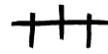# Expanding Community Sponsorship in Aotearoa New Zealand

Report by Murdoch Stephens

for South West Baptist Church

February 2020

+++ **SOUTH WEST BAPTIST CHURCH**
H e l p i n g   b r i n g   o u r   c o m m u n i t i e s   t o   L i f e

Executive Summary

This report evaluates local and overseas experiences of community sponsorship to identify key success factors for the Aotearoa New Zealand context. It considers lessons taken from the initial Community Organisation Refugee Sponsorship (CORS) pilot, localised context around Māori and refugee voices, as well as international examples, to develop complementary pathways for resettled refugees in Aotearoa New Zealand. It aims to stimulate discussion around growing the pathway – with particular emphasis on the role of a catalyst entity – that can bring together current and potential stakeholders.

Our analysis has concluded that the key to successful community sponsorship programmes in other jurisdictions is the co-design and establishment of a catalyst organisation. Strong relationships between government and community organisations have established catalyst organisations in Canada, the United Kingdom and Ireland.

While not wishing to pre-empt codesign of a catalyst in the Aotearoa New Zealand context there are a few key functions that it may enable: building the number and capability of sponsors, creating strategic partnerships to address matters of common concern in resettlement (such as housing, employment and social cohesion), and working with government in the design and implementation of a programme. These functions are reflected in most catalyst entities around the world. While most of those entities emerged post-2015, and it is too early to measure success, they share some key themes: they work as close allies to government, not as service providers or as sponsors; they are at least partly funded by government; and they act as a repository of knowledge for lessons learnt by sponsors.

Sponsorship supports people fleeing conflict and persecution through an additional pathway to the already established refugee quota. Research from Canada shows that this pathway can provide a strong and flexible addition to a stable government intake. Research from the United Kingdom, Ireland and Australia give current examples of ways that government and civil society can combine to expand the programme with community buy-in. They also, however, indicate strong pushback through a lack of uptake from civil society when the pathway is seen as either a way for government to cut costs (United Kingdom), or if it defers responsibility onto sponsors and the community by making the pathway a substitute, not additional, pathway (Australia).

This report also describes the value of relationships and hospitality as central to the successful expansion of community sponsorship in Aotearoa New Zealand. Building on the concept of whanaungatanga (relationships) and manākitanga (hospitality) we outline the key groups within Aotearoa New Zealand that have already demonstrated a strong desire to participate in an expanded programme, and who will help to make an established catalyst a local success.

Contents

Abbreviations

ARCC   Aotearoa Resettled Community Coalition

CORS   Community Organisations Refugee Sponsorship

CRSI   Community Refugee Sponsorship Initiative (Australia)

GAR   Government Assisted Refugee

GRSI   Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative

ICCI   Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement

IDP   Internally Displaced People

MBIE   Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment

NRRF   National Refugee Resettlement Forums

PSGE   Post Settlement Government Entity

PSR   Privately Sponsored Refugee

RFSC   Refugee Family Support Category

RMS   Refugee and Migrant Services

SAH   Sponsorship Agreement Holders

SHAP   Syrian Humanitarian Admission Programme

SRV   Strengthening Refugee Voices

SWBC   South West Baptist Church

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; the United Nations refugee agency

VPRS   Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme

Introduction and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to use the lessons from the first Community Sponsorship of Refugees (CORS) pilot and international examples of similar programmes to strengthen and develop community sponsorship of refugees in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In June 2016, as part of a triennial review of its refugee quota settings, the New Zealand government announced that it would trial a community sponsored refugee category. Sponsorship offers a complementary pathway that is in addition to the government assisted refugee quota. In August 2017, the Community Organisation Refugee Sponsorship (CORS) pathway was confirmed with 25 sponsorship places available across a pilot programme.

With the world's most established sponsorship programme, Canada has welcomed more than three hundred thousand refugees since the pathway was established in 1979. Evidence from that programme indicates that sponsorship can improve outcomes for refugees by increasing quality and speed of integration, as well as creating more welcoming communities for all refugees. Alongside the Canadian model, new programmes have been developed in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, with a number of other European and South American countries using similar formats for their response to the Syrian refugee crisis. We[1] will learn from these established and emerging programmes as well as through lessons from the Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative (GRSI) who are tasked with helping to expand community sponsor places internationally.

Over the previous year we have engaged with all of the pilot sponsorship groups as well as a wide range of other stakeholders to understand the potential of sponsorship and how it can grow into a sustainable pathway for refugee protection. In the coming year an increase in the refugee quota by five hundred places, across six new centres, will draw in the resources of some communities that had not previously had the opportunity to resettle refugees. In this context, we are seeking to develop sponsorship as an additional pathway that can unlock the goodwill of communities that are not currently participating in refugee settlement.

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[1] The 'we' in this document is the community sponsorship team at SWBC, though this document was primarily prepared and written by Murdoch Stephens. See the acknowledgements on the final page for an indication of many of the wide range of sources of information and inspiration for this document and wider work on community sponsorship of refugees.

The benefits of sponsorship derive from its potential to unlock community resources that are outside of the government's reach. Those resources will allow Aotearoa New Zealand to increase its refugee resettlement numbers, which, after the quota increase, will still be less than half of Australia's on a per capita basis. The host communities will also benefit as welcoming newcomers helps them to weave their members together to produce more engaged, connected and resilient populations. Finally, we expect that by having more people involved with refugee resettlement there will be a better understanding of refugee issues, multicultural societies and the beliefs and faiths that come with newcomers. This report aims to seek out how these benefits can be obtained to achieve growth and maximise the quality of community sponsorship.

In section one we provide background and context on the Aotearoa New Zealand pilot as well as more depth on the potential benefits of community sponsorship. Section two describes the established Canadian and other, more recent programmes. In section three, we offer our reflections on the potential for development of community sponsorship in Aotearoa New Zealand, potential challenges and ways to ensure the greatest chance of the creation of a permanent programme.

Research Methodology

We conducted research for this study over a three-month period from August to October 2019. The work draws on international best practice from the decades long and large-scale Canadian project, as well as the emerging models from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, and smaller or adjacent projects working with asylum seekers across Europe. The study also draws from the experiences of the pilot sponsors (South West Baptist Church, St Vincent de Paul, Gleniti Baptist Church, and Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand) as well as partners in the Anglican, Catholic, Baptist communities and Amnesty International Aotearoa New Zealand.

In total we sought views from organisations and individuals that included the following:
- Resettled community leaders
- Potential sponsors
- International organisations, including the UNHCR and GRSI
- Civil society, including the New Zealand Red Cross

- Refugee family reunification trusts

- Local and central government

- Philanthropic foundations

- Government departments, including MBIE and Immigration New Zealand

- Related experts in the areas of employment, housing and social integration

We also want to emphasise guiding approaches to refugee resettlement that informed our views and to signpost some critical factors in the development of the programme: first, there is a critical need to engage with tangata whenua to invite their participation in the design and implementation. Second, the lived-in experience of refugee-background Aotearoa New Zealanders, and the experiences of pilot sponsor groups should inform programme development. Third, programme design that recognises both the skills and resilience of the people being sponsored is critical rather than a deficit model[2] (rights-based[3] or strengths-based are two examples).

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[2] See Bogen and Marlowe (2017) for an overview of challenges to this area and how focusing on rights is intended to go beyond a deficit model that fixates on problems. Research led by Changemakers, in particular, has strengthened the sector's attention to this kind of rights-based approach: https://crf.org.nz/what-we-do/research/

[3] This approach is particularly evident in the Irish programme.

Section 1: Context and case for sponsorship in Aotearoa New Zealand

This section will give an overview of community sponsorship in Aotearoa New Zealand and a discussion of where community sponsorship fits into the present goals of immigration in Aotearoa New Zealand. Though providing an overview of the community sponsorship pilot this section is not a comprehensive history or evaluation. Where such histories and evaluations exist, we refer to them across the text, footnotes, and appendices. People wishing to gain a broader understanding of community sponsorship in New Zealand should refer to those documents – especially the proposal by the Core Community Partnership (2018) and the review produced by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2019) – in conjunction with this overview.

Aotearoa New Zealand in 2020 - a unique landscape for refugee sponsorship

The context for the expansion of the community sponsorship programme of refugee resettlement needs to take into consideration four distinct factors that are unique to the current socio-political climate in Aotearoa New Zealand: increasing government assisted refugee quota, a need for partnership with tangata whenua and already existing resettled communities, the success of the initial CORS pilot and the widespread desire for greater social cohesion after the Christchurch Mosque attacks of March 2019.

Increasing government assisted refugee quota

Work is already well underway by Immigration New Zealand via the Refugee Quota Increase Programme (RQIP) to open six new resettlement areas to meet the increase in New Zealand's refugee quota from 1000 to 1500 on July 1, 2020 (Immigration New Zealand, 2019). It is also worth noting that an earlier increase from 750 to 1000 places only took place in 2016 with a three-year emergency intake of Syrians, formalised into a permanent increase from 1 July, 2018. The growth in the quota has also led to the Green Party securing a clause in their confidence and supply agreement with the government to review the numbers (which were 300 before any increase) and funding for the family reunification programme.

While the government assisted quota technically has no effect on the additional community sponsorship numbers, there will be implications for the ability of different communities to sponsor depending on the

choice of location for new settlement. For example, while Timaru was a site for a CORS pilot family, the announcement of the town as a resettlement location means that most volunteers interested in helping refugees resettle will, at least in the short term, be absorbed into helping the government programme to become established and succeed.

While the differences between general immigration and the range of refugee pathways (asylum seekers, resettlement quota, family reunification, community sponsorship) might be clear to people working in the sector, the wider understanding of these differences is not so great. This inability to distinguish between pathways means that public perception around the success of the expanded quota, as well as asylum seeker movements and the family reunification review, will all have an impact on the appetite for increased community sponsorship. This interdependence means that we will need to pay particular attention to relationships and media that affects the wider sector. More broadly, given ongoing anti-migrant attitudes in Europe and North America, it is worthwhile keeping abreast of attitudes to migration within New Zealand.[4]

Partnership with tangata whenua and existing resettled refugee communities

New Zealand's emerging multiculturalism, from a bicultural base, is unique in the world of refugee resettlement. While there remain unresolved breaches and new challenges to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, this founding document has been used as a groundwork for establishing contemporary rights and responsibilities, through the principles of partnership, protection and participation. As noted at the outset, and developed in Appendix One, recent years have seen increased interest in both tikanga Māori approaches to welcoming refugees, as well as engagement in the welcoming process from tangata whenua. Refugees often express a deep connection with tangata whenua, due to connections to indigenous values as well as the understanding of the importance of cultural specificity developed in defending their own rights in a pākehā majority nation. While some relationships have already been established at the sponsor-mana whenua level, we anticipate the need for catalyst-tangata whenua connections to emerge in the coming years.

