

Refugee resettlement policy and practice: a systematic literature review

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Abstract

With refugee situations increasing in scope, scale and complexity, there has been a renewed emphasis on resettlement as a durable solution and an international responsibility sharing mechanism. The Global Compact on Refugees sets out amongst its objectives the expansion of third-country solutions, including the development of community-based sponsoring programmes allowing members of civil society to engage with the resettlement of refugees directly. However, the decision to implement and operate resettlement opportunities lies with individual states so resettlement policy and practices vary enormously from country to country. Based on a systematic literature review undertaken in three phases between November 2020 and February 2021, this report presents the state of knowledge on refugee resettlement looking at six main aspects: refugees' selection and placement, family reunification, early and longer-term integration, NGOs and volunteers, and monitoring and evaluation. The comparison and analysis of the ways in which different resettlement and sponsorship schemes operate and shape refugee outcomes provide learning and development opportunities for the future of these schemes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) describes resettlement as the negotiated transfer of refugees from an asylum country to another state that has agreed to allow them entry and grant permanent residence where a durable solution cannot be found in the country of asylum. In most instances such residence is granted before departure although in some countries, refugees must apply for their leave to remain on arrival. As refugee situations have increased in scope, scale and complexity, there has been increased recognition of the need to expand the size of refugee resettlement programmes (UNHCR 2019). While projected global resettlement needs reached more than 1.4 million in 2021, only 63,726 refugees submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) were resettled in 2018 (UNHCR 2020). Expanding access to third country solutions is one of four objectives set out in the Global Compact on Refugees (UNHCR 2018).

The UNHCR has a global mandate to provide international protection for refugees and to work with states to try to identify solutions to both short-term and enduring refugee problems. They identify global resettlement needs and advocate for resettlement at the Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement (ATCR). They identify individuals for resettlement in conjunction with local partners, screen those individuals to ensure they meet criteria for resettlement and then support States in undertaking their own screening. Refugees must meet at least one of seven criteria for resettlement (UNHCR 2020):

- Legal and/or Physical Protection Needs of the refugee in the country of refuge (this includes a threat of refoulement).
- Survivors of Violence and/or Torture, in particular where repatriation or the conditions of asylum could result in further traumatisation and/or heightened risk; or where appropriate treatment is not available.
- Medical Needs, in particular life-saving treatment that is unavailable in the host country.
- Women and Girls at Risk, who have protection problems particular to their gender.
- Family Reunification, when resettlement is the only means to reunite refugee family members who, owing to refugee flight or displacement, are separated by borders or entire continents.
- Children and Adolescents at Risk, where a best interest determination supports resettlement.
- Lack of Foreseeable Alternative Durable Solutions, which generally is relevant only when other solutions are not feasible in the foreseeable future, when resettlement can be used strategically, and/or when it can open possibilities for comprehensive solutions.

The decision whether to accept refugees put forward for resettlement lies with individual states. On the whole, refugees cannot choose which country they are resettled to. The majority receive pre-resettlement orientation sessions from states' partner organisations (e.g., IOM) which can include health screening, counselling and provision of knowledge about the resettlement country. The extent of this orientation varies considerably. Most countries have established policy and practice to enable effective settlement in reception countries and to facilitate integration, but the approaches adopted, including their focus and duration, vary enormously.

UNHCR has drawn up a strategy to expand the number of resettlement places and the range of countries engaged in resettlement. In 2018, 27 countries participated in resettlement, accepting a total of 55,700 refugees this way. The top five countries were the US (17,100), Canada (7,700), UK (5,700), France (5,100) and Sweden (4,900). Expanding a sponsorship approach wherein individuals, groups and communities can directly engage in refugee resettlement is part of the strategy to increase resettlement numbers and participating countries. The sponsorship approach originated in Canada in 1979 with the UK being the second country to adopt the approach in 2016. There are now more than ten countries with operational sponsorship programmes which vary from humanitarian corridors to community sponsorship. Policy and practice vary enormously from country to country. Identifying the ways in which different sponsorship and other

resettlement policies and practices function and shape refugee outcomes is important if countries are to implement effective programmes, as most research about resettlement has come from North America.

This report sets out the state of knowledge on refugee resettlement and integration policy and practice, looking at six main aspects: refugees' selection and placement, family reunification, integration, NGOs and volunteers, and monitoring and evaluation. As more countries start to offer resettlement and sponsorship programmes, comparing and analysing findings emerging worldwide provide learning and development opportunities for the future of these schemes.

The next chapter sets out the methods used to identify and analyse the literature on which this report is based. The subsequent seven chapters (Chapters 3 to 8) set out the state of knowledge on six thematic areas identified by the Home Office. These chapters largely consider resettlement programmes; findings that only apply to sponsorship programmes are specifically highlighted. Chapter 3 considers placement and selection, chapter 4 the role of NGOs and volunteers in resettlement and chapter 5 the policy around family reunion for resettlement refugees. The following two chapters focus on integration: chapter 6 looks at integration policy while chapter 7 explores the practical implementation of such policy. Chapter 8 discusses monitoring and evaluation of resettlement programmes and practices. Finally, chapter 9 looks specifically at sponsorship programmes, considering all of the above themes in relation to this specific type of resettlement programme. The report finishes with brief conclusions, identification of gaps in knowledge, recommendations and a full bibliography.

Chapter 2: Methods

Introduction

This report is based on findings from a systematic literature review undertaken in three phases between November 2020 and February 2021 and concentrates on areas of policy focus identified by the Home Office. This review process involved a review of international approaches to promoting the integration of resettled refugees based on materials on Community Sponsorship (CS) collected by the University of Birmingham from international government and academic researchers, as well as a search of academic journals and grey literature (to include a search for research on both sponsorship and for other resettlement routes).

The key stages of resettlement covered in this report, as identified and prioritised by the Home Office, are as follows:

1. Selection of refugees (whether states select on the basis of promoting integration - for example, employability - instead of, or as well as, vulnerability) - how are refugees selected, how are numbers negotiated and agreed?
2. Family reunification/naming – to what extent is this permitted/encouraged in resettlement schemes? Who can be resettled and what are the criteria for deciding? How does family reunion work for resettled refugees? What is the impact of allowing/not allowing family reunion?
3. Placement of refugees (process for deciding where in the resettlement country to place refugees; rationale/evidence for this approach; effectiveness in terms of services/impact on the local community as well as integration) – what is the process for deciding where to place refugees, what factors are taken into consideration, what types of places are refugees placed and what are the strengths and weaknesses of different kinds of places (i.e., rural/urban, diverse/less diverse), what differences exist between countries and why?
4. Supporting early integration (i.e., reception and first year in the UK/receiving country) – what measures are put in place to receive refugees and to support them in their first year after arrival?
5. Supporting longer-term integration – what measures are put in place to support refugee integration across wide ranging integration indicator areas?
6. Sponsorship volunteers and NGOs – who volunteers, how are volunteers recruited, what motivates them, how are they retained and what kinds of support do they offer refugees? What is the involvement of civil society in resettlement? What kind of organisations get involved and why?
7. Monitoring and evaluation of integration outcomes for resettled refugees (M&E approaches taken by various states; types of M&E used; process for ensuring findings feed into policy) – how do Governments and civil society evaluate the effectiveness of resettlement programmes, what factors do they measure, what do they do with evaluation data?

The first phase consisted of an initial search process in the academic research databases Web of Science and SCOPUS, and in grey literature search engines (i.e., Open Grey) plus selected websites (i.e., UNHCR) using the terms refugee* PLUS (sponsor* OR resettle*) PLUS one of 36 other search terms including resettlement, private sponsorship, family reunion and legal pathways. Only documents published after 2010 and in English were included. This search yielded 4,043 documents from which 2,833 were excluded because on checking they were not found to be sufficiently relevant.

In the second phase, 1,210 documents were assessed in greater detail and further refinement and exclusion were undertaken. Documents were excluded if they did not specifically cover resettlement or sponsorship programmes, were duplicated work, or provided experiential rather than policy relevant findings. In the final phase, 470 documents remained, which were then reviewed anti-chronologically, initially prioritising policy or literature review papers, and working back through all documents until data saturation was achieved. Of these documents 234 were read in depth. Out of these, 154 documents focused on resettlement, 33 on sponsorship and 47 on both. The largest body of literature came from Canada (81), followed by the US (51),

Australia (21), the UK (17) and New Zealand (12). A further 38 documents included data from more than one country. Some 60 documents included material on placement, 49 on selection, 26 on family reunion, 123 on integration, 68 on NGOs and volunteering, and 49 on monitoring and evaluation. After the completion of the systematic review, we drew upon 20 additional papers that we became aware of or that were published after we had completed the systematic work which shed light on specific aspects or policies, resulting in 254 papers in total. Due to a certain degree of overlap in the arguments, in this report we only cite the most relevant papers for the sake of readability. The remainder of this chapter sets out the approach taken in detail and profiles the nature of the literature identified.

Stage 1: Initial search process

In the first stage we identified literature from three sources: academic, grey and additional literature provided by colleagues in Canada.

Academic literature

We used the Web of Science and SCOPUS databases/search engines with search terms: refugee* PLUS (sponsor* OR resettle*) PLUS one other search term: resettlement, community sponsorship, refugee resettlement, humanitarian pathways, refugee integration, family reunification, VPRS, private sponsorship, welcome movement, sanctuary movement, legal pathways, blended, resettlement monitoring and evaluation, selection of refugees, relocation, settlement, welcome culture, refugee families, civic solidarity, sponsorship schemes, refugee crisis, non-profit organization, Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative (GRSI), Global Refugee Forum, voluntary agencies, humanitarian corridor, private sponsorship of refugees, resettlement policy, refugee integration, resettled refugees, Resettlement Action Plan, post-resettlement, post-resettlement outcomes, monitoring and evaluation resettlement programme, volunteers, sponsors, family reunion, befrienders, hospitality.

