 'leave to remain' being granted compared to the previous five years and the expensive fees for renewing their status as unreasonable.

"*I don't know how to plan our life here while worrying, saving every cent to prepare for applying to stay here again in two years' time. It costs £2,500 per person to renew the visa. It's very stressful for me as I'm the only one who works and earns money for the family*." (Father, Family 4)

While the father (Family 4) expressed his worries concerning the family's legal status and financial burden to obtain those status, other participants, who were asylum seekers, were extremely worried about not

being able to stay in the UK and being sent back to China. They talked about the possibility of a difficult adjustment for their children in terms of the way of life and a different education system. Several of the adults did not want to disappoint their elderly parents, who had sacrificed a lot, such as selling their houses and giving up their life savings, for them to come to the UK for a better life

> "*How am I going to go back to my parents and tell them I got kicked out of school, have no stable jobs and earning extremely low wages illegally in the UK? It will break their heart to see me return home as a failure.*" (Father, F5)

One father talked about his deep concerns about returning home with nothing, and noted that would not only upset his parents and their dreams of him becoming a successful and rich young man in the UK, but also bring shame on his entire family in the village.

On the whole, men expressed many concerns about not being able to work legally while seeking asylum. These concerns were a major problem not only for the fathers currently seeking asylum (Family 2 and Family 5), but the other fathers reported they had also experienced these fears when they were in the asylum phase. Idling all day waiting for a call to work for a few hours has had a negative impact on their self-esteem and emotional health.

> *"My family has applied for asylum and honestly, I can't just sit at home and not work with three young children at home."* (Father 2)

Having legal status in the UK and obtaining citizenship eventually is seen as significant for families to "*drop this heavy bag of worries off their chest"*, and as the parents say, they would "*heave a sigh of relief and be able to breathe."*

Social relationships and support

All mothers mentioned having close friends and a good relationship with friends as being a key factor to a good life. Fathers work long hours; working far away from home means that mothers must deal with most of the family business, from taking care of children to handling letters in the mail. Having close friends to spend time with, talk to, and share their ups and downs makes a huge difference in their lives.

> *"My friends and I do social gatherings in each other's homes sometimes; mothers talk and make some yummy Chinese hometown snacks while children play with each other. Everybody's relaxed and happy."* (Mother, Family 2)

Some men also think that their wives are happier when they have friends to talk to and spend time together in one another's homes.

"*I'm glad my wife and children seem to be doing well here socialising with other Chinese families and getting out of the house in the weekend like going to the park or library. They are happy when friends come to our home too."* (Father, Family 3)

Children also mentioned friendship as important to them as they play, have fun together and help each other when they are having problems.

"I have some good friends in school, and they were helpful to me when I first arrived Glasgow. It was nice to have friends to play with at school." (Boy 1, Family 4)

Besides emotional support and companionship, close friends also provide practical help. Every family mentioned practical help from friends makes life easier and happier. The mother of family 5 asked a very fundamental question, *"Where can I turn to if I have no reliable and trustworthy friends here when I have a problem?"* Most people turn to their friends, especially close friends, who they trust and with whom they have a good relationship. Practical help includes things like sharing information, helping with translations, taking care of children, and school related issues. On the other hand, participants, particularly mothers, talked about dealing with loneliness and isolation even though they mentioned having close friends and the social gatherings they enjoyed with them. The findings indicated that some mothers tended to keep their feelings to themselves and did not seek or receive adequate emotional support at times.

"My husband was working in a friend's take away shop where they need help; I worried he might get caught working illegally. I sometimes fight with him about this and I never talk about my worries with anyone or my family in China. I don't want to make my parents worried and they cannot do anything to help anyway." (Mother, Family 5)

"My husband is not home most of the time, and I am with the 3 kids all by myself…feeling like a single mother a lot. I seldom talk about how I feel with others." (Mother, Family 2)

Men did not mention much about emotional support, but they focused on practical help they received from friends and colleagues in times of need, such as finding jobs and getting information about immigration laws.