Established resettled refugee communities already exist in most of New Zealand's main centres.[5] These communities have developed strong voices over the past two decades through a series of umbrella

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[4] There are two key organisations that have regularly covered these trends. MBIE (such as MBIE, 2015) offers semi-regular analysis. The ongoing Ipsos surveys (see Ipsos, 2016) also offers a good international comparison of views

[5] Three of the ten largest urban areas receive no refugee resettlement: Tauranga, Napier-Hastings, and Rotorua.

organisations. Changemakers Resettlement Forum, in Wellington, for example, represents seventeen different refugee background communities many of which also have their own incorporated community associations such as the Afghan Cultural Association of Wellington and the Wellington Somali Council. These organisations were first funded by government under the previous (1999-2008) Labour-led government and are, in the first term of a coalition government, seeing more attention paid to their work. The details on new engagement plans are forthcoming, but the fact that programmes like Strengthening Refugee Voices is being considered alongside the quota increases does signal an indication to bring these groups into decision making on how resettlement takes place. In Appendix Two we go into more depth on organisations that are run by refugee-background people so in lieu of further discussion, we will simply note that any expansion of community sponsorship will need to have significant refugee-background leadership at both governance and advisory/partnership levels.

Community Sponsorship - a successful pilot

The origins of Community Organisation Refugee Sponsorship (CORS) in the contemporary form was as an additional, alternative pathway agreed to during the 2016 refugee quota review. In response to pressure to double the refugee quota, the government at that time increased the annual quota from 750 places to 1000 and indicated agreement for a complementary pathway of community sponsorship. A year later, and just prior to the 2017 election that saw a change in government, the details of the pathway were agreed to by MBIE and applications to become a sponsor were opened.

The pilot programme engaged four community groups to resettle six families. South West Baptist Church (SWBC) in Christchurch took three families, while St Vincent De Paul (Nelson), Gleniti Baptist Church (Timaru) and Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand (Wellington) each received one family. Once the refugees were selected and flew to New Zealand, they spent two weeks at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre in an expedited version of the six-week process[6] offered to government assisted refugees.

The beginning of community refugee sponsorship in Aotearoa New Zealand is also something of a return: up until the formalisation of the refugee intake into a quota in 1987, sponsoring was the primary means by which refugees were welcomed into the country.[7] Many community groups maintain a

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[6] This process will be shortened to five weeks in 2020 to cope with the increase of the government assisted quota to 1500 places.

[7] See Ann Beaglehole's (2013) *Refuge New Zealand*.

memory of this process and the friendships forged through sponsorship. As the quota programme matured, the government provided more support for the core settlement agency. Eventually there was no longer a need for community groups to sponsor so that in the current quota programme resettlement is centralised under the Red Cross.[8] Community members remain central to resettlement under a government assisted model as volunteers with the Red Cross and bring their support networks to help resettlement.[9] For example, in 2016 the Catholic and Anglican churches combined "to contribute household and food items and to set up homes for 104 former refugee households in Wellington".[10]

While the refugees welcomed under the CORS pilot had to be registered and accepted as refugees by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees – as per the government assisted quota – there were a number of additional requirements beyond security, health and broad immigration assessments. The principal applicant (of the family to be resettled) had to be able to prove their English skills, have some work experience or qualification, be aged between 18 and 45, and to be currently living in Jordan or Lebanon. Though the pathway was initially focussed on Syrian refugees, one Chaldean family from Iraq, who had been in Jordan were included in the intake through a nominated (named) connection.[11]

In July 2018 New Zealand's Immigration Minister Iain Lees-Galloway (along with Ministers from Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Argentina, and Spain and the Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative) made a joint statement in favour of community sponsorship in order to "show solidarity with other refugee-hosting states, to maximize refugee integration outcomes, and to find new and innovative approaches to refugee protection" (p. 1).[12] Echoing the sentiment of the previous government that had announced the programme, Minister Lees-Galloway said "we are hopeful that this new approach will bring positive social, economic and cultural benefits for the resettled refugees and the community as a whole" (p.3).[13] This positive sentiment towards community sponsorship was echoed in the United Nations' 'Global

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[8] October 2019 saw a decentralisation of the Red Cross sole charge, with local groups leading or partnering with the Red Cross for the provision of settlement services in many of the new regions (see Hart, 2019).

[9] Fratzke (2017) points to three ways that communities can be involved in sponsorship (from a European context): community support during government run reception (similar to the Red Cross-led model in Aotearoa New Zealand); sponsorship as part of a government-managed effort; and sponsorship as an additional resettlement channel (as per the CORS pilot).

[10] For the full details of this partnership see:
https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/sites/default/files/uploads/20170524sppuchurch_leaders_refugee_community_sponsorship_draft.pdf

[11] See the original media coverage from Radio New Zealand here;
https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/347954/it-s-another-door-for-people-to-come-through and a short story on the Chaldean family here: https://caritas.org.nz/newsroom/stories/community-welcome-and-integration

[12] See the full statement here: http://www.refugeesponsorship.org/_uploads/5b4ca01e5c883.pdf

[13] Ibid.

Compact on Refugees' released in September 2018. As a subsection of the focus on resettlement, that document sought "to establish private or community sponsorship programmes that are additional to regular resettlement, including community-based programmes" (p. 19).[14]

Although the successes and challenges of the pilot may take some years to fully understand, there have been three systematic overviews of what was achieved in the pilot and the next steps for the community sponsorship pathway.[15] First, in November 2018 the Core Community Partnership of the Anglican Diocese of Wellington, the Baptist Union of New Zealand and Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand made a proposal to the Minister of Immigration to partner with them to turn the pilot into a permanent pathway.[16] To achieve that goal, the proposal pointed to the need to open the opportunity to sponsor to more groups and the opportunity to work with Partners to develop a catalyst organisation that would facilitate the process. Appendix A of the 2018 proposal listed forty-seven community groups that had expressed interest in either sponsoring a family[17] within a second intake or otherwise offering material support to the establishment of a permanent pathway.

The second overview came from Amnesty International Aotearoa New Zealand as part of their I Welcome campaign.[18] The report highlighted the positive experiences of sponsors and sponsored refugees, as well as a number of potential sponsor groups who weren't included in the initial pilot. The report also highlights the more than 10,000 people who signed a petition in support of extending the pilot. The recommendations from the report were to extend the pilot with four core principles: the pathway should be permanent, centre community partnership, have a humanitarian focus, and additionality is important for community buy-in.

The third overview of the pilot was a process evaluation released by the Ministry for Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) in May 2019.[19] The evaluation interviewed forty-six people including

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[14] The full document can be found at https://www.unhcr.org/gcr/GCR_English.pdf

[15] Excluded from this list, but still a very valuable source is Bond and Kwadrans' (2019) overview of the legal infrastructure that underpins the adoption of Community Sponsorship in New Zealand, in contrast to that in Canada, the United Kingdom and Argentina.

[16] Find the full document of the Core Community Partners here: https://www.swbc.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/20181112-Community-Sponsorship-Proposal.pdf

[17] Note this has increased to 100 groups.

[18] Find the full report at:
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5adea6a089c1722c3aed0f82/t/5bf4a446898583726608f0cd/1542759605586/AI_Shadow_Report_Final_Final_Web_Spreads-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf

[19] Find the full document of the MBIE process evaluation of the CORS category here:
https://www.mbie.govt.nz/assets/d3cedd12c2/community-organisation-refugee-sponsorship-category-pilot-process-evaluation.pdf

sponsored refugees, sponsors, organisations interested in sponsoring but that did not apply, community organisations, MBIE officials, and the UNHCR. Overall, the evaluation found that the CORS pilot successfully brought communities together to support refugees. MBIE wrote, "the CORS Pilot has achieved its objective of providing an opportunity for community organisations to more actively engage in supporting refugee settlement and to build communities that welcome refugees" (p. vi). They also noted that:

- Research was conducted three months after refugees had arrived and that more time would be needed to fully determine outcomes;

- Models for resettlement evolved with needs;

- There could be a range of partnership types between sponsors;

- Positive relationships between Immigration New Zealand and the sponsors was a strength;

- Mixed perspectives on the selection criteria and process;

- As with the Core Community Partnership Proposal (November 2018), sponsors indicated broader community interest, including an appetite for a new entity to provide information and training for sponsors.

- Immigration New Zealand and the UNHCR were unsure if the current model would allow for scaling up, with challenges around matching the desire for nomination with the already existing selection missions of Immigration New Zealand.[20]

This current report will expand on the lessons from both the MBIE and Core Community Partnership reflections, in addition to offering broader lessons from overseas. We also need to emphasise that there are very limited opportunities within the requirements of the pilot for community sponsorship to assist with family reunification. While nominating specific refugees was possible within the pilot pathway, the other restrictions meant that the majority of nominated cases could not be referred. As the government is currently reviewing the refugee family reunification system, it is worth considering the potential and limits of this system to assist, especially in special cases where family members are identified that do not fit either tier one or tier two of the current family reunification system.

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[20] See Jones and Teytelboym (2017) for an overview on the range of matching options that are available for both government and community sponsored refugee.

Finally, it is worth noting that the pilot programme was additional to the annual refugee quota. Many groups spoken to have expressed concern that without an explicit commitment to community sponsorship being additional to the annual quota (rather than subtracting from it) then they would not be happy taking part in the pathway. As with the Amnesty 2018 review, we want to emphasise that – as with almost all of the international examples below – the motivation to participate in sponsorship would diminish if there was a perception that the community was doing the work that should be done by the government quota.

Aotearoa New Zealand after the mosque attacks

The attacks have led to a fear that Aotearoa New Zealand is not the safe haven it was once thought to be. Over the coming year and beyond, we anticipate that the type of racial discrimination that followed the attacks is likely to continue. Though we will not go into depth on the possible psychological, social and cultural outcomes of the attacks and the responding narratives, we do want to suggest that community sponsorship of refugees is a strong practical response that community members can take to show solidarity and unity with Muslim and migrant communities. For more details on how sponsorship can meet these outcomes, we comment on how the pathway contributes to social cohesion in the following pages.

The potential of community sponsorship

There are four key areas where Immigration contributes to Aotearoa New Zealand society:

Contribution to humanitarian objectives

The impetus for the CORS category of refugee protection came from the New Zealand government's response to the 2015 Syrian refugee crisis. As such, the core contribution of CORS is to contribute to the humanitarian objectives. As noted in the campaign to double the refugee quota, Aotearoa New Zealand welcomes significantly fewer refugees per capita than similar countries – less than half of Australia's numbers, even after the quota has grown to 1500.[21] A well-established community sponsorship pathway

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[21] See Stephens (2018)

would allow New Zealanders to rapidly scale up our contribution to emerging refugee crises without a change in government policy.