For each piece identified we read the title and abstract and decided on inclusion or exclusion according to the criteria in Table 2.1:

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journal articles, books, book chapters, reports, policy documents, governments' websites, UNHCR publications • Materials from global CS review • Materials from GRSI • Materials from SHARE Network • Available in English • Published after January 2010 • Regarding official resettlement or sponsorship programmes • Both quantitative and qualitative studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Available in a language other than English • Published before January 2010 • Regarding unofficial/non-state resettlement programmes • Title or abstract not relevant

Table 2.1 Exclusion and inclusion criteria

Grey literature

For the grey literature we used the search terms: “refugee AND resettlement” and “refugee AND sponsor*”. Initially, additional tertiary search terms were used, but a double-check with just refugee resettlement provided same results. We used the following websites and search engines:

- Social Care Initiative for Excellence
- CORE
- Open Grey: mostly PhD theses
- PRO-QUEST
- UNHCR website: all relevant reports since 2010

Additional academic and grey literature from previous literature review based on Canada

This material was shared with us by colleagues at the GRSI and the Canadian Government.

Stage 2: Refinement and creation of Zotero and Excel database

Having identified the base literature in stage 2, we removed papers where there was an overlap between “resettlement”, “sponsorship” and additional papers addressing any duplication of materials. We then engaged in further refinement and exclusion, where the abstract or title, on detailed examination, did not provide sufficient information responding to the Home Office’s guiding questions. Exclusion factors included:

- Subject not relevant (e.g., “resettlement” used as a synonym for general integration process)
- Focused broadly on refugees and asylum seekers rather than resettlement
- Focused on internal relocation/dispersal policy
- Focused not on policy but general integration experiences of resettled refugees
- Duplicate work from the same authors, if similar argument

We created a bibliographic database using the open-source reference management software Zotero and at the same time a database in Excel in which we classified the main characteristics of the data e.g., which of the Home Office’s questions it was related to, which country the article covered etc.

Stage 3: Literature review

At the final stage, we aimed to use the knowledge from the papers/reports to respond to the Home Office’s questions and so we read the remaining documents in full. Note taking and recording of findings were divided by overall topic (sponsorship vs resettlement) and country (US, Canada, EU, and rest of world) and between resettlement generally and sponsorship. We focused on findings on the effects of resettlement policy in the key areas: selection, placement, family reunion, integration, volunteers and NGOs, monitoring and evaluation and on the methods used. The sheer volume of the literature on resettlement meant that we ended up having to prioritise as follows:

- Prioritisation of policy review or literature review papers
- Prioritisation of recent papers – we began anti-chronologically
- Exclusion of papers if no new findings could be added (when data saturation was reached, for example, we found lots of repetition especially around the approaches adopted by specific countries)
- Exclusion if no full text access was available
- Exclusion if relating to a resettlement programme or policy too old to be relevant
- Addition of references based on “daisy chaining” (reference list)

Overview of literature

In Table 2.2 we summarise the literature identified by resettlement type and stage. At stage 1 we identified 4,043 items of which 241 were grey literature. By the final stage, 470 items had remained, of which 234 were read in depth and formed the basis of the materials included in this report.

	Search term	Total	Excluded	Included
Stage 1	Academic: Resettlement	2,760	1,337	659
	Academic: Sponsorship	1,042	328	467
	Grey Literature	241	155	84
	Total	4,043*	1,820	1,210
Stage 2	Refinement/Database	467		
Stage 3	Literature review	470 **	236	234

* Total after Stage 1 includes some duplication/overlap from literature identified by different researchers

** Stage three includes material that were added through daisy chaining.

Table 2.2: Summary of the literature identified

Materials included in Stage 3

As indicated in Figure 2.1, it was evident that there has been a steady increase in scholarly interest in resettlement with papers increasing from 14 published in 2010 to 105 in 2020.

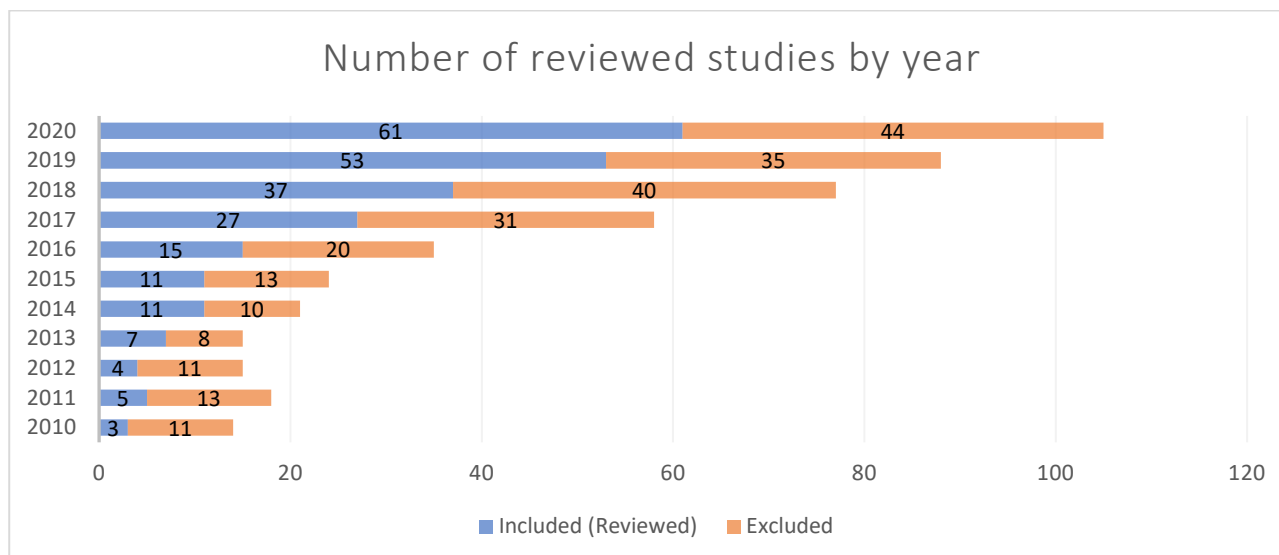


Figure 2.1: Reviewed studies by year

Looking at the literature by type of resettlement programme, 33 documents focused on sponsorship, 154 on all other types of resettlement programmes and 47 documents covered both. Looking across the thematic areas, we saw 123 items covering integration, 68 NGOs and volunteering, 60 placement, 49 monitoring and evaluation and 26 family reunification. Some items covered more than one of the thematic areas.

Resettlement programmes identified in the review were operating in 19 different refugee receiving countries. Considering the literature reviewed by country, the largest proportion of the literature focused on Canada (35%), followed by the US (22%), Australia (9%), and the UK (17%) (see Table 2.3). Material covering

multiple countries was additionally identified, with the most common focus being on Europe (7%), followed by international (7%).

	Country or region of focus	n	%
Single-country	Canada	81	35%
	US	51	22%
	Australia	21	9%
	UK	17	7%
	New Zealand	12	5%
Other international	Other single-country	14	6%
	International (Europe/EU)	16	7%
	International (transatlantic)	10	4%
	International (Americas)	2	1%
	Other international/no specific country focus	10	4%
	Total	234	

Table 3 Literature reviewed by country of focus

Chapter 3: Selection and Placement in the Resettlement of Refugees

Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, UNHCR identifies refugees for resettlement on the basis of vulnerability criteria. Selection quotas, targets and procedures vary depending on the country and over time depending on global situations. In addition, countries themselves have different policies and practices in terms of where they place refugees once they arrive in the country of resettlement. This chapter focuses on the policies and practices implemented in relation to selection and placement.

Selection quotas and targets

Refugees who reside in countries in which local integration and/or repatriation are not readily available options may apply for resettlement to third countries, mostly to the Global North. However, resettlement places are limited as they are allocated by countries on a voluntary basis. There are two main types of resettlement programmes that differ in their selection procedure: national, permanent programme-based schemes; and ad hoc resettlement programmes. National, permanent programme-based schemes in cooperation with the UNHCR usually have annual targets or quotas, ranging between a few hundred to several thousand per year, depending on the receiving country. Quotas or targets for permanent resettlement places are decided on annually either by national governments, such as in Finland (Sacramento et al., 2019), or through multi-stakeholder negotiations, such as in the US, where the decision is made between the President and the Congress (Bruno, 2018). Most countries maintain the same quotas each year, while others, such as Denmark and Netherlands, set multi-year targets (Bokshi, 2013). Some countries renegotiate quotas annually, mostly based on the availability of relevant resources (Sacramento et al., 2019), previous quota allocation (Bokshi, 2013) and political will (Hansen, 2018). In the EU, some member-states have recently started resettlement programmes as part of the process of harmonisation of the European asylum system, and to demonstrate public or country-based solidarity (Bokshi, 2013). Additionally, countries set up ad hoc resettlement programmes to respond to particular humanitarian crises, such as the Syrian crisis. These may add to or replace the annual programme places in a given year (Labman and Pearlman, 2018; Perdrix et al., 2015).

Challenges and good practices in setting resettlement quotas or targets

Increases in quotas or targets may be limited due to political opposition (Hansen, 2018). In the US, resettlement targets can fluctuate substantially and unpredictably between administrations (Bruno, 2018). This causes challenges for resettlement agencies, as their funding is tied to the number of refugees resettled. The drastic cut of resettlement places during the Trump administration, for example, caused a significant number of resettlement agencies to cut staff and led to a reduction of services for refugees who were already resettled (Darrow and Scholl, 2020; McHugh, 2018; Rodriguez et al., 2020).