"*I was desperate when I could not continue in the college I signed up for and almost running out of money. Luckily, my friend asked me to stay with him and found me a part time job."* (Father, Family 5)

Overall, the families emphasised the importance of social connections and support in the host community, concurring the findings of previous studies (Cheng, 2018; Cheng & Kumar, 2022)

The education of children and their future

Parents and older children have a clear sense of purpose when they talk about education and a promising career it would bring to the children. Mothers especially play a crucial role in encouraging the children to study hard, taking them to attend Chinese classes on Saturdays, and finding extra resources to facilitate more learning opportunities for their children. Having a good life means seeing their children study hard, get good results, and be successful in life, which for these families, would mean having a professional job with a good, stable income.

> *"I supervise the children's studies and homework, and I take them to library to read, knowing that they study hard and get good results at school make me happy"* (Mother, Family 4).

> *"I worked hard to earn money and for what, for the children so that they can have a good education and find good jobs when they grow up. We didn't have a chance to study and have no ability to teach the children. I hope the school can provide more support such as after school tuition for the children"* (Father, Family 4).

Families talked about the importance of having a good education for the children, and they saw that as a first step towards a bright future for their children. Parents hoped their children understood the values of education and the opportunities it would bring when they grew up.

> *"My parents just want me to study hard, and I go to Chinese school on Saturdays as well to keep up with learning Chinese. It's a lot of work, the homework, tests and examinations…it is important to know Chinese well, like for jobs later maybe.*" (Boy 1, Family 4)

Some parents hoped that the government would provide more resources and help, such as tuition after school hours or during holidays, to help the children to learn more. They had high hopes that the next generation would be much better off, in terms of employment and education, than they themselves; these hopes brought a sense of joy to the parents. On the other hand, some parents raised concerns about the standard of school and behaviours of students in poor neighbourhoods.

> *"That's why my friends moved away for better high schools for the children since the area they were living was not a good neighbourhood. Children go to the school in the district they live in, and I have been thinking about that now as my older one will be in high school soon. I don't want him to study in the school near us as I saw students doing all kinds of crazy things in their uniforms during lunch time or after school hours like smoking, drinking and yelling at each other."* (Mother, Family 1)

Family's health

Participants mentioned having good physical and emotional health as another main goal in achieving a good life, regardless of where they were. As the Chinese saying goes, "Health is wealth", and several reported striving to maintain good health by eating fresh vegetables and fruits. Mothers reported trying to prepare nutritious and healthy meals for the children when they got home from school.

> *"I always prepare a big meal for the children at 4:30 pm when they are hungry coming home from school. I don't want them to eat snacks like cookies, so, I make dinner early and they eat vegetables, some meat or fish, rice and sometimes soup when they come home."* (Mother, Family 3)

Staying healthy and getting access to health care were intertwined with other constructs such as having financial stability, ability to communicate, and a good social relationship with others. For example, one mother talked about trying to save money by buying vegetables and food that were close to the date of expiry.

> *"It's hard to always buy fresh vegetables and fruits here, and I have been going to Tesco around 6pm whenever I can to stay in line for the discounted produce which expires on the same day. They are cheaper to buy, and I often just cook them the same day or the next"* (Mother, Family 3).

Also, some parents mentioned that not being able to communicate with health care professional created misunderstandings. The help of a close friend during emergencies when family members were ill was also considered extremely important.

> "*I was grateful for my friend Mrs Chan, who gave me advice when I was hospitalised, and offered to speak with the doctor on my behalf.*" (Father, Family 5)

Father (F5) felt very lucky to have the support of Mrs Chan to help him when he needed to access medical services. When family talked about staying healthy, it definitely entails a much larger picture than just having access to health care in the UK, but factors such as the means of getting to the clinic or hospital, the communication between them and the health professionals, and the ability to purchase healthy food were taken into consideration.

Besides physical health, families mentioned the importance of emotional health. Feelings of isolation, frustration, helplessness, and anger at times prevented families from optimising their overall wellbeing.