Just as community sponsorship overtook the government assisted intake in Canada in 2016 for the first time, we see the potential of this programme to be the main method by which New Zealanders can respond to a future refugee crisis. Given that the combined Anglican and Catholic churches pledged 1200 places during the last crisis (with the Baptist Union committed to also assist) without a scheme existing,[22] we are confident of the potential for a well thought out, flexible pathway designed with the ability to increase in scale.

Contribution to New Zealand's economy and labour market

While most immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand is based on the skills brought by the migrant, refugees come to Aotearoa New Zealand as part of the smaller humanitarian intake. Depending on the model adopted by Aotearoa New Zealand in the review of the CORS programme, it is likely a skills aspect will remain in the pathway. For example, in the pilot programme, primary applicants were required to have a certain capacity to speak English as well as tertiary education and/or work experience. It is also worth noting that, as with the government assisted intake, the age of the pilot refugees was relatively young. The inclusions of many young families with many school-age children will assist in offsetting the effects of New Zealand's ageing population.

Contribution to social cohesion

After the mosque attacks on March 15, SWBC supported the resettled families in coping with their losses and the broader challenges faced by the community. The CORS programme had created bonds between church members and the Muslim community, reflected in national media coverage, in stark contrast to other groups that did not participate in community sponsorship.[23] The sponsorship relationship not only connects new arrivals to existing communities but also creates a bridge between already existing resettled refugee communities and the places in which they are welcomed. The values

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[22] See Jones (2015)

[23] For example, see this story from *Stuff* reporter Cecile Meier as part of their 'God in a Time of Terror' series: https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-shooting/112928248/church-supports-mosque-attack-victims-as-they-would-their-own-family

of community sponsorship are closely aligned to those of the Welcoming Communities partnership between Immigration New Zealand, the Office of Ethnic Affairs and the Human Rights Commission.

Contribution to security of Aotearoa New Zealand's borders

Part of the justification for increasing the government assisted refugee quota has been to expand options for displaced people to arrive through a UNHCR sponsored method rather than risk more dangerous avenues to seek protection. While we unreservedly hold to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and subsequent protocol, that protect the rights to asylum, we also acknowledge the potential danger to refugees when resettlement pathways to Aotearoa New Zealand are stymied. Increasing the possibilities for refugees to come to find protection through any of the resettlement pathways decreases the pressure on refugees to seek protection through becoming asylum seekers. Finally, as all CORS refugees are screened before arrival, like government assisted refugees, there is no question about the identities of the refugee on arrival.

Section 2: International examples of community sponsorship

This section considers both the longstanding Canadian system for private and blended models of community sponsorship, alongside emerging systems from around the world.

Canada

The Canadian model is the only mature community sponsorship model in the world. Developed in response to the movements of refugees from Indochina (mostly from Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos[24]), the system has resettled 300,000 people in the last four decades. The community sponsorship model has matured through time, in both scale and complexity, although there are two fundamental principles that guide their work:

- Additionality: Privately sponsored refugees are over and above the refugees resettled by the government (Government Assisted Refugees).

- Naming: Sponsors can propose the individual refugees they wish to resettle.[25]

While naming is a fundamental principle for Private Sponsorship of Refugees (PSR), Canada has also developed a Blended Visa-Office Referred (BVOR) visa. This approach sees the UNHCR select refugees to be sponsored, with the government providing half of the financial support in the first year. The BVOR approach balances the needs of the most vulnerable refugees with the community desires to resettle refugees, additional to the government assisted refugees (GAR) intake. BVOR refugee selection has matured with the Canadian refugee response so that the UNHCR provides files of potential refugees to the Canadian government who then provide these files to the sponsor. Any of those not sponsored within 14 days then enter into the government assisted route.[26]

As a mature model, the Canadian system has found ways for larger organisations with a track record of sponsoring to play a bigger role in community sponsorship. The government has created a category of Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH) who are established and trusted enough to be awarded a total

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[24] See Molloy and Simeon (2015) for an introduction to a special issue of *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* that goes into depth on the Indochinese crisis, the creation of a Private Sponsorship path and a complication of simple narratives on government and private sponsorship of refugees in Canada.

[25] See https://ccrweb.ca/en/private-sponsorship-refugees

[26] For the full process see Government of Canada (2019) at: https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-outside-canada/private-sponsorship-program/blended-visa-office-program/how-to-apply.html

number of possible sponsored places per annum. The SAH can then use all these places themselves, give them to other SAHs or work with any group of five individuals to welcome the refugees. Effectively, the SAH functions as a sub-contractor to both oversee and encourage community sponsorship.

A 2016 review of the two streams (government assisted refugees (GAR) and private sponsored PSR)) found that the privately sponsored refugees fared better across the board from language acquisition to economic performance, and employment.[27] GAR refugees tended to need more specialised health care and schooling. The reason for these different needs and outcomes came down to the fact that GAR refugees are specifically selected as the most vulnerable, while PSR refugees are still refugees, but are selected based on their connection to Canada.[28]

2016 also marked the first time that PSR refugees arrived in Canada in larger numbers than the GAR refugees and was also the first time that a country other than New Zealand, welcomed more resettled refugees than they received asylum applications. The first of these facts points to the potential of a mature community sponsorship model to deliver on humanitarian policy outcomes, while the second reinforces this possibility due to the similarity in situations between Aotearoa New Zealand and Canada as countries distant from the source of refugees. An Ipsos poll from 2016 also showed New Zealanders and Canadians have closely similar views on the ability of refugees to fit into the country.

Since 2016 there have been numerous visits to Aotearoa New Zealand by experts in the Canadian system, sponsored by the UNHCR[29], and the New Zealand Initiative[30], with representatives from both the Red Cross[31] and Amnesty International[32] going to Canada to learn more about the programme. We see the Canadian model as both proof of concept as well as worthy of emulation. However, we are also aware that it needs to be seen in the context of forty years of practice-based learning. For more

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[27] For critical views that dissent from this view, either in part or total, see Ritchie's (2018) challenge to the idea that Canada's system can truly be additional, Kyriakides et al (2018) on some of the stereotypes of sponsoring communities and Molloy and Simeon (2015) on the envy of the GAR system's independence and monthly allowances in the 1980s.

[28] Government of Canada (2016)

[29] Martin Mark came to Aotearoa New Zealand as a guest of the UNHCR and the Office for Refugees in the Archdiocese of Toronto.

[30] The New Zealand Initiative bought Dean Barry to Wellington for a discussion of the community sponsorship model in April, 2016. For the full video see: https://nzinitiative.org.nz/reports-and-media/event-videos/communities-of-care-how-canada-welcomes-so-many-refugees/

[31] See this article on Silvia Dancose's eight months in Canada via the Red Cross (2017): https://www.redcross.org.nz/stories/new-zealand/doing-good-half-world-away/

[32] See Meg De Ronde's report on this in the Amnesty International Annual Report (2018) here: https://www.amnesty.org.nz/sites/default/files/Amnesty%20International%20NZ%20Annual%20Report%202018.pdf (p.5).

comparable examples, we need to look at other international examples that have emerged since the Syrian crisis.

Emerging international programmes

As noted in the introduction, after the Syrian refugee crisis, the Canadian government worked with the UNHCR, the University of Ottawa, the Radcliffe Foundation and the Open Society foundation to establish the Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative (GRSI). The organisation's goal is framed in a simple manner: there are 1.2 million refugees needing resettlement and community sponsorship can help resettle some of these people.[33] The GRSI have been working with twenty countries to encourage government and community interest in the pathway, with Aotearoa New Zealand one of three countries where they are helping to launch new sponsorship initiatives (Giustra, 2018).

It is worth noting that community sponsorship of refugees took form in each of these countries for reasons far too numerous to go into depth here, but included the ideologies and political circumstances of the governing parties at the time of the Syrian crisis, strength of refugee diaspora in each nation, legal infrastructure already in place[34] and the other resettlement and aid packages that countries did or did not put in place around the refugee crisis. The range of other community sponsorship programmes in Europe is developed by Fratzke (2017), including mention of shortcomings in attempts in Poland, though she concludes with a generally positive view of the programme as long as it is co-created by government and community, and is not seen as the one and only way that refugees should be accepted and settled.

United Kingdom

In 2014, the government of the United Kingdom set up the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS) to resettle 20,000 of the most at risk people who had fled the Syrian Civil War by 2020. In mid-2016 the scheme was expanded to include a community sponsorship pathway, but there was limited uptake in the first six months. A year later the Home Office of the United Kingdom government pledged £1m to create Reset UK, a catalyst organisation designed to harness the public goodwill from the crisis

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[33] It is interesting to note the emphasis on resettlement numbers here in contrast to displaced people (68 million) or refugees (25 million). For Aotearoa New Zealand it may also be a good idea to focus on the numbers needing resettlement so as to not play into the idea that there are too many people for resettlement not to help.

[34] See Bond and Kwadrans (2019).

and enable large scale community sponsorship of Syrian refugees.[35] While sponsors are not able to select or nominate specific refugees, they are able to request a family or person based on shared linguistic capacity and the Home Office will take that into consideration when placing the most vulnerable people with sponsoring groups. Groups must also have £9000 per family.[36]

In June 2019, the community sponsorship programme in the United Kingdom was expanded beyond the 2020 goal and to include other refugee communities around the world in what will be known as the Global Resettlement Scheme.[37] The scheme aims to resettle 5000 people per year on top of the existing government funded stream. These changes will go some distance to remedying those concerns raised by 2018 Scottish Refugee Council research that indicated distrust of the Home Office using community sponsorship as a cost cutting measure to achieve their resettlement goals. The same report offers useful considerations for the range of methods that might be best used to engage with communities that may support community sponsorship, but who are also sceptical of government motivations for this pathway. In particular, there was an argument from the Scottish Refugee Council for resettlement organisations to have more of a say in the design of both the resettlement programme and its engagement with potential sponsors.[38]

The United Kingdom model offers many lessons for Aotearoa New Zealand based on the shared emergence of the pathway as a response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis in 2016, although the limits and opportunities of the schemes have diverged sharply since their announcement. We can take lessons from the programme in dealing with different demographic groups within Aotearoa New Zealand that may or may not be as welcoming of community sponsorship when there is already a strong government assisted pathway in operation.