In Europe and Canada, resettlement quotas are rarely filled; this is due to a number of factors, including limited administrative capacities both by the UNHCR and local authorities, as well as limited resources (Bokshi, 2013; Labman and Pearlman, 2018). In cases where local authorities decide whether to provide resettlement places, this can create a further limitation as insufficient places may be made available (Bokshi, 2013).

Good practice in quota setting includes enhanced coordination between different stakeholders to increase the willingness of local authorities or communities to resettle refugees and support initial integration processes. For example, Canada conducts consultations with other levels of government and civil society about the number of refugees to be resettled (European Migration Network, 2016) and considers factors such as economic indicators, the availability of social services, global resettlement needs, and government budget mechanisms and constraints (GRSI, 2020). Moreover, multi-year targets are considered preferable over annual quotas to improve planning for local authorities and agencies involved in resettlement (Bokshi, 2013; Labman and Pearlman, 2018).

Selection procedures

All states apply selection procedures to identify which refugees may be resettled to their country. Countries select refugees according to three main mechanisms. First, in the mechanism of dossier selection, the UNHCR interviews refugees in the country of first asylum and submits potential candidates to the responsible government agencies in the country of resettlement, which in turn accepts or rejects the candidates (European Migration Network, 2016). Second, experienced resettlement countries such as the United States and Canada do not rely on the UNHCR exclusively but instead have established processing centres in countries of asylum to: support the preparation of resettlement applications; provide space for interviews, pre-departure orientations, and medical checks; and to host staff and interpreters (Fratzke and Kainz, 2020). In the case of the US, these resettlement support centres are run by NGOs, international organisations or U.S. embassy contractors. Finally, some countries, such as Sweden and Finland, reassess UNHCR dossier candidates as part of **selection missions** or at diplomatic missions abroad (Bokshi, 2013; European Migration Network, 2016). Selection procedures for resettlement programmes have been generally criticised for lacking transparency and predictability (Carrera and Cortinovis, 2019), and for not providing the same level of access to legal recourse to appeal rejection decisions as is the case in regular asylum applications (de Boer and Zieck, 2020).

Challenges and good practices in selection procedures

Several challenges in selection procedures have been identified. The selection process is often long and bureaucratic, especially in non-sponsorship resettlement programmes (European Migration Network, 2016). Refugees sometimes wait for several years in the first country of asylum for a positive decision of their resettlement application (Perdrix et al., 2015), and then several months more before they can depart to the country of resettlement (European Migration Network, 2016). Group-based resettlement, as was the case for Syrian refugees, greatly expedited the selection process (Perdrix et al., 2015).

Reasons for such delays in the resettlement selection process include: lengthy processes in resettlement countries to decide the size and allocation of quotas; insufficient or outdated information provided in the UNHCR dossiers; and, after selection, difficulties in organising travel documents (Bokshi, 2013; European Migration Network, 2016).

Selection missions, while circumventing the problem of UNHCR dossiers, require substantial resources and time (Bokshi, 2013; European Migration Network, 2016). Selection missions burden refugees additionally as they have to repeat the information provided during the UNHCR interview (de Boer and Zieck, 2020; Perrin and Mcnamara, 2013) and, in some cases such as France, again during the asylum application in the country of resettlement (Perdrix et al., 2015). To mitigate these challenges, certain countries have started to coordinate and pool resources to improve the efficiency of selection missions. For example, some EU member-states now conduct joint selection missions and charter planes together (Fratzke and Kainz, 2020). EASO's (European Asylum Support Office) Resettlement Support Facility is currently preparing a resettlement processing facility similar to the US system to manage the European resettlement programme in Turkey (Fratzke and Kainz, 2020). The UK has tested the use of video-conferencing tools for selection interviews to minimise both the burden placed on refugees and the costs associated with selection, although little is known about whether this was effective (Bokshi, 2013).

Researchers have also called for better coordination, as well as data and information sharing, between the UNHCR (managing the initial registration and biometric data collection), governmental agencies and organisations implementing the resettlement process, in order to improve efficiency and avoid the need for repeated data collection (Scialabba et al., 2020). Thus, the UNHCR is currently building a centralised "Population Registration and Identity Management" platform that will harmonise the data needs of different resettlement countries, while protecting the data of vulnerable refugees (Scialabba et al., 2020).

Selection criteria

As described in the introduction, the primary selection criteria for resettlement is ‘vulnerability’, defined by the UNHCR’s seven “Resettlement Submission Categories”. These include legal and physical protection needs, survivors of violence and/or torture, women and girls at risk, and children and adolescents at risk (Perrin and Mcnamara, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). Resettlement should also be an appropriate durable solution for the individual. Resettlement will usually be considered appropriate if the country of origin is deemed insufficiently safe and stable for voluntary repatriation in the near future, and the country of first asylum is unable or unwilling to facilitate legal, economic and socio-cultural local integration (UNHCR, 2018).

Additional selection criteria beyond ‘vulnerability’

Most countries prioritise the resettlement of refugees by geography or conflict site (Bruno, 2018; European Migration Network, 2016; UNHCR, 2015). Some countries attempt to resettle family units wherever possible, e.g. Canada and some European countries (European Migration Network, 2016; GRSI, 2020). Where “family units” are defined at all, they usually include spouses and dependants, e.g. in Canada and France (GRSI, 2020; UNHCR, 2018). Other family members, such as elderly parents or dependant nieces or nephews, may be resettled on a discretionary basis in some resettlement programmes, e.g. to Finland or France (UNHCR, 2018). Additional criteria include assessments of whether refugees may pose a threat to public safety and security, criminality or medical grounds e.g., Canada (GRSI, 2020) or New Zealand (UNHCR, 2018). These medical grounds include some infectious diseases that may be defined as risk to public safety (UNHCR, 2018).

Countries have increasingly added their own selection criteria which are not derived from the 1951 Geneva Convention, for example rejecting resettlement on the grounds of previous attempts of illicit entry, on security grounds, or by prioritising refugees with “integration potential” (de Boer and Zieck, 2020). UNHCR has expressed concern over these additional criteria, as they are not transparent, change frequently and suffer from a certain degree of arbitrariness (Mourad and Norman, 2020). For example, some people may be excluded for security reasons in one country but prioritised due to fear of persecution in another (ibid.). “Integration potential” is poorly defined but includes having “previous links to country” through family or work experience (as used in France or Germany), or possessing economic skills and experiences, e.g., in Canada (Mourad and Norman, 2020; Strazzari, 2020). The Canadian government has traditionally been employed resettlement to also promote domestic economic objectives, and not only to provide protection to vulnerable refugees (Strazzari, 2020).

Selection in complementary pathways¹ may have different or additional eligibility criteria, e.g., family networks, education potential for students and labour opportunities in addition to vulnerability (van Selm, 2020).

Additional selection criteria beyond those included in the Geneva Convention have been criticised by legal scholars as well as the UNHCR for excluding groups of very vulnerable refugees (de Boer and Zieck, 2020; Perrin and Mcnamara, 2013). For example, using medical criteria to exclude refugees has in the past limited resettlement for some of the most vulnerable refugees, including individuals with disabilities (Duell-Piening 2018). In the absence of a clear definition, applying the “integration potential” criteria seems to limit the number of appropriate candidates suggested by the UNHCR (Bokshi, 2013; Perdrix et al., 2015). This is because the UNHCR pre-selects candidates according to their protection needs, who may be less likely to have relevant economic skills, education or networks in the receiving country, as often required by the

¹ **Complementary pathways** are safe and regulated avenues that **complement** refugee resettlement and by which refugees may be admitted in a country and have their international protection needs met while they are able to support themselves to potentially reach a sustainable and lasting solution (UNHCR 2019).

“integration potential” criterion. Therefore, “integration potential” discriminates against more vulnerable refugees by prioritising better educated and relatively privileged refugees (Carrera and Cortinovis, 2019; de Boer and Zieck, 2020). In other words, “Integration potential” and “vulnerability” as selection criteria are often at odds with one another.

Little is known about the relationship between selection criteria and integration outcomes; the evidence is at best ambiguous. In Canada, for example, resettled women who were selected based on only vulnerability took longer to find employment than privately sponsored refugee women who arrived with higher professional skills (but also had immediate access to support networks) (Senthanar et al., 2020). Conversely, in Denmark refugees resettled based on their integration potential in 2004-05 had *lower* employment rates, although the reasons remain unclear (Ahad et al. 2020). Evidence from the US shows that refugees selected according to vulnerability criteria/protection needs may struggle to achieve the stated goal of resettlement policy to become economically self-sufficient within a short timeframe due to trauma, physical/mental health issues, and disruption of career and education (Bernstein and DuBois, 2018; Fix et al., 2017).

Good practices in using selection criteria to improve resettlement procedure and integration outcomes

To improve accessibility of resettlement for refugees with disabilities, Australia broadened a waiver for the visa health requirements of refugees in 2012 following the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). As a result, since then the number of refugees with disabilities has increased substantially (Duell-Piening, 2018). In the US, refugees with disabilities are resettled together with family members to ensure their livelihood (Bonet and Taylor, 2020).

Researchers have argued that greater focus should be placed on the integration capacity of resettlement countries and the integration support provided, rather than on the refugees’ a priori individual characteristics or “integration potential” (Perrin and Mcnamara, 2013).

Complementary pathways may be a more effective way to provide opportunities to highly skilled refugees as they can explicitly balance refugee protection with the interests and needs of receiving countries. Compared to resettlement programmes, which focus on the most vulnerable refugees, these other pathways are potentially more easily accepted in receiving societies, in the current anti-immigration environment (van Selm, 2020). For example, in Italy, student visas have been provided to refugee students from Ethiopia, mediated by the Italian embassy. These students are linked up with through a database enabling skills shortages to be addressed and refugees to access an income (Villa, 2020).