> *"I am very worried about my son and he doesn't play with others much; very quiet…just stays in the flat and watches TV when he's home. My*

husband cannot help much. He wakes up late, goes to work around 11:00am and comes back at mid-night. When it is his day off on Mondays, he catches up with his sleep and plays electronic games on his cell phone…it makes me angry sometimes." (Mother, Family 1)

Fathers working long hours also have their own issues and hardships especially for the fathers who work out of town.

"I work in a restaurant outside town, and I can only see my family once a week. Life like this is very tough and you have nobody to talk to…when I get home, I just want to spend some time with the kids…there is no life in the kitchen of a restaurant except non-stop work. At least I provide for my family." (Father, Family 3)

Staying healthy physically and emotionally is very important if participants want to lead a good life. For men, having a sense of pride and fulfilling their duties of providing for the family is deep rooted in the Chinese culture. "*At least I can provide…*" is a powerful statement that father of family 3 made to signify he is a responsible man, and he wants to provide more for his family if he could.

Financial stability and the living conditions

"*Living the family dream in poverty is easier said than done*" was the response from participants when asked how they could achieve their dreams of living a good life. Families try to balance their income and expenses, and hope that they can save some money for higher education for their children. Not being able to afford fresh produce, for example Chinese vegetables, and searching for discounted food at grocery stores was mentioned.

"Staying healthy depends on many factors and it's hard to stay healthy if we can't afford healthy food options. We always eat fresh green leafy vegetables and fresh meat in China, and it's very expensive here in Glasgow. It costs like four pounds for a bunch of 'Choi sum' and we can't afford that in the meantime." (Mother, Family 2)

Families struggle to achieve financial stability and consider it essential for living well. Financial difficulties adversely impact participants' health, particularly their food choices and living conditions. Refugee families described inadequate housing to choose from, while asylum seekers have few choices since they are allocated a place to stay by the Home Office. All the families live in small flats. Refugee families' conditions are overall better than those of asylum-seeking families in terms of locations and the conditions of where they live. It is common to see children doing homework in the living room while the television is on for the younger children for entertainment.

> *"Living conditions are poor as you can see, and you have been here a few times too…it is not safe for young children such as damaged flooring and broken wires on the walls.*" (Mother, Family 5)

Some mothers complained of not having enough money for children to attend extra-curricular activities, such as sports, music, and tuition. To have a good life, having enough money to keep a certain standard of living and provide for the children were seen as important. Most mothers hoped that they could save enough money to buy their own house eventually. Again, constructs were closely related, and it was necessary to address poverty before parents could think of moving to an area where schools are better or afford to put their children in extra-curricular activities for example.

The facilitator: The English language skills

All families expressed the importance of knowing the English language well to some degree as they experienced frustrations and difficulties for not being able to communicate to the people they need to talk to, such as doctors and local school teachers. Parents, particularly the mothers, felt the inconvenience of not knowing English, and reported they had to resort to seeking help from friends and older children to understand letters and notices from school. Also, they reported that knowing English would allow them to be better informed about available resources and support in the community, and it would enable them to obtain information from the internet as well. All mothers have taken elementary level English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes to pick up some basic vocabularies, and some continue going to the classes. Only two fathers have attended ESOL classes briefly and they have very limited, or close to zero, English proficiency. The families relied on their older children and close family friends, who knew English better than they do, to assist with any issues that involved understanding the language.

However, it has not always been easy to obtain help. Mothers of family 1, 3, and 4 reportedly spend a significant amount of time every day trying to figure out what the letters in the mail are about. Sometimes, they have no choice but to ask their older children or Chinese friends for help if they are unable to understand the content of the letters. They stated they wanted to learn more vocabularies related to their daily lives, such as how to register for a bank account and ask for help about transportation. All the information provided by the government to the family is in English. Going to the doctor requires a translator, and it has not been a good experience for some of the families.

> *"It's also a hassle to wait for interpreter. I have an issue with confidentiality as the Cantonese-speaking circle in Glasgow is much smaller than the*

Mandarin group. I felt very bad when my private medical matter was discussed in the Chinese community, and I lost trust in the interpreting system. The phone translation process is not very reliable either. Health information provided is not in the language that we can understand." (Mother, Family 1)

Overall, participants understood the importance of English language skills and the inconvenience of not knowing it enough means to them in their daily lives. With that said, families' social connections with others become particularly crucial in terms of obtaining information, getting practical help and emotional support.