There are also some major differences between the schemes, especially in that the Aotearoa New Zealand model was very limited in its pilot, yet was additional to the government assisted stream. It may also be worth considering that since the United Kingdom model was initially part of achieving the goal of resettling 20,000 people from the Syrian Civil War, the government was strongly invested in the success of the programme. That incentive may well have been central to the £1m seed-funding offered by the

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[35] See https://resetuk.org/blogs/home-office-awards-%C2%A31m-help-communities-support-refugees-0
[36] See Phillimore and Reyes (2019)
[37] See https://resetuk.org/blogs/great-news-community-sponsorship-uk-after-2020
[38] See Beesley (2018); November 2019 has seen a first for the scheme: the first attempt by the Syrian community DAMASQ to raise funds to support the resettlement of another Syrian family. See their GoFundMe page for more details: https://www.gofundme.com/f/d7a67u-community-sponsorship?fbclid=IwAR24hZGmYFMg_ZWgPqS1xetlJr-5dOosGmChpkvtZY6shJoHnvQcPZtefo8

Home Office to create an independent catalyst in Reset UK. In contrast, the same urgency has not been as present in New Zealand, where the Syrian response was to take an additional 600 Syrians over a three-year period.[39]

Ireland

Although the Irish refugee community sponsorship programme only began in mid-2018, it involves some unique features that would be valuable to consider for Aotearoa New Zealand. As with the Reset UK model, the Irish system involves a close alliance between the government and a catalyst-type organisation. The programme also highlights a rights-based approach[40] that centres the experiences of resettled people and seeks to enhance strong human rights outcomes from the resettlement process.[41]

The Irish programme began with a pilot fifty places and ten community organisation - as the population of Ireland is roughly the same as New Zealand's these contrasts are perhaps more informative than attempting to work out per capita comparisons from countries with much larger populations and infrastructures. We also note that Ireland, like New Zealand, has avoided much of the anti-immigration rhetoric being seen elsewhere in Europe and North America and as such could be a useful model for working with more sympathetic publics.[42] Finally, the Irish programme is slightly younger than the United Kingdom model and as such it does not yet have the kind of evaluation that could indicate lessons. Attention should continue to be paid to this model as it evolves, especially with regards to seeing how a human rights framework can be incorporated. In November, 2019, there was an announcement that the pilot would become a formal pathway for resettlement (Amnesty International, 2019a).

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[39] For the announcement of the now-completed emergency intake see Vance (2015).

[40] Also used by organisations like ChangeMakers Resettlement Forum in Wellington, New Zealand: https://crf.org.nz/about-us/

[41] For the full policy see:
http://www.integration.ie/en/ISEC/Community%20Sponsorship%20Policy%20Framework%20WEB.pdf/Files/Community%20Sponsorship%20Policy%20Framework%20WEB.pdf (p.5)

[42] See Irish Times (2019, July 19). Note that this similarity is based on public rhetoric around immigration. For a book length overview of these issues see Hall (2017); for a quantitative comparison see Ipsos (2016). We would also note that Ireland and Aotearoa New Zealand both have large populations living overseas and this might play into the reluctance to scapegoat foreign workers.

Australia

While Australia has had the opportunity for communities to sponsor refugees since 2013, the places available have not been additional to the government assisted intake, the costs of participation and barriers to selection have been prohibitively high and the barriers to selection and the focus has been on individuals and businesses as sponsors rather than groups or collectives. In 2019 there has been renewed interest in the programme through two main avenues. First, there were promises from both the Australian Labor and Green parties to make community sponsorship an additional part of an expanded quota.[43] Then, in May 2019 a group of resettlement agencies, NGOs and refugee background communities released a position paper that sought to reboot the model with lower thresholds and the core requirement of the visa category being additional rather than supplementary.[44] This paper marked the launch of the Community Refugee Sponsorship Initiative (CRSI - not to be confused with the global programme coming out of Canada, GRSI).[45]

Others examples

So far we have focussed on the community sponsorship examples from fellow English speaking countries as this allows for easier communication and comparison of models. However there have also been community sponsorship programmes in Europe and South America. In Germany, aspects of community sponsorship have been in place as part of dealing with the more than one million claims in the 2015 year.[46] In the last year a more formalised community sponsorship programme called NesT has been established to host 500 people from a national fund set up for responding to the movement of asylum seekers and refugees.[47]

In the Netherlands there is Samen Hier (Together Here)[48], in Spain a new sponsorship programme has been piloted in the first part of 2019 that also works with independent and autonomous regions[49], and

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[43] See Vogl and Hirsch (2019).

[44] See Doherty (2018) and Hirsch, Hoang and Vogl (2019) for criticisms of the Australian scheme, as well as the full paper of the reboot of the programme here:
https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CRSIPositionPaper.pdf

[45] For more details see their website: http://www.ausrefugeesponsorship.com.au/

[46] See MacGregor (2019)

[47] See Bathke (2019)

[48] See https://www.samenhier.nl/

[49] See http://prensa.empleo.gob.es/WebPrensa/noticias/inmigracionemigracion/detalle/3408

in Argentina the Syrian refugee response has been through the community sponsorship Programa Siria [50] which was initially only for family linked cases but expanded in 2016 to include community sponsorship of non-linked cases. [51] As part of the European redistribution of asylum seekers, elements of community sponsorship are also present in the French, Belgian and Italian Humanitarian Corridors programme. [52] Between 2013-18 across Europe, 30,000 people were resettled using some form of community sponsorship model. [53] The one glaring omission, given their historical role as the key resettlement state, is the United States of America – Bhaduri (2018) gives an overview on the potential for sponsorship there, though it seems doubtful given the current slashing of government assisted refugee numbers and denigration of the rights of asylum seekers by the Trump administration. [54]

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[50] See https://www.argentina.gob.ar/programa-siria

[51] See UNHCR (2017)

[52] See Caritas (2018)

[53] See MacGregor (2019)

[54] Though arguable, the case might be made that a neoliberal impetus that substitutes government assisted refugee numbers for private sponsored cases - as with the initial role of sponsorship in the United Kingdom - the explicitly anti-refugee rhetoric of the Trump administration appears to be coming from a range of ideological positions and is not simply cost cutting. Bhaduri (2018) makes both the argument that the time is ripe for private sponsorship and that it is difficult to know in the Trump era.

Section 3: Recommendations for developing community sponsorship

In this section, we synthesise the lessons from previous sections into five recommendations for developing community sponsorship of refugees in Aotearoa New Zealand.[55] The third of these recommendations – developing a catalyst entity – sits at the nexus of many of these suggestions. Ultimately, this section is drawing out commonalities that have led to – or are on track for – successful community sponsorship programmes. Success entails a programme that is enduring and can offer a meaningful contribution to New Zealand's immigration goals, particularly in terms of humanitarianism. We are also wanting to avoid any common mistakes that have seen limited engagement with programmes in other countries.

The focus for these recommendations is primarily on the relationships between the New Zealand government and local civil society actors within this country's unique context. Where there are some recommendations that focus on the UNHCR and Immigration New Zealand, these are drawn from the discussions in MBIE (2019) and international best practice, rather than based on further research into the local context or international mechanisms, which were beyond the scope of this study.

1.   Proactive partnerships

Relationships between an emerging catalyst and the two Te Tiriti o Waitangi partners will be central to ensuring that community sponsorship has prolonged viability as a truly Aotearoa New Zealand humanitarian option. In the following parts, we point to these two partnerships, the basis for these relationships and work from the contextual discussions of already existing relationships between Te Tiriti partners and resettled refugee communities described in section one.

Government and catalyst

Perhaps the most vigorous adoption of a model of community sponsorship since the refugee crisis has been in the United Kingdom. This model has expanded because of a strong partnership in programme

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[55] These recommendations should be read alongside, not instead of, a range of research carried out in Aotearoa New Zealand on best-practice refugee resettlement. McIntosh and Cockburn-Wootten (2019) offer the most recent overview and synthesis of material on this topic, covering seven areas of concern from their interviews with 36 refugee-sector organisations.

design and implementation, including development and funding of a catalyst by the Home Office and civil society.[56] This relationship resulted in the launch of Reset UK in early 2018. While there have been some shortcomings to the United Kingdom model, as noted in section two, the June 2019 changes to the system evidence the result of community concerns about a lack of additionality being taken seriously, as well as an expansion of the system from 2020 onwards.

In Aotearoa New Zealand we envisage that MBIE could take on the role played by the Home Office in the United Kingdom and enter into a collaborative partnership with an emergent catalyst. We anticipate that for the civil society to adequately participate in such a relationship there will need to be some preliminary work on the establishment of a sector catalyst (see recommendation 3 below) that will take over the capacity building work currently being undertaken by community organisations.

Tangata whenua and catalyst

A new community sponsorship pathway for refugee resettlement in Aotearoa New Zealand presents the opportunity to go beyond consultation or engagement to an active partnership with Māori. We believe it is of critical importance to engage with Māori as they are tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand and are partners, alongside the Crown, to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We also believe that embedding Māori values and perspectives in the design and implementation of a community sponsorship programme will enhance the successful integration of refugees into Aotearoa New Zealand.

Recent years have seen increased interest in both tikanga Māori approaches to welcoming refugees, as well as engagement in the welcoming process from a range of mana whenua. As discussed in the literature in Appendix One, refugees – from many backgrounds – have long expressed a connection with Māori. This connection comes from many sources including being populations that are smaller in number than the pākehā majority leading to an attunement to cultural needs which aren't always emphasised by the majority. There are also similarities that have been expressed in shared experiences of colonial oppression and in what it means to be indigenous to the land. These connections make it essential for Māori to be part of the decision making around programme design, implementation and

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[56] In this document we use civil society as a broad term that encompasses all non-government organisations and actors who may wish to participate in community sponsorship. A non-exhaustive list would include residents groups, community trusts, schools, sports clubs, churches, trade unions, social service organisations, marae and iwi organisations.

community sponsorship more broadly. We want to facilitate a journey of belonging for newcomers and meaningful involvement of Māori is a key aspect of that.

We see the need to engage, listen and understand what is needed and then work together to embed those learnings into programme design and implementation. Recent literature (see Appendix One) suggests the ability to frame welcoming through manākitanga in a tikanga Māori framework, but what that specifically means in regard to forced migration has not yet been fully articulated.

2.   Grow awareness of programme; broaden pathways to increase sponsors

Our second suggestion to grow community sponsorship is related to the simple facts around a lack of knowledge: there is a need to grow awareness of the programme if it is to become a long-term, sustainable pathway for refugee protection. This suggestion will be split into three parts. First, some discussion on growing awareness of the programme. Second, we will discuss challenges and opportunities to increase sponsor numbers and, hence, protection places. Finally, we consider how sponsor numbers will be maximised through broadened pathways, and the implications of changes to the requirements for sponsoring.