Placement

Following selection and departure, countries implement mechanisms to place refugees in local communities where they receive accommodation and initial integration support. In most cases, refugees do not decide independently where to settle (Bokshi, 2013), but rather are allocated to municipalities or non-governmental resettlement agencies. Initial placement may influence the subsequent integration trajectory of refugees, although how and why is not yet well understood. Which location contributes best to successful integration is debated and depends on the characteristics of both the location and the resettled refugee individual (Jenkins, 2019; Patuzzi et al., 2020). That said, refugees’ ability to build social capital and access resources through social networks seems to be key in this process (Patuzzi et al., 2020).

Rights upon arrival

In some cases, resettled refugees are not automatically granted refugee status upon arrival. In France and Italy, resettled beneficiaries must lodge an additional asylum claim (Perrin and Mcnamara, 2013), while in Germany,) resettled beneficiaries are not automatically recognised as refugees upon arrival but receive a temporary residence permit which provides less protection than recognised refugees (Perdrix et al., 2015; Tometten, 2018). Resettled beneficiaries may apply for asylum; the procedure currently lasts on average 6 months (BAMF 2021). This practice has been criticised for delaying or hindering the integration process

(Perrin and Mcnamara, 2013). In the UK, resettled refugees have more integration support than those recognised refugees arriving independently (Karyotis et al., 2020).

Dispersal policies

Geographical distribution of refugees within the country upon arrival is a widely used policy. In the EU, most member-states have dispersal mechanisms, which apply both to resettled refugees and asylum seekers arriving independently (European Migration Network, 2016). Only in Bulgaria are resettled refugees free to settle where they want; little is known about the effect of this policy (European Migration Network, 2016). Canada, US and Australia also distribute resettled refugees geographically upon arrival. Policies vary significantly in terms of who decides where to place refugees, how refugees are distributed geographically, and how long refugees have to stay in place.

The general aim of dispersal policies is to distribute the costs of reception and integration, especially with regard to the availability of housing, employment and specialised resettlement services (Bruno, 2018; Rose, 2019). Some countries also use refugee dispersal to pursue economic aims. For example, Portugal distributes refugees to smaller towns and communities to promote local development and counter labour shortages (Sacramento et al., 2019).

Distribution mechanisms may operate formally, through random allocation or a particular quota (e.g., Switzerland and Germany), or, more commonly, according to the willingness and capacity of municipalities and local authorities (e.g., Finland) (Bansak et al., 2018; European Migration Network, 2016), or the capacity of resettlement agencies (e.g., US, Canada, France) (Bruno, 2018; Perdrix et al., 2015). Little is known about the comparative outcomes of various policies, as contexts vary significantly, and comparative studies are scarce.

In the US and Australia, resettlement actors try to place refugees near family or acquaintances (Bruno, 2018; UNHCR, 2018). However, usually dispersal policies aim to prevent the concentration of refugees or ethnic groups in a particular area (Bruno, 2018). Research in Canada shows that most refugees, as well as other migrants, do remain in the initial destination city for 10 years after their arrival, meaning that dispersal may work in terms of geographically distributing refugees (Kaida et al., 2020).

Integration outcomes of placement in urban vs. small/rural communities

There is inconclusive evidence on whether urban or small/rural communities are better able to promote refugee integration. Placement in urban and rural communities each hold benefits and challenges for resettled refugees, as well as for hosting communities. The preferences and characteristics of refugees, as well as whether hosting communities are welcoming, both influence the success of the integration process.

Benefits and challenges of placement in urban communities

- Refugee placement in urban communities is associated with several benefits, including a wider array of specialised social services for refugees, such as caseworkers, language classes, and job training (Gilhooly and Lee, 2017). Urban areas provide more diverse employment opportunities, especially for women (Gilhooly and Lee, 2017). In a Canadian study, refugees resettled in larger cities reported greater satisfaction with employment, enhanced ability to pay bills, and increased participation in religious and recreational activities compared to those resettled in smaller cities (*Alberta Syrian refugee resettlement experience study.*, 2017).
- Resettlement near peer networks and support structures are often more readily accessible in urban areas, and resettled refugees often prefer to live near family or friends when given the choice (van Liempt and Mielle, 2020). Evidence about the role that social bonding capital and networks with peers play in integration is mixed. While some research from the US suggests that ethnic networks have a positive impact on employment opportunities (Bankston and Zhou, 2020; Dagnelie et al.,

2019), the presence of co-ethnic communities may also hinder recovering from trauma caused by intra-communal conflict or discrimination (El-Bialy and Mulay, 2015; Karimi, 2020).

- Placement of refugees in urban areas is associated with a range of challenges too, including housing in deprived areas (Bose, 2020), or general lack of adequate housing (Westerby et al., n.d.). Refugees placed in urban areas frequently suffer from poverty, poor housing conditions, transportation limitations, unhealthy dietary practices, gang violence, lack of community support, and lack of educational resources (Gilhooly and Lee, 2017).

Benefits and challenges of placement in small/rural communities

- Placement in small and rural communities may benefit refugees by providing wider availability of housing and schooling (Patuzzi et al., 2020), and a greater sense of safety (Lam, 2019), while avoiding temporary accommodation (Tardis et al., 2019). In some cases, resettled refugees benefit from tight-knit networks in small communities and receive more tailored support (Bose, 2020; Drolet and Moorthi, 2018; El-Bialy and Mulay, 2015). In Canada, refugees resettled in smaller cities reported higher levels of sense of belonging compared to those resettled in larger cities (*Alberta Syrian refugee resettlement experience study.*, 2017).
- Rural communities, in turn, may benefit from diversification or revitalisation of the economy (US: Bose, 2020; Australia: Shergold et al., 2019), and better municipal public services due to greater demand (Bose, 2020; Patuzzi et al., 2020). However, there is little knowledge on the long-term effects of refugee resettlement on rural communities.
- Challenges for refugees include fewer opportunities such as specialised settlement services (Canada: Lam, 2019), language classes and skilled employment (France: Tardis et al., 2019), health services (Villa, 2020) and lack of public transport (ibid.). Some good practices to overcome these challenges include accessing settlement services and information via text messaging which reduces the need for in-person advice (Canada, Lam, 2019) and supporting refugees getting a driver's license (Cronkrite et al., 2016).
- Refugees placed in rural and small communities may more often experience isolation, hostility and racism, due to greater ethnic and cultural homogeneity (on Canada: El-Bialy and Mulay, 2015; Lam, 2019) and the absence of co-ethnic communities (Hynie, 2018). Placing refugees in Australian suburbs undermined refugee understandings of close neighbourliness and limited opportunities for bridging (Hebbani et al., 2018).

The characteristics and preferences of the resettled refugee may shape whether urban or rural communities are preferable (Gilhooly and Lee, 2017). For example, rural communities may be more adequate for families with small children who will benefit from the housing and schooling infrastructure as well as in terms of safety (Tardis et al., 2019). Similarly, refugees originating from rural areas can make use of their agricultural skills if placed in rural communities (Gilhooly and Lee, 2017). Conversely, single young refugees may depend more on economic and educational opportunities, as well as peer networks, all of which may be more readily available in urban areas (Tardis et al., 2019).

Dispersal policies, secondary migration and onward movement

Secondary migration of resettled refugees may be considered an effect of inefficient matching of refugee preferences and skills and local conditions (Bloem and Loveridge, 2018). This is supported by evidence from Canada: while most migrants do stay in their initial location, resettled refugees are more likely to migrate than other categories of migrants (Kaida et al., 2020). Men, younger and more educated refugees, in particular, are more likely to leave their initial location, suggesting a link with employment opportunities (Mata, 2017). Pre-arrival characteristics (e.g., rural/agricultural lifestyle, non-urban environments) may influence secondary movements as refugees want to recreate some aspects of their pre-migration lives (Lumley-Sapanski, 2020). However, little is known about the levels of onward migration of refugees in contexts outside North America.

In some countries, especially in Europe, resettled refugees are required to stay in their initially assigned location. Settling in a different EU member-state is generally not allowed, and migration within the state territory could lead to losing certain rights and benefits (European Migration Network, 2016). Evidence from the US, where secondary migration is not restricted, suggests that refugees may still face challenges in accessing benefits and resettlement assistance in secondary locations (Brown and Scribner, 2014). However, refugees may be better able to draw upon independent social and cultural resources and networks if they are allowed to move after initial arrival (Bankston and Zhou, 2020). Thus, allowing refugees to move after initial arrival may improve integration outcomes by fostering independence.

Challenges in implementing dispersal policies

In most countries, local authorities lack formal authority and ownership over resettlement quotas, financial assistance, integration models and resources (Stürner, 2019). Lack of coordination between the various stakeholders involved results in poor information flow, low levels of ownership and poor preparation of service provision for resettled refugees, e.g. in terms of organising housing, tailored health services, or mobilising local civil society (Stürner, 2019). In turn, this can lead to delays in refugee integration. Additionally, resettlement agencies or local authorities responsible for refugee integration often lack data and information on the needs and skills of refugees before they arrive (Darrow, 2018).

Most countries do not consider either the skills or the preferences of resettled refugees in placement, such as living in proximity to family and social networks (van Liempt and Miellet, 2020). This may prevent refugees from drawing on independent social and cultural resources through peer networks (Bankston and Zhou, 2020), and cause a mismatch with refugees' existing skillset. For example, when refugees with good agricultural skills are placed in urban locations where they cannot use them, they may have to take poorly paid low-skilled jobs instead (Gilhooly and Lee, 2017; Judelsohn et al., 2020). A disregard of refugees' settlement preferences may affect their mental health negatively. For example, in one study in the Netherlands, refugees expected to live close to family or acquaintances and were unaware of the dispersal policy before departure. This caused frustration and a sense of isolation (van Liempt and Miellet, 2020).