Discussion

These five Chinese families place great emphasis on social relationships and support, children's education, staying healthy, financial independence, living conditions, freedom of speech and gathering and obtaining citizenship in host communities. The findings reveal that participants left their country of origin mainly because of extreme economic hardship. However, they might not have experienced the extreme hardship of fleeing their country of origin without the most basic things in their hands such as the identity cards/passports or change of clothes.

The findings help shed light on what the Chinese asylum seeking and refugee families consider as living a good life. Parents in this study put children's education at the top of the list, and they understand the significance of education as a key determining factor for their children's success. In order to achieve success of their children, the role of the mother, the quality of the school and its students, having the right kind of resources, such as accurate information and money, children's mental health, hard work and their peer group influence, and whether children listen to parents' advice were all mentioned by parents as crucial factors. Family refugee wellbeing studies have also highlighted the importance of education for children in the host country, and parents in those studies have more or less similar concerns about whether their children will be able to achieve a good education (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Major et al., 2013). It's crucial that social work programs emphasize understanding and respecting the diverse cultural backgrounds of refugees. Teaching future social workers about the profound value refugee families place on education and family can help create more empathetic and effective support systems.

Education is seen as the most promising way that children can guarantee a professional job and move up the social ladder in the host societies. The findings reveal that parents prioritized supervising children and ensuring they are successful in their education and future career paths and put aside their own learning of the English language. It could be a

unique phenomenon for this population, as and Goodson and Phillimore (2008) find that other ethnic migrants put great emphasis in their own education and learning opportunities.

Parents understood their lack of foundation in the area of education; most parents in the study did not have a high school education. None of them had ever learned English, which is the medium of instruction in the UK. They complained about not being able to remember a few English words in the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes, and seemed not to consider the possibility of attending formal schooling in the country. Overall, families prioritized the education of the children, the health of family members, obtaining legal status in the UK, having solid and strong relationships with a few close friends in the same ethnic group, and being financially independent from the Government. These five families maintained their Chinese traditions and ways of life. They came from extreme poverty with very little opportunity to succeed in life. They placed all their hope of bringing the families out of the cycle of poverty and low socio-economic status in the next generation; but this change would occur only if their children were to obtain good professional jobs in society. Recognizing and addressing the mental health needs of both children and adults in refugee families is key. Social workers should be prepared to offer support or direct families to specialized mental health services, acknowledging the immense stress caused by migration and resettlement.

Conclusion

As previously pointed out, asylum seekers and refugees (ASR) from the People's Republic of China comprise an isolated, 'hard-to-reach' group that has attracted very little research attention. The cultural implications of looking at shame, face, and reciprocity have direct impact on this community's help seeking behavior. This study has provided a safe space for the participants - individuals and families to talk about their lives in the host community, their resources, and the life they hope to have for themselves particularly their children. On the other hand, findings also revealed many challenges, such as the lack of language skills and accurate information, that bring frustration and confusion.

The five Chinese families gravitate to those who share the same culture and language, and also their ethnic networks. Within this circle of friends and support, they are able to draw upon shared, culturally-based resources and services. To sum up, this can serve as a reference point for host country to consider building strong ties and providing practical support for local grassroot organizations, which can act as bridging and linking capital to enhance resources and empower their pathways to wellbeing. Facilitating community integration while respecting cultural traditions is vital. Social

workers should focus on creating spaces where refugee families feel safe to express their culture and traditions while forging new connections in their host community.