(i) Growing awareness

Awareness of community sponsorship has mainly come through proactive media collaboration between the sponsoring organisations and Amnesty International Aotearoa New Zealand. As part of that media work to create a permanent pathway, new techniques and mediums for awareness raising will need to take place. Some of these techniques will be in response to an announcement on an expanded programme, but there will also be a need to replicate the social and mainstream media aspects of the advocacy work on a permanent pathway.[57]

However, despite proactive attempts to generate interest, we expect that the best way to raise awareness will be as part of an immediate way for the public to respond to large scale emergency situations such as the 2015 refugee crisis. This means that it is essential to have a community sponsorship pathway in place *prior* to any future refugee crises. That system will be built on an

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[57] It may be interesting to note that, in terms of followers, Twitter seems to have led to the greatest engagement over Instagram and Facebook for the United Kingdom's community sponsorship catalyst, Reset UK.

understanding that there will be a steady interest in community sponsorship but also peaks of interest during publicised crisis periods. In a similar manner, the United Kingdom offers a good example of a permanent pathways having been created after an initial intake. That permanent pathway has expanded beyond the Syrian focus and is now in good stead to respond to any future crises.

Many New Zealanders intuitively understand the concept of refugee sponsorship. Some of this understanding comes from the pre-1987 method of welcoming refugees via pathways that had not, at that point, been codified into an annual quota. However, some of that intuition relies on a misunderstanding of sponsorship as opening up one's home to refugees, rather than the more nuanced sponsorship within a community setting which requires the active resettling of an individual or a family in independent circumstances.[58] This intuition may both help and hinder the growth of sponsorship: on the one hand it is easy to communicate the core idea behind sponsorship, but on the other hand, misunderstandings over issues like cost, the size of the team or organisation that is required to sponsor, or assumptions about spare bedrooms can lead to many false starts. We are excited that there is an intuitive appeal to sponsorship and see that growing awareness of the programme will both increase sponsors and clarify an Aotearoa New Zealand model of community sponsorship.
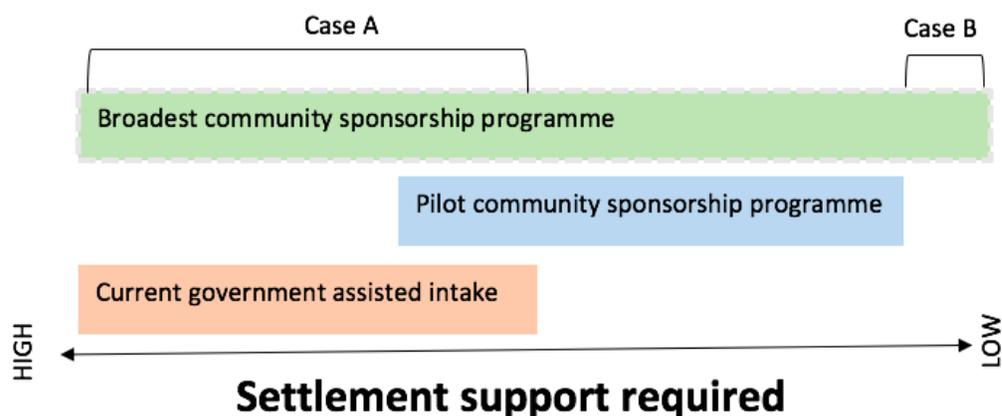
(ii) Broadening the pathway

The following table gives a visual representation to how we see the relationship between the government assisted quota, the pilot programme and an expanded community sponsorship that allows every group that wants to sponsor to be able to. The purpose of the comparison is to highlight how the parameters set out in the pilot may increase or decrease take up of the pathway by potential community sponsors. If our aim is to draw on all of the available and competent community support, we believe it is necessary to consider expanding the terms of the pathway. Cases A and B below will provide examples of sponsor-refugee relationships not met by the pilot, but which could lead to growth in community sponsorship.

The image over page offers a visual contrast of the current government assisted quota with the pilot intake. It shows that while there is some crossover in the needs-levels of new refugees in these two

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[58] In the wake of the 2015 crisis, some of this momentum was hosted via the Open Home, Open Borders website. See an interview with Wallace Chapman (2015) 'Urs Signer - Open Homes, Open Borders' and Yeoman (2015) where this is clarified and discussed. We would also point readers attention to some of the problems with resettlement when sponsors insist on refugees living in the same spaces as sponsors, even in the short term (see

pathways, the requirements of the pilot meant those welcome there required less specialised support. The settlement support required can be assessed with reference to the refugee's capacity (existing connections in New Zealand, English skills, job preparedness for Aotearoa New Zealand economy) as well as any extenuating circumstances. For example, the current government assisted quota has special sub-quota for Women at Risk and Medical/Disabled cases. If we also add in refugees who lack literacy skills or education then we have a sense of the cases currently welcomed through the government assisted intake. The role of a humanitarian refugee policy supported by the government, in this case, is to welcome people based on their needs (with the requisite security assessment). As such, this work needs to be seen as an indisputable core and the basis from which an additional intake from community sponsorship emerges. To make the point clear: there must be no substituting of community sponsorship for government assisted places, as we have seen in both the Scottish response to the United Kingdom model and the lack of take up in the programme in Australia. Any substituting is likely to lead to a sense that a privatisation of the government's responsibilities is taking places which will undermine the willingness of the community to participate, and will undermine the humanitarian outcomes from the entire sector and immigration policy.

A note is needed on the purpose of the above comparison. This kind of continuum and comparison can be seen as contentious and is not intended to undermine by way of comparison the amount of work required by anyone involved in refugee resettlement. All of this work is needed – whether it is as a volunteer for a government assisted intake or through community sponsorship – and we have no intention of denigrating the efforts of any people based on their often voluntary support. Similar issues arise when discussing which regions have the most 'at risk' people who deserve resettlement. On the one hand we can defer to the UNHCR to determine needs and to allocate refugee spaces accordingly - this is, after all, their job. However, on the other hand, the UNHCR responds – within certain parameters – to the wishes of a country. In both regional selection and the basis of an expanded community sponsorship it is up to Aotearoa New Zealand to determine the extent to which we want communities to be involved in sponsorship. Mature models, like the Canadian one, offer a rich history of how the pathway can develop through time to meet the broadest possible sponsorship pathways without having necessarily started with all those in place. We would argue that the principle of allowing the largest number of groups to participate should be acknowledged at the outset: a narrow pathway will lead to fewer community groups sponsoring refugees. Since the community sponsorship model is in addition to

Case A

Case B

Broadest community sponsorship programme

Pilot community sponsorship programme

Current government assisted intake

HIGH

LOW

Settlement support required

a core of those with the highest needs, there is less of a concern about cherry-picking those refugees most able to resettle.

The pilot community sponsorship programme required English skills from at least one of the main applicants, as well as education or industry experience that could translate into Aotearoa New Zealand employment. The pilot also allowed some degree of nomination/naming that indicated a pre-established connection that may require less support once the refugee had arrived [59] (simply because some of the establishment of connection had already been ascertained - we'll revisit this in Case B, below). The restriction of the programme to sites in the Middle East where Immigration New Zealand was already conducting quota resettlement interviews restricted some of the nomination cases. Similarly, the requirement for the UNHCR to be an intermediary between the refugee case and Immigration New Zealand and the sponsor added another restriction to who could be welcomed. [60]

If the aim of the community sponsored pathway is to allow all of the groups that wanted to sponsor to be able to, then a more tailored and expansive system would need to be put into place. To help explain why the current pilot does not allow all groups who want to sponsor to be able to, we will refer to two cases built from actual conversations with potential supporters, but that we express in the hypothetical.

Case A represents a well-established organisation with a strong track record of volunteering with refugee-background people. This organisation is most concerned that the community sponsorship does

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[59] These improved outcomes are always generalised across multiple intakes. There are no guarantees that connections will lead to stronger outcomes in all cases.

[60] As Dean Barry discussed in the Canadian model , in some cases the UNHCR was not the primary agency in dealing with resettlement claims (New Zealand Initiative, 2016). In these situations, refugees would need to be nominated by a sponsor and then go through the requisite interviews at a Canadian embassy. In sites where no embassy existed, rarer interviews could be conducted through a United States embassy.

not do enough to help the most at-risk people. Its members want the opportunity for their communities to sponsor a similar pool of refugees to that being welcomed by the government assisted quota. These people are much less interested in bringing in people that have similar characteristics to those in the pilot. This group did not participate in the pilot as they did not think it welcomed the most difficult cases.

Case B represents an organisation without a strong connection to refugees, but who are brought together by another strong interest which also happens to be the basis for persecution that lead to people becoming refugees in the first place: sexual orientation, religion, or connection to other forms of social justice. In Case B the group would only be interested in sponsoring a refugee if they were a member of their own interest group. This group could have potentially sponsored someone under the pilot programme, but would only have done so if nominating a member of their group were possible. [61] This case can encompass as specific situation as sponsoring a friend who has become a refugee, through to the broader case of sponsoring, like Caritas and the Chaldean community in the pilot, a person who is part of a wider religious group. Case B is particularly interesting for the study as it is the only one where sponsors have a connection to the refugees before they are welcomed to the country and, hence, have a great sense of responsibility and commitment to make sure that the sponsored person excels in their new life.[62] This is also the case where Immigration New Zealand would be required to do much more work in dealing with individual cases. Though Case B does not deal with the most at risk humanitarian cases, it is worth remembering that is does still offer resettlement to someone who is a refugee, thereby opening up a pathway to people who do not initially match the UNHCR resettlement criteria. As this case goes above and beyond the government assisted quota it leads to a net benefit to our humanitarian outcomes, even if the person sponsored is not at the most risk from their displacement as those who the UNHCR would usually put forward for resettlement.

An alternative to solving some of the issues in Case B can be seen in the Canadian BVOR approach, outlined in Appendix Two, where members of an interest group are identified between selection and arrival. At that point, community sponsors are able to choose matches for their sponsoring, with the unselected cases being welcomed through the government assisted path. This would work well for many groups, but would not address the case where a sponsor wants to sponsor a specific refugee who they

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[61] It is worth noting that in the MBIE review of the programme, Immigration New Zealand expressed that it would take more resources for nomination to be successfully implemented.
[62] See Kyriakides et al. (2019) for an excellent overview of the benefits of contact prior to refugee reception in the Canadian system.

already have a connection to - hence the place for Case B to allow nomination or naming, as with the Canadian PVR model.

A focus on accepting the number of people that matches demand would be the best suited model to both ensure all goodwill is put to use as well as to maximise the humanitarian outcomes for community sponsorship. If this approach were agreed to, there would need to be a genuine reconsideration of this as a separate pathway that Immigration New Zealand is resourced for, rather than relying on selection being tagged on to existing interview and assessment missions.

(iii) Increasing sponsorship numbers

There are also particular challenges and opportunities with moving community sponsorship from a pilot to a permanent pathway: encouraging scale, without compromising quality of sponsors or outcomes; the amount of input sponsor groups have in who they can sponsor and where they are from; how to communicate the specific policy to potential sponsors.