Good practices in implementation of dispersal policies

Evidence from European municipalities suggests that placement policies should consider the availability of both housing and economic and educational opportunities when distributing refugees (Westerby et al., n.d.). In Canada, this is already common practice: resettled refugees are directed to urban communities with availability in specialised services for migrants, employment and training opportunities, in addition to housing (Rose, 2019).

Leadership of and coordination with local governments and building on local capacity are essential for successful placement (Sabchev and Baumgärtel, 2020). According to the SHARE network of European hosting municipalities, new municipalities could be more willing to get involved in resettlement if they expected to benefit from accepting refugees, such as through strengthening existing or developing new services and infrastructure (Westerby et al., n.d.), or having a say in decisions about the number and characteristics of resettled refugees (Stürner, 2019). In Finland the central government negotiates with municipalities to house resettled refugees voluntarily, with the government paying for integration costs, including financial support to refugees and costs associated with integration and special needs such as illnesses or disabilities (Sacramento et al., 2019).

Multi-level and multi-sectoral cooperation of states with local authorities and international organisations, as well as refugee community organisations in the hosting country, are considered key in effective implementation of local resettlement and placement. For example, some US communities have developed community-based Refugee Advisory Committees to inform and coordinate all local service providers (GAO, 2012). Canada has been criticised for missing an opportunity during the Syrian resettlement initiative to give

pre-existing local migrant service coordination structures a formal coordination role, resulting in inefficient programme implementation (Cullen and Walton-Roberts, 2019; Dam and Wayland, 2019; Veronis, 2019).

In order to improve information about refugees' needs in advance and enable better preparation of local authorities, Norway regularly organises pre-departure information not only for refugees but also for receiving municipalities about the background of arriving refugees (Stürner, 2019).

Good practices in matching local needs and refugee preferences

Burgeoning research has argued that matching refugees' professional background and skills to the needs and conditions in the localities of settlement could improve economic integration outcomes (Jones and Teytelboym, 2018; Scialabba et al., 2020). Some countries have begun to match refugees' economic skills with local needs (van Liempt and Miellet, 2020). For example, the Swedish Public Employment Service assesses refugees' employment experience, and attempts to match them to an area with appropriate job opportunities to optimise integration (Westerby et al., n.d.).

Emerging evidence suggests that artificial intelligence and machine learning algorithms that match refugees' skills to local economic conditions may be effective in improving economic outcomes of refugees. One algorithm from the US was estimated to increase employment rates by up to 40% (Bansak et al., 2018). The US resettlement agency HIAS has been using the matching algorithm Annie MOORE (Matching and Outcome Optimization for Refugee Empowerment) since 2018. One back-testing study estimated that employment outcomes of refugees were increased by at least 30% compared to what would have been expected by HIAS' previous, manual matching system (Trapp et al., 2020).

Placement decisions should also consider matching according to other criteria, especially matching health needs of vulnerable refugees with local available services. An example of good practice here is Finland, which mediates between municipalities' reception criteria, the available housing stock, refugee health needs and available health services when deciding where to place refugees (Westerby et al., n.d.). So far, no attempt has been made to use algorithms on other, non-economic matching criteria, such as existing networks of individual refugees, health, mental health or education.

Chapter 4: The role of NGOs and Volunteers in Refugee Resettlement

Introduction

All countries running resettlement programmes rely, at least to some extent, on NGOs and volunteers, including the countries with a long history of resettlement such as the US, Canada, Australia and many European countries such as the UK, Italy, France, Portugal, Germany, Switzerland, and Ireland. Often, formal agreements are signed between the state, and departments responsible for refugees, and civil society organisations seeking to support refugee resettlement (Bruno 2017; Cullen and Walton-Roberts 2019). Partnerships between the state and NGOs often reflect a long history of formal and informal collaboration with the tendency to build and develop relations over time (Bruno 2017). NGOs are frequently contracted to provide services to aid refugee integration.

Volunteers engage in refugee resettlement as members of a local community group or NGO, filling the gap between organisations' lack of resources (in terms of funds and employees) and resettled refugees' needs (Marshall and Béland 2019). Volunteers are a core part of sponsorship programmes, providing most of the support to the refugees they have agreed to sponsor with varying degrees of intervention by institutions (Reyes and Phillimore 2020). Evidence suggests that the overall level of satisfaction with being involved in refugee support is high for both volunteers and refugees (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2019; Phillimore and Reyes 2020a).

The role of NGOs in refugee resettlement

NGOs are involved in different aspects of resettlement and run a wide range of programmes, from identifying accommodation to ensuring refugees' access to health, education, culture, legal services and employment (Mwanri et al. 2012; Strazzari 2020). NGOs and volunteers also provide refugees with assistance such as emotional support, mentoring, friendship and guidance (Eby et al. 2011; Kerwin 2018; Fratzke et al. 2019). NGOs and local communities often employ their own social networks to reach out to services and opportunities that are not immediately available to refugees, and which can be tailored to their skills and needs (McAllum 2018; Fratzke and Dorst 2019). NGOs and sponsors also raise awareness of refugee issues and resettlement challenges (Reyes and Phillimore 2020). Peer organisations are in a strong position to liaise between the state and resettled refugees as they understand the culture and the language of both the settled community and the newcomers (Lee 2018).

NGOs are additionally involved in sponsorship programmes. In some cases, such as the humanitarian corridors in Italy, NGOs are involved in the process of refugee selection, collecting information about applicants from within refugee camps (Ricci 2020). The Private Sponsorship of Refugees programme in Canada allows sponsors to select refugees with given characteristics, whom they wish to resettle through their "naming" option. Canadian residents are allowed to sponsor a family member or an acquaintance, or a refugee pre-selected by UNHCR (GRSI 2020). Family groups wishing to sponsor family members are the most active in private sponsorship in Canada (Hynie et al. 2019). Sponsors' support for privately resettled refugees varies from 90 days in a country such as Switzerland to three years in Germany (European Commission 2018 in Bertram et al. 2020). Through sponsorship, volunteers provide services which are not available to government-assisted refugees and which are tailored to the needs of resettled refugees. These can include childcare and transportation (Fratzke and Dorst 2019; Hassan and Phillimore 2020; Phillimore et al. 2020).

NGO and volunteer involvement in resettlement

The range of NGOs involved in refugee resettlement includes specialist organisations that mainly support resident migrants and refugees, but also groups with a broader focus on social justice and social inclusion or that work to support excluded minorities (Mwanri et al. 2012; Idris 2019) as well as philanthropic communities and individuals (Darrow and Scholl 2020).

Faith organisations are the most active in resettlement programmes worldwide (Ives and Sinha 2010; Jones and Teytelboym 2017; Sacramento et al. 2020). For instance, more than sixty of the eighty-five organisations formally allowed to sponsor refugees operating in Canada in 2014 were religious groups (Chapman 2014). Evidence highlights both positive and negative consequences of religious organisations' engagement in refugee resettlement (Ives and Sinha 2010; Eby et al. 2011). On the one hand, faith organisations often have a wide, enduring and well-connected network in their local communities and can address tensions between different religious groups by encouraging communication and dealing with prejudices, while they offer the bonding social capital to resettled refugees that share the same religion (Ives and Sinha 2010; Eby et al. 2011; Elliott and Yusuf 2014). On the other hand, faith organisations may expect refugees to convert to their religion or may favour the resettlement of refugees from specific backgrounds and regions (Eby et al. 2011).

More recently universities have become involved in resettlement, in particular in private sponsorship. Programmes launched by the World University Service of Canada and the University of Bologna in Italy offer examples of how such organisations can mobilise and reach out to a wide range of resources to build a welcoming environment not only for refugees, but for the whole community (Mckee et al. 2019; ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).

The ways in which NGOs and volunteers engage in refugee sponsorship can vary considerably by country and programme (Bertram et al. 2020). In Italy, France and Portugal only pre-assessed organisations are allowed to sponsor refugees (Bertram et al. 2020). In Canada and Australia instead a wide range of groups and communities can apply to become a sponsor, with marginal support from professional organisations (Labman 2016 in Bertram et al. 2020). In the UK, privately sponsored refugees are often welcomed by groups which can be formed by a wide range of organisations. Groups are mainly formed by white middle class women and their extended networks many of whom are semi-retired and thus have time to spare (Phillimore et al. 2020). Sponsorship groups in the UK must form a registered charity or have a formal connection to an existing charity. Faith group networks such as Caritas and Charis are heavily involved in promoting sponsorship and supporting sponsorship groups (Fratzke et al. 2019; ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019; Villa 2020). Finally, in Germany, Switzerland and Ireland a nominated individual is fully responsible for the resettled refugees although supported by other volunteers (Bertram et al. 2020).

Motivations for getting involved

There is little research on the reasons why NGOs decide to get involved in resettlement. There is some evidence that ethnic and faith groups get involved to help people of the same ethno-national or religious background (Lee 2018; Eby et al. 2011). However, some churches support resettlement in conjunction with other faith groups "to help build inter-faith understanding, or to counteract other churches in their community who are demonstrating hatred towards Muslims" and in response to the media coverage of refugee crises (Eby et al. 2011: 594).

Research on refugee resettlement and volunteering focus mainly on the relationship between volunteers and the organisations that recruit them. Refugee communities supporting other refugees in their resettlement process do not recognise their work as 'volunteering', but rather as an obligation to help people of the same ethnic group who have been left behind (Fozdar and Hartley 2013). In both resettlement and sponsorship emotions provide a powerful motivation for engagement with volunteers expressing empathy for refugees or anger at their plight (Yarris et al. 2020). Group leaders in the UK's Community Sponsorship Scheme were motivated to establish groups following shocking media coverage of the refugee emergency, with some also citing religious duty (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b). Other sponsors expressed a sense of civic responsibility or the desire to help other people to distract their attention from their own personal problems (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b). Motivations to engage in refugee resettlement can be undermined by the lack of volunteers' participation in organisations' decision-making process (McAllum 2018). Phillimore et al. (2020) found that regular communication, training and avoidance of overload were important for volunteer retention. A key

concern in resettlement and sponsorship is the heavy reliance on the middle-aged, middle-class female demographic. This is a concern, because male refugees may find connecting with older women difficult (Hassan and Phillimore 2020), and there is evidence that LGBTQI refugees also struggle when volunteers do not understand their needs or experiences (Karimi 2020).