REFERENCES

1. Chapman, R., & Calder, A. (2002). Starting over: young refugees talk about life in Britain | The Learning Exchange. Retrieved from https://lx.iriss.org.uk/content/starting-over-young-refugees-talk-about-life-britain
2. Beirnes, H., Hughes, N., Hek, R., & Spicer, N. (2007). Preventing Social Exclusion of Refugee and Asylum-Seeking Children: Building New Networks. *Social Policy and Society*, 6(2), 219–229. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1474746406003484
3. Brough, M., Gorman, D., Ramirez, E., & Westoby, P. (2003). Young Refugees Talk About Wellbeing: A Qualitative Analysis Of Refugee Youth Mental Health From Three States. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 38(2), 193–208. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2003.tb01142.x
4. Cheng, C. (2018). Living a good life from the perspectives of the Chinese migrants in Scotland. *Border Crossing*, 8(1), 1-11.
5. Cheng, S. Y. C., & Kumar, V. (2022). Social Connections and Resettlement Experiences of the Chinese Refugees in the United Kingdom: Implications for Policy and Practice. *Social Development Issues*, 44(1).
6. Correa-Velez, I., Gifford, S. M., & Barnett, A. G. (2010). Longing to belong: social inclusion and wellbeing among youth with refugee backgrounds in the first three years in Melbourne, Australia. *Social Science & Medicine* (1982), 71(8), 1399–1408. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.07.018
7. Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sage Publications.
8. Creswell, J. W. (2002). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. SAGE Publications.
9. Diener, E., Sapyta, J. J., & Suh, E. (1998). Subjective Wellbeing Is Essential to Wellbeing. *Psychological Inquiry*, 9(1), 33–37. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327965pli0901_3
10. Ehntholt, K. A., & Yule, W. (2006). Practitioner Review: Assessment and treatment of refugee children and adolescents who have experienced war related trauma. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, 47(12), 1197-1210.
11. Fazel, M., & Stein, A. (2002). The mental health of refugee children. *Archives of disease in childhood*, 87(5), 366-370.
12. Home Office (2020). Asylum and Resettlement - Summary tables [data file and codebook] doi: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5e5674bc86650c53b8b5d923/asylum-summary-dec-2019-tables.xlsx

13. Goodson, L. J., & Phillimore, J. (2008). *Social capital and integration: the importance of social relationships and social space to refugee women.* International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations, 7(6), 181.
14. Keyes, C. L. M., Shmotkin, D., & Ryff, C. D. (2002). Optimizing wellbeing: The empirical encounter of two traditions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 1007–1022. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.1007
15. La Placa, V., McNaught, A., & Knight, A. (2013). Discourse on wellbeing in research and practice. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 3(1).
16. Lustig, S. L., Kia-Keating, M., Knight, W. G., Geltman, P., Ellis, H., Kinzie, J. D., … Saxe, G. N. (2004). Review of child and adolescent refugee mental health. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 43(1), 24–36.
17. Major, J., Wilkinson, J., Langat, K., & Santoro, N. (2013). Sudanese young people of refugee background in rural and regional Australia: Social capital and education success. *Australian and International Journal of Rural Education*, 23(3), 95.
18. Myers, D. G. (2000). The funds, friends, and faith of happy people. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 56–67. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.56
19. Martin-Willett, R., Blevins, M., Bailey, L., McCormick, Z., & Aliyu, M. H. (2019). Interdisciplinary Wellbeing Construct Developed Among Resettled Refugees. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20(1), 15-30.
20. Neuman, W. L. (2003). Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Allyn and Bacon.
21. O'Sullivan, K., & Ollif, L. (2006). Exploring Good Settlement for Refugee Young People in Australia (Vol. 2). Retrieved from www.cmy.net.au
22. Putnam, R. (1993). *Making democracy work.* Princeton University Press. Princeton NJ.
23. Ryff, C. D., & Keyes, C. L. M. (1995). The structure of psychological wellbeing revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 69(4), 719–727. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.69.4.719
24. Seligman, M. E. P. (2011). Flourish: a new understanding of happiness and wellbeing—and how to achieve them. Nicholas Brealey Pub.
25. Thomas, J. (2009). *Working paper: Current measures and the challenges of measuring children's wellbeing*. Newport: Office for National Statistics.
26. Putnam, H. (1985). Philosophical Papers: Volume 3, *Realism and Reason* (Vol. 3). Cambridge University Press.
27. Woolcock, M. (1998). Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 27, pp. 151– 208. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006884930135