We believe that the intake levels of available places for the programme should be sufficient to allow all capable groups who wish to sponsor to do so. We note that one member of the current governing coalition set a place of 1000 as the upper limit for this quota[63] however, *we are not proposing a number or limit to this programme*. At the same time, we encourage a strong initial bar for sponsoring groups to meet so that only those groups that are capable and committed are accepted into the programme. We believe that it is important to commit to the idea of a demand-based model: the goal over time being for the intake to be determined by the capacity of the community to welcome and integrate refugees.[64]

Canada has over its decades of operation developed numerous pathways (noted in Section Two) for community sponsorship. For mature organisations that regularly sponsor refugees we suggest that there could be a path where they sponsor more at-risk families - including medical/disabled and women at risk - in the same manner as the present government assisted path. We also believe that if the principle of additionality is rigorously adhered to, then maximising the possible spaces would require some form of naming or nominating. Naming is particularly important for groups who would sponsor on the basis of pre-existing relationships and who would *not* sponsor without that relationship in place.

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[63] See Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand (2017).
[64] We will discuss this more in a subsection below on broadening the pathway.

It is worth noting that it would be beneficial for an expanded programme to allow for some of the non-traditional family relationships that are not covered by *family reunification* policy to be met. Displacement of peoples and creation of refugees leads to alternative supporting relationships to emerge. For example, if the only surviving members of one's family is a cousin – or a close family friend – and that relationship develops through years spent displaced together, then it will aid settlement for these people to be resettled together, despite not meeting pre-conceived notions of traditional family structures. While we accept the need for tiering to ensure family reunification (to help those with the least connections, first), community sponsorship could provide an avenue to alleviate the challenges inherent to the present family reunification system.[65] At the same time we also recognise the unique role of the present family reunification system and would not want to see that folded into community sponsorship. This reluctance is based on the success of the current family reunification pathway in dealing with people who are internally displaced (IDPs) but who have not crossed an international border.

In the Canadian system, long term and large sponsoring organisations have the opportunity to become Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH). This pathway allows the SAH to fill an allocated number of places by any group of five or more people who want to participate in community sponsorship. Though the Aotearoa New Zealand pilot did not aim for such a system to emerge, it is useful to know that versions of these kinds of multi-organisational agreements were a factor in the pilot sponsorship provided by Caritas and St Vincent de Paul. More formalisation and encouragement of these connected pathways could be a part of an extended pilot or a permanent pathway. It would be better to begin to think about formalising these kinds of connections in order to make the greatest use of the community goodwill already in existence.

We believe that sponsorship will be a learning journey that will take many forms: some may sponsor only once; others may begin sponsoring based on someone known to them before welcoming others; some may sponsor once and then return to the programme when a large-scale refugee crisis calls them to action. Our aim is to have a programme flexible enough to encourage all of these people to be able to weave people fleeing persecution into safe and caring communities.

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[65] Successful sponsoring groups may also seek to support reunification of families that they have initially sponsored. The naming/nomination option would allow this to move forward through a community sponsorship programme.

3.   Formalising a catalysting organisation

Every community sponsorship programme that has been meaningful and enduring has relied on an organisation to act as an intermediary between the government and sponsoring groups – with larger programmes incorporating, or planning to incorporate, regional or provincial organisations. When New Zealand's original refugee intake relied on sponsors there was a catalyst organisation led by faith communities, the Inter-Church Commision on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement which became the Refugee and Migrant Services in 1990 (then RMS Refugee Resettlement between 2005-8, before becoming Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand until 2012 when it combined with the New Zealand Red Cross).[66]

As discussed earlier catalyst entities have been used across Canada and, now, in the United Kingdom and Ireland. While a catalyst has developed in Australia, it is mostly functioning as an advocacy organisation to adjust the programme into a system that would appeal to the public (additional; not-prohibitively expensive). In some of these situations there are both national and regional entities which fulfill different functions, and draw from different expertise.

In New Zealand, we see a partnership model where a catalyst works to establish itself as a trusted ally as more desirable than an advocacy-based or adversarial relationship. As an ally, the catalyst will be able to work with government to design and improve the programme at a national level as well as create bridges between government and sponsor groups.

Given this background, we believe that a catalyst is necessary, but not sufficient – for the pathway to flourish a catalyst must be present, but its presence does not guarantee success. The catalyst is necessary for increasing the scale of the system – but if the system suffers from any of the initial shortcomings of the United Kingdom model (as noted in the Scottish Refugee Council, 2018, overview) or the Australian model (which CRSI is currently rallying to change) then a catalyst alone will not lead to success.

It is also worth noting that some work has already been done in a quasi-catalyst space. There is already the Core Community Partnership and interested parties who have come together to study, advocate for, and document the lessons of the pilot and international examples. This report is a result of that resourcing and is a further indication of the community support for expanding the programme.

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[66] For a rich history of this programme see pages 96-99 in Chapter 6 in Ann Beaglehole's (2013) *Refuge New Zealand*.

4. Provide targeted support for sponsorship journey

Our research has shown that there is a need for a flexible and targeted approach to support on the sponsorship journey. The sponsorship journey involves both the sponsoring party as well as the sponsored refugees and will depend on the capabilities, languages, experience and enthusiasm of each group.[67] Despite this tendency away from generalising across types of sponsoring situations, we do see four different types of community sponsorship that could be a focus point for targeted support: place-based (faith or secular[68]); interest based; family; and business based.[69] Some of the needs of these different groups have been discussed in part two of this section, such as interest based groups that would only sponsor people if they could nominate someone who shared the same profession, extended community or other connection. Below we will draw out more on these different groups and their needs.

We anticipate the most common type of sponsorship arrangement will be based on an organisation that is grounded in a local community.[70] The concept of place is central to this sponsorship journey as it is the connection in a community that led to the choice to participate in community resettlement, and it is from that community that the resources for resettlement will be drawn. While these groups will be experts in what makes their own communities work, there will be a set of lessons and support which can be built up in time to anticipate both problems and possibilities for these localised groups.[71]

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[67] Lenard (2019) gives a good overview of some of these challenges in her consideration of Month 13 - the first month where sponsors are no longer responsible for sponsored refugees. This is a particularly useful study into the views and anxieties of the host communities.

[68] See Mulholand (2017) for an excellent discussion of the intricacies of a community sponsorship NGO in Alberta, Canada, that began as faith-based, underwent a process of 'secularization' but which also deals with hosting refugees from a religious background.

[69] McKee et al. (2019) give an overview of youth-led community sponsorship through the World University Service of Canada. For our analysis these initiatives currently sit at a crossroad between place, interest and business-based intakes, but could be developed into a separate path if the programme is expanded and initial discussions with New Zealand Universities, the Core Community Partnership, and the World University Service of Canada are fully explored.

[70] Two key texts on non-urban place-based resettlement are worth considering here: first, Haugen's (2019) fairly positive overview on the possibilities of rural resettlement; second, Kyriakides et al. (2018) who use difficulties in a rural setting to discuss the autonomy of refugee and identity of self-rescue through the lens of romanticised orientalist ideas of who or what a refugee is. It may also be useful to consider Morken and Skop's (2017) study of 'non-traditional resettlement destinations' in the United States in particular for considerations of transport methods in cities that lack strong public transport infrastructure.

[71] An understudied concept that could be very useful for programme design is conflict resolution. See Kate, Verbitsky and Wilson (2018) for an excellent overview of refugee resettlement in Auckland and the need for better

It is also possible that there will be sponsors drawn together by interests rather than place. For example, if a nationwide professional body wanted to sponsor someone aligned to that profession, then we would see shared interest as the key link. We can use the fictional example of an Aotearoa New Zealand Lawyers for Human Rights group to illustrate this concept: if they were to bring in a persecuted lawyer, they would do so based on profession (interest) not on place. While the refugee would need to find a place to be based, and it is likely that that would be near a key member of the professional group, that place is secondary to the primary impulse of protection based on shared interests. As with the place-based groups, lessons from successful interest-led groups will need to be used to sketch out and improve future iterations of this type of sponsorship.

The final two types of sponsorship that we envision are family and business linked cases. Both of these forms of community sponsorship have been seen in Canada. There is much that can be learned from the excellent work of the Aotearoa New Zealand based family reunification trusts in assisting New Zealanders of a refugee background in welcoming family members and, in fact, the family reunification system already contains similarities to a sponsorship programme. Businesses may also be a basis of refugee sponsorship as employment will provide the means by which former refugees can support themselves and their families. While there are many necessary caveats to be made around businesses sponsoring refugees – that it must not be or be perceived to be driven by a desire for low-waged employees or any form of indenturing or exploitation – there are many examples from Canada where humanitarian impulses of employers have led to win-win sponsoring situations. For these final two types of sponsorship it is worth noting that they might fit within a hybrid model where the family or business is not a sole or primary sponsor, but work with place based or interest groups to support refugees newly resettled under a community sponsorship initiative. In fact, it is this capacity for a range of motivations, capacities and interests to meld together in unexpected ways that is the promise of community sponsorship.

5. Capture and share learning

One of the shortcomings of community sponsorship in comparison to government assisted programmes, is the lack of a single centralised authority that can – at its best – function as an organisation with a

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understanding of the role of conflict across six key sites including support and services, but also within communities.

strong memory and capacity to learn. The basis of community sponsorship is to decentralise the authority of resettlement organisations and to use that new responsibility as a way to ensure more community buy in. However, the anticipated community buy in may come at the price of the capturing and learning of lessons. One solution to this problem comes in the form of a catalyst organisation (see part three above) that operates at one step-removed from the sponsor.

A key aspect in programme design will be in monitoring and evaluation procedures across the programme. There is an emerging possibility to better understand settlement outcomes and the effects of sponsorship on the resilience of sponsoring groups through work with the University of Auckland. It is important that these formal processes are established early so that as the programme grows experiences and specific voices are not missed or left out. Evaluation will also play a key role in any situation where integration outcomes have not been met, either to structure a way forward for sponsors or refugees, and to ensure quality control in future engagement.

We also believe that there must be strong and honest connections between sponsors and a catalyst so there will need to be more discussion as to what level of monitoring and evaluation is conducted by a catalyst entity and what is done by the government. To be explicit: we see a threat to the capturing and sharing of lessons if the catalyst takes on too much of a government-adjacent role. Similarly, we see an extra justification for the catalyst in terms of having a non-governmental entity that can work alongside sponsors in a manner that will not compromise the sponsors potential future participation in the programme.

In the current Aotearoa New Zealand context, it is also worth noting the Welcoming Communities work that has recently expanded from ten towns in five provinces to many more regions. There are great opportunities for community-led lessons captured by an expanded refugee sponsorship to feed into broader strategies on social cohesion and integration.[72] While there are many differences between the broader migrant and refugee communities, the intensive emphasis on refugee integration, particularly in their first year, offers a rich model to highlight potential needs and opportunities for immigrant communities that might desire similar connections to their new homes.

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[72] See Coley et al. (2019) for a succinct, up-to-date overview of best practice work on refugee integration.