Training and Supporting volunteers

Volunteers highlight the importance of learning in resettlement work, and highly value training. Volunteers find support from organisations with a long history of working with refugees useful. For instance, volunteers in Iceland were highly satisfied with training provided by the International Rescue Committee (Dubus 2020). Overall, in most of the countries, volunteers wanted more training and guidance from people with experience working with refugees. In Canada, individuals employed by NGOs to assist resettlement frequently complained about the lack of appropriate training for volunteers and staff (McMurdo 2016; Senthanaar et al., 2020).

Sponsors in private sponsorship programmes expressed a desire for additional training, in particular around refugees' culture (Phillimore et al. 2020). People newer to sponsoring refugees appreciate the possibility to learn from experienced sponsors and groups (McAllum 2018; Fratzke et al. 2019) and greatly value peer learning (Phillimore and Reyes 2019).

Apart from training, sponsors and NGOs' volunteers highlight the importance of leadership, coordination and monitoring during resettlement processes (Fratzke et al. 2019; Holbrook 2020). The establishment of organisations such as RESET in the UK is considered good practice for supporting volunteers (Fratzke et al. 2019). Other successful examples include the creation of helpdesks and online platforms that volunteers can turn to for advice and to learn from each other's experiences (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).

Challenges

Policy, Practices and Processes

In addition to the lack of consistent and high-quality training for volunteers, groups and volunteers report struggling to deliver appropriate resettlement support because they lack sufficient information about the refugees they support (Phillimore and Reyes 2020c). Sponsors who had the opportunity to engage with refugees digitally, for instance through Skype or Facebook, before arrival, report building trust with refugees and gaining knowledge about their resettlement needs (Kyriakides et al. 2019). Meeting online during the pre-departure phase can help sponsors better understand refugees' lives in displacement. Refugees and sponsors can share information about the resettlement processes which can reduce misunderstandings and help manage expectations (Kyriakides et al. 2019; Stürner 2019).

NGOs report struggling to support resettled refugees when governments offer to welcome large numbers of refugees in a limited time frame. The lack of consultation with NGOs expected to offer resettlement services can mean they are unable to plan or scale up (Chapman 2014; Wrzesnewskyj 2016). Communication between stakeholders involved in resettlement processes, which can include Government departments, NGOs, and local authorities, is often poor, which causes significant problems in implementing policy and delivering services (Marshall and Béland 2019). While some processes move too quickly for NGOs to mobilise their responses, delays in the private sponsorship application process can impact groups' capacity to retain volunteers (Chapman 2014; Phillimore and Reyes 2019).

Sponsors, paid staff and volunteers experience frustration when there is a lack of coordination and when they cannot access the information about refugees that they need to provide adequate assistance (Duncan et al. 2010; Tito and Cochand 2017).

Resources

One of the main problems shared by NGOs across different countries is a shortage of financial and other resources. NGOs report having to spend time and resources competing against one another for funds, rather than on providing services (Marshall and Béland 2019). Short-term funding cycles mean organisations are unable to develop long-term strategies and have limited capacity to subcontract (Fozdar and Banki 2017). Faced with a lack of funds, NGOs turn to volunteers and philanthropic communities to fund their activities (Darrow and Scholl 2020). Funding cuts, combined with an increase in the number of resettled refugees, result in a delay in supporting refugees adequately, causing stress and frustration to refugees, volunteers, and staff (Veronis 2019). While many NGOs struggle to access resources, with rural organisations facing additional problems securing funding, they are increasingly involved in resettlement and sponsorship (Kandasamy and Soldatic 2018). Over-reliance on volunteers or having insufficient volunteers can lead to burnout and volunteer attrition (Smith et al. 2017). Organisations that get involved in the provision of resettlement services can suffer from ‘mission drift’ as they lose the capacity to get involved in advocacy activities and become more focused on contract work (Kandasamy 2017). Discrepancies between the organisations’ contractual arrangements and the hands-on provision of resettlement services to refugees have also been reported. For instance, in Australian rural areas, due to funding constraints, resettlement services provided to resettled refugees fall short of the organisations’ contractual arrangements and the needs of the beneficiaries (Kandasamy and Soldatic 2018).

Power dynamics

The literature on private sponsorship (Smith et al. 2017; Haugen et al. 2020) evidences an unbalanced power relationship between sponsors and refugees, resulting from sponsors’ adoption of a paternalistic approach. Adopting a paternalist attitude, rather than a “mutualistic” approach, which recognises both refugees and sponsors as equal, can undermine refugee integration processes (Haugen et al. 2020). Although sponsors are driven by a desire to help and welcome refugees, the unbalanced power relationship can be further intensified when refugees depend on the financial support of their sponsors (Haugen et al. 2020). Volunteers, too, express frustration at what they perceive as refugee dependency with many groups struggling to find the balance between support and independence (Phillimore et al. 2020).

Chapter 5: Family reunion policy and resettled refugees

Introduction

Families often separate during forced migration, and sometimes as part of the resettlement process. The separation from family members deprives refugees of the social and emotional support needed to achieve positive settlement outcomes (Brunner et al. 2014). Research shows that refugees resettle and integrate faster if they do not have to worry about family members remaining in conflict zones (GRSI 2020; Dubus 2018), while it is harder for them to focus on activities essential for integration until they are reunited with their family (Beaton et al. 2018). Family members also bolster the social support available to refugees, smoothing the challenges of transitioning to life in a new country (RSOA 2019; GRSI 2020). For these reasons, most countries prioritise the resettlement of family units or have provisions in place for the family reunification of resettled refugees. Resettled refugees usually have access to the same or similar programmes for family reunion as other refugees. However, some countries impose time limits on applications and have minimum income requirements for applicants, while a very narrow definition of family excludes some family members by ignoring the complexities of refugee family structures. Barriers to family reunification compound resettled refugees' existing mental health issues, traumas and anxieties by prolonging their concerns about family members remaining in unsafe conditions (GRSI 2020).

Who can be reunited?

There is a mismatch between the ways that refugees define family and the definitions set out in reunification policies. For example, policies do not adequately recognise the importance of extended family or of non-biological children adopted during conflict or flight, while health requirements for family reunification can end up separating families (Wilmsen 2011).

- In the UK, adult refugees can reunite with their (married or civil) partners and under-aged dependent children but not with their parents, grandparents, siblings or adult children (Beaton et al. 2019).
- In the US there are two pathways to family reunion: (a) through the Affidavit of Relationship Programme, for relatives already recognised as refugees outside the US. This includes spouses, unmarried children under the age of 21 and parents. The US-based relative must be at least aged 18 and must file within five years of being granted asylum or admitted to the United States as a refugee (Bruno 2015); and (b) through the Family Reunification Programme, a 'principal' refugee can request to bring their spouse or unmarried children under the age of 21 to the country up until two years after resettlement.
- In Australia, the narrow definition of 'family member' (which is at odds with UNHCR's definition) is limited to immediate family (spouse, child or parents if applicant is under-aged). As a result, significant pressure is put on refugee families to evidence 'dependency' in their family reunion applications (Okhovat et al. 2017) when applying for non-eligible family members because of concerns around abuse of systems.
- In Finland, only in special cases can relatives other than close family members (child, spouse or parent) be regarded as family members for family reunion purposes (Tervola 2020).
- In Germany, resettled beneficiaries are not recognised as refugees upon arrival but have to apply for asylum and wait for long periods, during which they do not have the same rights to family reunion as recognised refugees. Once recognised, they can apply for family reunification for 'core family' (spouses, minor children and parents of minors), plus in highly exceptional circumstances, parents of adults in need of specific personal care, or other extended family members (Tometten 2018).

- Canada defines family members as spouses, partners and dependent children, with the possibility to recognise additional individuals as de facto dependant (e.g. an elder parent) if they meet the refugee criteria in their own right (UNHCR 2018). However, Canada's immigration system treats families unequally. The reunification process is slower for refugees than for other migrants, and slower for people from Africa than from the rest of the world (Kaduuli 2020).

Services and support offered

The level of assistance, and the access to and availability of services and programmes during and for family reunion appears to contribute to mental health outcomes and to faster integration of family members. In Canada, little assistance is provided to family reunion refugees, which may contribute to lower integration outcomes. As a result, family reunion refugees, and especially women, have worse financial outcomes than resettled refugees and asylum seekers (Bevelander & Pendakur 2014). By contrast, in Sweden, where all refugee categories have access to roughly the same range of settlement assistance (18 months of settlement training, language and labour market schooling, credential recognition/assessment, as well as housing) there is little difference between reunited refugees and other groups in terms of employment and earnings (Bevelander & Pendakur 2014).

Financial barriers

There are financial implications of family reunion which can include the bureaucratic costs associated with securing reunion, inability to raise sufficient sums to meet income or savings thresholds and opportunity costs of expenditure on reunion.