Appendix 1 – Literature review of Māori and refugee resettlement

The following pages draw on published work in both academic spaces, mainstream media and other sources in Aotearoa New Zealand that have offered perspectives, histories and practices where the worlds of resettlement and indigeneity meet. It identifies published information about the interests and values of Māori in welcoming and settling refugees. While we think that there should be more work done on the connections between Māori and former refugees, we also recognise that the team that put this literature review together and reviewed it is predominantly pākehā and so we err on the side of description, not prescription. Colouring in the 'should' will be a partnership, and we don't aim to write before the coming together. The review also gives an overview of the attraction of refugees (and migrants) to Māori values. This connection was put concisely by the Māori Reference Group platform E Tū Whānau[73] (2018), who wrote on World Refugee Day, "Migrants and refugees in Aotearoa are attracted to E Tū Whānau because our Māori values are similar to their own." (n.p.)

The literature on Māori and refugee connections is important for two reasons: first, under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and in their role as tangata whenua, partnership with Māori should be part of any public policy. Second, as we identify from the literature, Māori collective values often resonate more with refugee background people than pākehā values. These values are particularly important for a programme that is centred on the ideas and ideals of community.

Finally, this material provides some background but does not not take the place of direct engagement and consultation with Māori. We see the requirement for this work to happen both with mana whenua in the regions where community sponsorship is to take place, but also at a broader, policy and catalyst-setting space.

Māori as refugees? Māori as displaced?

The present, UNHCR definition of 'refugee' refers exclusively to people forced to cross national boundaries, fleeing war or persecution and who cannot return home.[74] Given that definition, does it

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[73] Funded by the Ministry of Social Development.
[74] The present definition from the UNHCR website reads, "A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons

make sense to say that the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand make refugees of Māori in their own land? Though this displacement was internal to what we now know as New Zealand, 'New Zealand' as a single and whole state was also a product of colonisation. The complex processes that led to the current system of governance in Aotearoa New Zealand brought disparate iwi together, first in their declaration of independence in 1835, and then – for some – through te Tiriti o Waitangi. Speaking of the displacement of Māori as a case of forced migration should be obvious. But also looking at Aotearoa New Zealand as a series of iwi-based geographies and the movement of people as crossing boundaries offers a strong case for rethinking refugee protection away from the imposed nationhood of 'New Zealand'. For example, given the iwi boundaries that existed prior to colonisation, why wouldn't the displacement of a Tuhoe person to Ngāti Whātua territory constitute a refugee movement? In her history of refugees in New Zealand, Ann Beaglehole (2013) describes the displacement of Māori through the succession of inter-tribal warfare, New Zealand Land Wars and subsequent land loss that marked the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand and considers them the country's first refugees.

The idea of Māori as refugees – or as experiencing a similar plight to refugees – persists today. In public forums, though not in any written form, we've had audience members suggest Māori were refugees, still. The sense of disenfranchisement that is at the basis of these comments is real – the effects of displacement for Māori live on in their over-representation in all manner of statistics on poverty, education outcomes and access to health care. While there are differences between the current status of Māori and legal definitions of displacement, refugees, or statelessness, the impacts of colonisation on Māori mirror experiences lived through by contemporary refugees.

In her *New Zealand Sociology* review of *Refuge New Zealand*, Humpage (2014) argues that Beaglehole needed to go into more depth on the idea of Māori as displaced people within a forming New Zealand. She also gestures towards a failure to acknowledge the challenges of refugee-Māori solidarity along the inverse: not Māori as refugees, but refugees as displaced indigenous people. From a pragmatic view – whether "framing Māori as refugee-like serves a useful purpose in improving ethnic relations" (p. 155) – she takes issue with Beaglehole's framing and ultimately rejects the historical claims as they will "muddy the waters" (p. 156) of the present where Māori claims as refugees would not meet accepted UN definitions.

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of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries" (UNHCR, 2019).

Māori approaches to refugee policy

While Māori are still suffering from the loss of land and alienation from culture that is at the heart of colonisation, that does not mean that they have been absent from political claims around immigration and refugees. While it is unreasonable to expect any singular position on immigration from any ethnic group, Māori being no exception, there are some themes that emerge from a review of the literature. Beaglehole (2013) discusses concerns expressed by Māori in both cultural and economic areas: migration is at once an immediate challenge as many new migrants match the "economic profile" (p.175) of Māori, while potentially diluting Māori claims as both the most significant minority population as well as having unique status as tangata whenua and treaty/Tiriti partners. Most recently, these challenges have resulted in halted plans to resettle refugees in Whanganui until iwi are properly consulted.[75]

Kukutai and Rata (2017) discuss the Treaty of Waitangi as the country's first immigration policy and ostensibly a document that should have helped protect Māori rights and property at a time of growing migration from the United Kingdom. They note that it is unsurprising that Māori may feel weary of immigration since it was the large-scale migration to the country that first made tangata whenua into a minority. Further migration, they note, may work to further diminish the special place of Māori as treaty partners, especially if multiculturalism grows out of a Eurocentric model. They suggest that if, in contrast, manaakitanga (broadly meaning 'hospitality' in English) were the grounding value of immigration policy then mana whenua would be more likely to be respected. They also take issue with the idea that migration is an economic benefit, citing shortcomings of GDP per capita as a measure for overall well-being, while focussing on factors like housing.

It is also worth noting that not all migration may be the same for Māori, at least for Tariana Turia, former co-leader of the Māori Party, who claimed in 2007 that Immigration New Zealand policy was undermining the "browning of New Zealand" (see Mills, 2017). The concern from Turia was that there was implicit and explicit bias in immigration policy that favoured people from white countries, even though the Immigration Act (1987) explicitly moved to a skills-based approach to migration. Mills (2017) also states that there is a sense among non-white immigrants that they would be better off if tikanga Māori was at the centre of immigration policy. In the same article, the other Māori Party co-leader, Te

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[75] See Ensor, 2019 and, from a migrant rights perspective, Martin, 2019.

Ururoa Flavell noted that "Māori Party policy is about putting kiwis first, making it harder for firms to hire from overseas, restricting temporary work visas for people earning less than the median wage, and increasing the refugee quota to 1000" (Mills, 2017). Godfery (2019) makes a case rarely articulated, but that helps understand one reason why immigration as a demographic phenomenon should not be seen as a threat to Māori. He writes:

> This is what sets New Zealand apart – and maybe above – other countries in the Anglosphere. Māori rights aren't contingent on their status as a (growing) minority. Population power doesn't secure our rights. The Treaty of Waitangi does. (n.p)

For Godfery, multiculturalism has diminished the dominance of pākehā as the main tauiwi group, but has not - or cannot - undermine the status of Māori as tangata whenua, as borne out by te Tiriti o Waitangi.

In another work, written and published while putting together her broader history of refugees in New Zealand, Beaglehole (2009) makes a nuanced argument about the use of multiculturalism in the wake of the 1986 Immigration Act review[76] to both recast immigration to New Zealand, devalue the first-people aspect of tangata whenua and to forge a narrative of race-relations improvement. In her conclusions, she neatly pulls out contradictions and cross purposes of the way politicians have framed Māori, refugees as immigrants and multiculturalism. For example, her first conclusion notes that casting our ambivalent record on accepting refugees as exceptional and part of an idealised humanitarian record fulfills two functions: first, it can be used to create a narrative that insists it is our duty to welcome more refugees in a time of crisis; but second, this idealisation might also "serve the purpose of assuaging liberal guilt over the real record of exploitation of Māori (sic)" (p. 119).

West-Newman (2015) offers a perspective that sees both legal and Māori frameworks as offering a counterpoint to a neoliberal perspective on immigration that focuses on market value of skills. She notes that the different hierarchy of values expressed by Māori are neither those of the market or those of human rights. Drawing on interviews with twenty Māori participants, she points to a Māori view of welcoming those most in need, even though they are explicitly aware of the "costs and dangers of unconditional hospitality" (p. 18). I'll now address, in more depth, the discussions on tikanga Māori approaches to hospitality, through the concepts of manākitanga and whanaungatanga.

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[76] Codified into law through the Immigration Act (1987).

Tikanga Māori: Manākitanga and Whanaungatanga

From our review of the literature it appears that there has been increasing attention in recent years from scholars and practitioners to incorporate manākitanga (hospitality, as noted above[77]), and to a lesser extent whanaungatanga (relationships), into considerations of how the resettlement process should take place. Manākitanga is a tikanga Māori term that refers to an ethos of hospitality and welcoming to the stranger. Mead (2003) defines the concept as follows:

> Manaakitanga focuses on positive human behaviour and encourages people to rise above their personal attitudes and feelings towards others and towards the issues they believe in. Being hospitable and looking after one's visitors is given priority. The aim is to nurture relationships and as far as possible to respect the mana of other people no matter what their standing in society might be. (Mead 2003, 345)

Manākitanga was central to Maniapoto's (2015) wide-ranging article, describing the history of her family welcoming refugees to the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre. She talks in-depth about the connection between the refugees' lives – dance, music and papatuanuku – and te ao Māori. Cox (2015) offers an analysis of Maniapoto's visits to participate in a "mutually affective reciprocity" (p. 154) based on both manākitanga and a commitment for the teaching of "some Māori to the refugees" (Maniapoto, cited in Cox, 2015, p. 154).

For World Refugee Day, Tuiono (2015) reflected on his partner's Bahai' faith and how that had led him to encounters with Iranian refugees. He describes how the history of colonisation has led many Māori to be skeptical about immigration processes, though he exempts welcoming refugees from that doubt. He refers to both manākitanga and whanaungatanga as grounding principles for a Māori-led immigration process "that support the aspirations of tangata whenua" (Tuiono, 2015; n.p.). At the same time, former Green Party co-leader Metiria Turei invokes both manākitanga and whanautanga to criticise another politician for trying to suggest only women and children should be welcomed to Aotearoa New Zealand as refugees (Waatea News, 2015) . In particular, she singles out whanaungatanga as a universal value for Māori and one which is undermined by not seeing men as part of a family unit.

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[77] The bracketed definitions of manākitanga and whanaungatanga are a shorthand introduction to the ideas that are drawn out in the coming paragraphs. We want to note the tendency to bracket these concepts together as if they were interchangeable can undermine the actual differences in the practices of both concepts with their English language counterparts.

Hazou (2018) expands on basic definitions of manāki, bringing in care-giving, and compassion in addition to hospitality, and framing the need for new approaches around the Māori Party's response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis of 2015. He goes into some depth on the nuances of manākitanga, including breaking it down into constitutive, etymological parts. Using a rights-based framework, he argues for "the reciprocal fostering of rights and dignity that underscores the concept of manaaki" (p. 238) and exemplifies this through a range of theatrical performances across New Zealand.

Kale, Kindon and Stupples (2019) outline a range of scholarly articles, especially those drawing from the arts, where manaakitanga was a central value for working with newcomers though, of those cited, only their own work and that of Hazou (2018) is specifically focussed on refugees. As a corollary to West-Newman's (2015) multiple views of policy on refugees, Kale, Kindon and Stupples (2018) offer an interesting study for all resettlement groups that contrasts market-based views and community participation as markers of good citizenship. The work, like that of Kukutai and Rata (2017), encourages those engaged in resettlement to consider whether economic or market based approaches are neutral and which groups they might privilege.

Though not solely focussed on refugees, Immigration New Zealand's (2017) Welcoming Communities programme lists both whanaungatanga and manākitanga as key underpinning values, as well including a summary of the contents of the plan in te reo Māori. There was no explicit mention of Māori in Immigration New Zealand's Refugee Resettlement Strategy (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). As part of their Refugee Quota Increase Programme (RQIP), Immigration New Zealand (2019) has indicated they wish to broaden engagement with iwi.

Refugees embracing Māoridom

Most of the references so far have been on Māori views and values that would extend to a welcoming of refugees. In this part, we focus on the values that attract refugees to stronger connections with Māori. The values that are shared come from the family focussed culture, with aroha, whanaungatanga, whakapapa, mana/manaaki, kōrero awhi and tikanga all cited as possible shared values. They also highlight a dozen stories of how refugees and migrants have interacted with tangata whenua from 2015 until present (E Tū Whānau website, 2019).

An early discussion of connections between refugees and Māori comes from Beaglehole's (1988) interviews with Jewish refugees who escaped to Aotearoa New Zealand before World War Two. Ilse

Macaskill, for example, said, "In some kind of way, I felt more at home, and particularly comfortable with the Maori people" (p. 51). Other new migrants noted that though there were class differences, there was a greater warmth and acceptance of difference by Māori in contrast to the reserve valued by New Zealanders who were still more British than anything else.

In terms of actual spaces for connection and identification today, as referred to via Maniapoto (2015) above, there are formal waiata taught at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre when new quota refugees arrive. The Red Cross (2019) show how they continue to incorporate some aspects of Māori performance arts in the initial resettlement programme, such as powhiri. There have also been recent stories such as that of Christian Damba who has become fluent in te reo Māori as a way to understand and access that part of local culture (Calder, 2017; Neilson, 2018).

The role of Māori Wardens, marae and strong links to tangata whenua were themes in Marlowe and Lou's (2013) evaluation of how refugee communities fared after the major Canterbury earthquakes in 2010 and 2011. They write that Māori Wardens were particularly useful at identifying when cultural needs were not being met, which was especially important given a reported lack of cultural training for recovery centre staff.

Chant (2011) gives an overview of how whānau ora health programmes[78] were extended to non-Māori communities, including many at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre through the Windsor Medical Centre.[79] She noted that early successes where refugee-background hauora (medical) patients were successfully treated due to their physical and cultural similarities - linking not only how Māori (and Pacific) people behave but how they appear – led to a large role for Windsor at the Mangere Centre. She also noted the attention paid to the creation of a women only staff and how this proved popular with a large range of cultures, including people from Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific.

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[78] Māori created health and well-being programmes. In Chant (2011) whānau ora is the concept rather than a specific government programme of that name.
[79] A large change in Windsor's practice came about when they moved to a new Primary Health Organisation (PHO) - Te Puna Hauora.

Appendix 2 – Literature review of refugee voices in refugee resettlement

The inclusion and centring of refugee voices has been a longstanding challenge in refugee resettlement in Aotearoa New Zealand. This appendix will cover the historical literature and current situation of what has come to be referred to as refugee voice. The appendix draws on a White Paper – Stephens and Dutta (2019) – completed with Massey University's CARE research centre in Palmerston North.

As with the previous appendix on Māori and resettlement, this literature review is important due to the unique insights of resettled populations: former refugees are New Zealanders who have firsthand experience that is vital for how other, new refugees are resettled in the country. We believe that there should be no policies developed for refugees, without refugees at the centre of design and implementation. We also want to re-emphasise that this literature review does not stand in for effective engagement with resettled communities and the wider refugee and migrant communities (including faith groups). As with our review of Māori and refugee relations, it is to be read as more descriptive than prescriptive, aside from the already established point of prioritising these voices.

Strengthening Refugee Voices organisations

This appendix focuses mostly on the organisations that were incorporated around 2006 as part of the Strengthening Refugee Voices (SRV) initiative in New Zealand. We have not gone into international examples – such as Fábos (2019) – due to a mix of the quantity of material that would need to be reviewed, the desire to focus in on refugee voices in resettlement, and the quantity of information already available in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

SRV aimed to resource refugee background community building, representation, research and advocacy in the four major resettlement centres – Christchurch, Wellington, Hamilton and Auckland – of that time. When not referring to these organisations by their name, we will describe them as 'refugee voice' organisations.[80] Prior to this point, only NGOs, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and

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[80] These definitions are not apolitical and we acknowledge the moves by Aotearoa Resettled Community Coalition (formerly Auckland Resettled Community Coalition and before that Auckland Refugee Community Coalition, or ARCC) and Changemakers to move beyond the discussions of refugees, former refugees and refugee background people to focus on the resettled category. We've also steered away from the phrase 'refugee-led' organisations as while the boards of these organisations and many of the staff are from resettled refugee backgrounds there are

government were formally included in discussions of how resettlement should take place. Gruner and Searle (2011) describe how the first refugee voice organisations developed in Auckland in the 1990s: first, through the Auckland Refugee Council[81] then at a national level via the National Refugee Resettlement Forums (NRRF) in 2004.

Interviews by Gruner and Searle (2011) show that, at least in the early years of the fifth National government, resettled refugees felt that their voices were beginning to be heard. There was also an acceptance that it would take some time before those voices had the prominence of the other groups represented at the NRRF. In 2009, the SRV organisations formed the National Refugee Network to offer "a collective voice for former refugees at the national level" (Gruner and Searle, 2011; p. 11). Five years later, Elliott and Yusuf (2014) described how the establishment of these SRV-funded groups helped community leaders feel that their contribution to the annual NRRF had moved beyond the tokenistic.

SRV groups are involved in a wide range of everyday advocacy and service delivery functions. For example, Wellington's ChangeMakers Resettlement Forum began their work as an informal group from 2001 to insist on refugee-background voices being a part of the policy development and service delivery discussions. With funding and incorporation,[82] they expanded their work from advocating for the communities that were settled in Wellington to fundraising, research and community development (ChangeMakers Resettlement Forum, 2018). Their research analyses a wide range of issues including disability support services, family reunification policies, tertiary education access to broader studies of health, youth issues and education outcomes (ChangeMakers Resettlement Forum, 2018).

Despite some dissatisfaction with SRV as a strong vehicle for refugee voices (see points raised in Stephens and Dutta, 2019) the latest document on resettlement priorities, the *New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy - Priorities to 2020,* notes that "at the heart of the Strategy is the refugee voice" (Immigration New Zealand, 2018; p.3) before saying the strategy was created "in conjunction with former refugees and the identification of strategic priorities is undertaken in consultation with refugee communities" (ibid). We see a strong role for participation by SRV groups in the policy design and implementation of a community sponsorship programme.

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also places in the main organisations for non-refugee background people with particular skills. To describe them as 'refugee voice' organisations speaks to their relationship to SRV as well as to their capacity or mandate to speak for refugees who are not yet resettled but who may share community connections with already resettled people.

[81] Auckland Refugee Council still exists, but now has a changed focus as the Asylum Seeker Support Trust.

[82] The total funding for SRV has been $250,000 with approximately, $50,000 for the main centres and $6000 for smaller centres outside of the initial four SRVs. Many of SRVs have pulled together significant funding from other philanthropic groups.

There are many other organisations that speak as refugee voices within Aotearoa New Zealand that we have not addressed yet. For example, the New Zealand Refugee Council is a nationwide organisation that seeks to facilitate the participation of refugee and asylum seekers in every level of the community. The New Zealand National Refugee Youth Council has been very active in recent years in bringing to the fore youth issues and have representatives in every major resettlement location. Refugee background people also work within the New Zealand Red Cross, English as a Second Language (ESL) training groups as well as Multicultural councils at both the local and national levels.[83] Finally there are NGOs like Empower Youth and Third Culture Minds that are refugee-background led organisations focussing on specific issues within resettled communities, though they are relatively small compared to the SRV groups. Finally, in Golriz Ghahraman as a Green Party MP, who will have a book out shortly called *Know Your Place* (Ghahraman, forthcoming), refugee background people have one of their most prominent advocates.

Challenges ahead

There are two related challenges ahead for refugee voices in the foreseeable future: the unintended co-option of resettled voices by funding agencies and issues around refugee voices with an expanded quota and diversified pathways.

Elliott (2007) points out the possibility of co-option of refugee background representatives when they are funded by government. She puts the matter plainly:

> The government may well provide some support for these initiatives in future but is unable to fund activities which involve advocacy aimed at government agencies. Independent funding is required for these sorts of initiatives. (p.33)

While community sponsorship will have a limited advocacy role, any organisation or people who wish to be heard as part of a design and ongoing implementation process need to be aware of the influence of funders goals. De Souza (2011) offers solution to these challenges via a transformative approach in working with the women at risk portion of the quota. This bottom up, transformative approach to voice

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[83] Shaw (2014) offer a fascinating overview of the benefits and challenges of having refugee-background case-workers in refugee resettlement organisations.

is a good example of an iterative research process with the aim being to strengthen the specific voices of the women involved rather than an abstract 'refugee voice'.

As noted in the main part of this analysis, the sixth Labour government is a coalition with the centrist-populist New Zealand First and relies on confidence and supply from the Green Party. Despite the differences in policy among these political parties, agreement was reached on the refugee resettlement quota which, in line with Labour policy, is scheduled to grow to 1500 places in July 2020 (Bennett, 2018). Increases to the refugee quota mean there will be a total of thirteen or fourteen resettlement locations around New Zealand.[84] While many of these new resettlement communities will begin with small intakes from one ethnic community that may be able to represent themselves through naturally evolving communal structures, in the medium and long term these groups will likely face the same challenges in being heard that led to the initial investment in SRV.

The expansion of refugee resettlement sites will mean that there are far more local communities where refugee voices will likely emerge. For community sponsorship of refugees this means that there may well be diminished concerns over a lack of local communities or representatives for newly sponsored families (though it is hard to determine exactly how the expanded quota may or may not affect where sponsors will be looking to welcome refugee). A challenge to keep in mind as this system progresses is the need for advocates who are familiar with the more established resettlement modes to also pay attention to the benefits of the sponsoring model.

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[84] While thirteen of these have been confirmed with providers announced, Whanganui has had issues with a lack of consultation of local iwi (see Ensor, 2019; and from a migrant rights perspective, Martin, 2019).

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