- The costs associated with family reunion include high visa costs, travelling costs and increased longer term caring costs. These can be significant or even prohibitive and can lead applicants to destitution. In Australia, sponsoring a partner costs at least \$6,865, while the proposer is required to provide a bond as an Assurance of Support (\$10,000 for the main applicant and \$4,000 for any additional adult applicant) which will be held for 10 years (RCOA 2020).
- In the UK, families go to extreme lengths to reunite with their loved ones, often being pushed into destitution, or forced to resort to smugglers (Beaton et al. 2018).
- Additional financial barriers include minimum income requirements and competing priorities for resettled refugees, such as paying remittances to family abroad. For instance, in Canada, refugees face difficulties in earning sufficient income both to support family here and abroad and to sponsor family reunion (Johnson & Stoll 2013). Resettled refugees struggle to cover the cost for spousal sponsorship because of the travel loan repayment of Canadian resettlement programme (Brunner et al. 2014).
- In Finland, income-testing is applied to the family reunion of refugees with subsidiary protection status (Tervola 2020). Costs make reunion difficult because families need to travel to Finnish embassies in the country of first asylum, which may be too expensive or too far away (Sacramento et al. 2020).

Family reunion and integration

Access to family reunion also has implications for integration.

- Costs associated with reunion may undermine integration: research in Canada has shown that refugees prioritise employment, especially low skilled employment, over education, learning the local language or building social networks in order to access the funds needed (Brunner et al. 2014; Johnson and Stoll 2013).

- One study in Iceland (Dubus 2018) argues that grandparents resettled with a nuclear family can support family work (like cooking, taking care of children) and thereby assist with integration of the younger family members.
- In the UK, some adults feel unable to settle and focus on the future while worried about family members that are still not safe (Beaton et al. 2018).

Additional challenges

Conflict and flight can disperse families across different countries. Some refugees do not know the whereabouts of relatives or do not realise that they need to apply for reunion within a set period (Johnson & Stoll 2013). In addition, bureaucracy and the duration of the family reunification process are a significant source of stress. For example, in Australia, visas can take up to 20 months for a partner, over 8 months for a dependent child and 3.5 years in the case of an orphaned relative (RCOA 2020). In Canada, the lengthy waiting period (usually several years) leads to a sense of uncertainty because social obligations cannot be fulfilled (Brunner et al. 2014, Stephen 2020). Similarly, in Germany, resettled beneficiaries must apply for asylum and wait longer than recognised refugees for family reunion (Tometten 2018).

Chapter 6: Integration Policies and Programmes for Resettlement Refugees

Introduction

The successful integration of refugees into receiving societies is an aim shared by all resettlement programmes. As a result, all resettlement frameworks include some measures to support the integration of refugees. However, the scope and particulars of these measures can vary considerably. As background for our discussion, in this chapter and the next, we first offer a brief overview of policies aiming to support integration in resettlement programmes across Europe, based on an overview by the European Migration Network (2016) and some other main countries of resettlement (Canada, US, Australia, and New Zealand).

Policy measures in place to support integration

Across Europe

Policy measures vary across Europe. In the following section we summarise the different approaches in each country. Table 6.1 sets out the country/region names in full.

TABLE 6.1: COUNTRY/REGION NAME ABBREVIATIONS

AT	AUSTRIA
BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
HR	Croatia
CZ	Czechia
EE	Estonia
FI	Finland
FR	France
DE	Germany
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
IT	Italy
LU	Luxembourg
NL	Netherlands
NO	Norway
NZ	New Zealand
PL	Poland
SK	Slovakia
ES	Spain
SE	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
EU/EEA	European Union/European Economic Area

Special support is offered for resettled refugees across Europe (European Migration Network 2016):

- In 9 states (BG, CZ, ES, FI, HU, IT, LU, SK, NO) post-arrival and integration measures are the same for both resettled persons and beneficiaries of international protection.
- In Austria, Belgium and Finland, measures are the same for all refugees by law, but differ in practice, with resettled refugees often receiving additional and/or tailored support (Austria:

counselling, housing and integration support; Belgium: specific orientation programme upon arrival, intensive social support for up to 2 years for the most vulnerable; Finland: priority in assignment of accommodation, more municipal funding).

- 9 further member-states (BE, DE, EE, FR, IE, NL, PL, SE, UK) have targeted policies for the integration of resettled refugees. Special provisions include direct access to housing without passing through reception centres (EE, FR, NL, SE), orientation programmes after arrival (BE, DE, IE, UK), individual support in administrative procedures for access to social rights and to the education of minors, physical and mental health care, social integration support, and help in access to training and employment (BE, FR, IE, PL, UK).

Most of the EU countries (AT, BE, BG, CZ, DE, EE, ES, FI, FR, HU, IE, IT, LU, NL, SK)) and NO grant the same or a similar status to resettled refugees and other beneficiaries of international protection, though the specifics of status granted vary (European Migration Network 2016). For instance,

- In Norway, resettled refugees are directly granted a work and residence permit for three years, while in Sweden, they receive a permanent residence permit (*ibid.*).
- In Germany, resettled refugees are granted a residence permit for three years with the option of extension. If specific preconditions are met, they may be granted an indefinite settlement permit after five years (*ibid.*).
- At the time of writing, the United Kingdom has four resettlement schemes – Mandate, Gateway, The (Syrian) vulnerable persons resettlement scheme (VPRS), and the vulnerable children resettlement scheme (VCRS). In 2020, the VPRS, the VCRS and the Gateway schemes were consolidated into one ‘global resettlement scheme’. “Refugees who arrive under the VPRS or the VCRS are granted refugee status with five years leave to remain. After five years they may be eligible to apply for indefinite leave to remain, and subsequently British citizenship, if they meet the requirements. [...] Refugees who arrive under the Mandate or Gateway schemes are granted indefinite leave to remain as a refugee” (Wilkins 2020: 9). Anyone with refugee status in the UK has work rights and is entitled to claim benefits on the same basis as British nationals (Wilkins 2020).

Immediate support upon arrival is fairly similar across member-states in its key elements, which typically include airport pick-up, provision of (temporary) documentation, clothing, food and interpretation services; in most cases, there is also a medical examination (AT, BE, CZ, EE, FI, FR, IE, PL, SK, NO), specialised medical services for people with disabilities (BE, CZ, EE, FI, FR, IT, NL, PL, SE, SK), and guardianship for unaccompanied minors (European Migration Network 2016).²

Information on financial support (allowances) and in-kind support is difficult to compare across EU member-states, given the vastly different welfare and social benefits systems. While some benefits are short-term, resettled refugees are often entitled to some long-term social benefits as well (European Migration Network 2016).

- 13 European states (AT, BE, CZ, DE, EE, FI, HU, IE, NL, PL, SE, SK, NO) provide a weekly/monthly allowance, the duration of which varies across Member States, for a minimum of 6 weeks

² The provision of health care upon arrival differs in the practices and availability of services. In Austria, Germany and Spain refugees have access to basic healthcare support; in Ireland and the United Kingdom, caseworkers may accompany refugees to register at a general practitioner (GP) (European Migration Network 2016).

(Ireland)³, 6-8 months (Poland), 2 to 4 years (HU, SK, NO), or as long as needed (BE, DE, EE, FI, NL) (ibid.).

- 12 European states (AT, BE, CZ, DE, EE, FI, HU, IE, PL, SK, UK, NO) also provide in-kind integration support, including elements such as food, clothing, furniture and household appliances, transportation, medical care, and school supplies. The duration of in-kind support varies from a few days after arrival, up to after being housed (ibid.).

The provision of accommodation for resettled refugees upon arrival varies by country. Most typically, EU/EEA member-states use reception centres upon arrival, after which people move on to other types of housing (European Migration Network 2016).

- The type of housing initially provided ranges from private/social/council housing (EE, FR, FI, PL, SE) to initial lodging at a reception centre/facility (AT, BE, BG, CZ, DE, ES, IE, LU, PL, SK). Stays in reception centres typically range from a few weeks to several months, depending on the country (ibid.).
- In the long term, resettled refugees are often provided with social and council housing, though private housing is also common (ibid.).

Resettled refugees receive information and/or cultural orientation sessions in 15 EU/EEA countries (BE, BG, CZ, DE, EE, ES, FI, HU, IE, IT, PL, SE, SK, UK, NO), provided at the initial reception centre or at varying points after arrival (European Migration Network 2016).

- These generally focus on the provision of useful information and basic integration measures (AT, BE, FR, LU, NL, PL), but can also include a broader cultural orientation encompassing geography, history, culture and an introduction to the political system (AT, CZ, DE, EE, FR, LU, PL, SK, UK, NO) (ibid.).
- In Belgium, additional organised activities may include visits to the supermarket, cooking lessons, biking lessons, fieldtrips to Brussels and meetings with recognised refugees ('buddies').
- Across Europe, these courses are typically provided by reception centres, social workers, the IOM, employment offices, NGOs, church organisations, civil society organisations, municipalities and/or intercultural mediators (ibid.).

All EU member-states provide some form of long-term integration support, though its forms vary. Common measures include education, vocational and professional training, social and employment support, but also allowances and in-kind support for the medium term or after immediate needs are met. It also includes the extent to which healthcare and other services are available to residents (European Migration Network 2016).

- Across Europe, long-term refugee-specific integration support measures may include:
 - National language courses (AT, BE, CZ, DE, EE, ES, FI, FR, IE, IT, NL, PL, SE, SK)
 - Educational courses (AT, DE, FI, IE, PL, SE).
 - Vocational orientation counselling and job-related workshops (AT, BE, DE, EE, ES, FI, FR, IT, NL, PL, SE).
 - Recognition of qualifications (BE, DE, EE, ES, FR, PL, SE).
 - School registration (AT, BE, CZ, DE, ES, FI, IE, IT, LU, NL, PL, SK, UK, SE, NO).
 - Assistance in entering labour market (AT, BE, CZ, DE, EE, ES, FR, IE, NL, PL, SK).
 - Family reunification support (BE, DE, FI, NL, PL, UK).
 - Housing advice and housing provision (AT, BE, CZ, DE, NL, PL).
 - Legal and social support/counselling (AT, BE, CZ, FI, IE, IT, NL, PL, SK).

³ After the initial orientation period, resettled refugees in Ireland are eligible for mainstream social benefits.

- Full, permanent access to healthcare through mainstream services (nearly all EU member-states).
- Specialised services, e.g., for survivors of violence and torture, women or girls at risk, children at risk, refugees with disabilities, elderly, and persons not likely to enter the labour force (AT, BE, CZ, EE, FI, HU, IE, IT, NL, PL, SK, UK, SE, NO) (European Migration Network 2016, 34).
- Across Europe, the actors responsible for providing long-term integration support include the IOM, NGOs, service providers and social workers, national authorities and agencies, educational consultants within competent Ministry, church organisations and municipalities (ibid.).

Outside Europe

Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Programme (starting from 2017) uses an integrated case management approach that includes arrival reception and assistance, housing, assistance with food and household goods, provision of information and case management, language classes, assistance with help and connection to community groups. Assistance lasts for a period of 6-18 months and is offered by subcontracted specialist organisations. There is additional special support based on needs, i.e., disability for 5 years (Rodgers and Porter 2020)

- Details: specific programs include language support (510 hours of language tuition in the first 5 years of settlement); employment assistance (with special support for young people ages 15-21 and people with a disability or other hampering conditions); access to free healthcare generally available to low-income residents, as well as some special services (e.g., emergency assistance, short-term counselling). "Refugees have access to the same housing assistance as the general population, including needs-based public housing. After the initial four weeks of free accommodation and basic essentials, no further dedicated assistance is provided. The sector is reliant on private rental accommodation" (Fozdar and Banki 2017:11).

Canada's Resettlement Assistance Programme (RAP) includes language training, employment support, connections to community groups, access to wider support services and crisis counselling. Most support is for one year and is either offered by subcontractors or sponsorship groups (Rodgers and Porter 2020).

- Details: the overall duration of RAP is one year, or less if refugees can financially support themselves earlier. Upon arrival, refugees receive 17 hours of specific service delivery over a six-week period; with additional support offered for refugees with a disability. After one year, if self-sufficiency is not achieved, refugees may apply for provincial social assistance (Korntheuer, Pritchard, and Maehler 2017).
- Minimum initial support offered by service providers includes meeting refugees at the airport; arranging temporary accommodation, and helping to find permanent accommodation (within a few weeks of arrival); helping to set up the household with basic items; providing orientation to life in Canada; and delivering the income support provided by the federal government (Korntheuer, Pritchard, and Maehler 2017).
 - Services are supported by interpretation services when needed.
 - In the beginning, RAPs meet government-assisted refugees (GARs) daily. After moving into permanent accommodation, RAPs meet clients less frequently.

New Zealand has a six-week reception programme focusing on self-sufficiency, housing, education, health and well-being, and participation (Rodgers and Porter 2020).

- Specifically, this includes employment assessment for working-age individuals and training opportunities; physical and mental health assessments, initial treatment and health promotion; preparing children to join the NZ classroom and English language training; and location of furnished government-subsidised or private housing (UNHCR 2018).

- After this, refugees are dispersed across NZ and have 12 months of resettlement support including community orientation and referrals as needed (Rodgers and Porter 2020).
- Financial support: for the duration of their six-week reception programme, quota refugees receive a weekly allowance. On leaving the reception centre, they are eligible to receive an applicable benefit at the same rate as benefits provided to unemployed New Zealanders.

In the United States, resettled refugees are assigned to one of 9 resettlement agencies that help with housing, work and other issues on arrival in the first 30-90 days.

- Specifically, initial integration services include reception on arrival in the United States; basic needs support (e.g., housing, furnishings, food, and clothing) for at least 30 days; and help accessing health, employment, education, and other services, as needed (Bruno 2018).
- Refugees may be eligible for additional government support as well as additional services and support by states and non-governmental organisations, which may include “short-term employment, language and social services, limited financial and medical support, and longer-term integration services” (Rodgers and Porter 2020, 15).
- Resettlement agencies providing services are largely funded in the form of a per refugee grant (~\$2000), for which over half has to be spent in direct support of the refugee (Bruno 2018).
- There is a very strong emphasis on employment: the heart of the state-administered reception programme is the Early Employment Services (EES) grant, which supports local resettlement agencies in getting refugees into work as quickly as possible (Darrow 2018).

Designing successful integration programmes: common issues

As evidenced above, integration programmes for resettled refugees vary widely. In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss four key aspects of integration assistance frameworks that contribute to the success or shortcomings of integration assistance. These are: (1) the way in which integration is defined; (2) issues of funding; (3) coordination among actors; (4) setting the timeframe. After this general overview, Integration Part 2 will delve into a discussion of policies concerning specific areas of integration.

Defining integration

Though integration is a common goal, its understanding can vary considerably. In fact, the term (and its implications) has been much contested in scholarly (Favell 2019; Penninx 2019; Schinkel 2018; Spencer and Charsley 2016) and policy circles (Broadhead 2020; Garibay and Cuyper 2013). To this day, there is no universally agreed-upon definition of integration. A clearly defined and consistently applied definition of integration is a crucial element of resettlement policy: whether implicit or explicit, ideas about what the integration process entails (what areas of life are involved and what success looks like) will shape the forms of support policymakers view as necessary to provide and will set the benchmark against which success (or completion) is measured.

In fact, there have been calls for the – stated *and* implemented – goals of integration to feature a broader range of dimensions beyond the economic, such as social, cultural, political, etc. (Benson and Taccolini 2019; Darrow 2018; Sriram 2020). For instance, an increasingly common criticism of the US resettlement framework is that its underlying concept of integration is far too narrowly focused on the goal of financial self-sufficiency, overshadowing other crucial aspects of integration, such as education, well-being, and health (Benson and Taccolini 2019). Economic integration does not necessarily result in integration in other areas, such as political or social integration (see e.g. Sacramento, Turtiainen, and Silva 2020 in Finland), and it can even happen at the expense of these other forms (Benson and Taccolini 2019; Darrow 2018). Conversely, the broad multidimensional perspective of the recent UK Home Office Indicators of Integration framework (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019; Ager and Strang 2008) represents an encouraging emerging practice.

Related to the point above, there have also been several calls to incorporate refugee perspectives when defining integration for resettlement policy. Research from the US and Australia, for instance, has noted a disconnect between the goals of integration reflected in policy and resettled refugees' own view on which aspects of integration are important to them, and their idea of what constitutes successful integration – which often echoes a multidimensional notion of integration, as mentioned above (Fee 2019; Tyson 2017; Pittaway, Bartolomei, and Doney 2016). For instance, Tyson (2017) finds that publicly funded integration activities in the US focus on basic English language acquisition and employment placement, while refugees' idea of integration indicators includes aspects such as cultural visibility, cultural preservation, relationships with Americans and socio-economic mobility, alongside language acquisition (though priorities can vary across ethnic groups).

Policymakers should therefore be thoughtful in their choice of integration definition, keeping in mind that it will shape the approach taken at the implementation stage (Darrow 2018). Accordingly, the choice of programming approach adopted depends on one's definition of successful resettlement (Dubus 2018). For example, speaking to service providers and administrators across the US, Switzerland, Germany and Iceland, Dubus (2018, 421–25) identifies three different kinds of aims (or priorities) and corresponding policy measures:

Aim 1: To ease the transition burden for resettled refugees

- Intensive case management in the first 3–6 months and then progressively less involvement during the first year
- Provide means of transporting the clients to various appointments and in-person interpretation
- Reliance on co-ethnic community leaders who can greatly assist with early integration
- Placement in areas/neighbourhoods where similar cultural communities are already present

Aim 2: To improve language learning and obtain economic self-sufficiency

- Less emphasis on case management
- More emphasis on intensive and immersive language classes and support to find jobs

Aim 3: increase resiliency/mental health of refugees

- Involve refugees in defining aims of resettlement
- Provide more social support services and increase awareness among service providers and families on the effects of trauma
- Provide greater flexibility in the type of services offered, including a less-rigid budget when it comes to what gets funded and the length of that funding

Funding issues

A precarious funding structure can have adverse effects for the implementation of integration support programmes. In the US context for example, funding for resettlement agencies delivering integration services depends heavily on a fluctuating caseload and meeting specific benchmarks (Fee 2019; Darrow 2018). This funding structure, which resettlement agencies experience as highly precarious and often unpredictable, leads to distortions in service delivery. For instance, tying the funding of resettlement agencies to the achievement of employment metrics (following on from the self-sufficiency-focused integration concept mentioned above) can create a perverse incentive for caseworkers to prioritise getting refugees into a job (any job), often to the detriment of meeting other integration needs or even long-term professional goals (Darrow 2018). This funding structure can also lead to a phenomenon Fee (2019) calls 'paper integration', in which resettlement agencies desperate not to lose their funding (and thus lose their ability to provide services to refugees altogether) are driven to develop an 'alternate reality' on paper in which the official benchmarks are met, even when in reality they are not, often because the benchmarks are unrealistic or out of line with what the refugees themselves and the caseworkers view as priorities in the integration process – tying back to the definitional issues mentioned above.

In addition, the underfunding of resettlement programs often results in additional strain or resource usage from local governments or service providers (e.g., schools, health providers, social services) (Fee 2019). When local governments' community institutions are forced to compensate for shortfalls in resettlement funding, local service providers (often underfunded to begin with) may no longer have the capacity to service host community members to the same standard, leading to resentment towards refugees and a zero-sum mindset among locals (Fix, Hooper, and Zong 2017).

All in all, more robust and predictable funding, ideally not heavily reliant on a fluctuating case number, and mindful about its connection to benchmarks, could help alleviate the unintended consequences outlined above.

Coordination with local community, stakeholders and implementation partners

In connection with the concerns mentioned above, the degree and quality of consultation with local communities is another key element of successful integration programmes for resettled refugees. In the US, local resettlement agencies often do not have much say over how many clients they receive, when, and the profile of their clients (Darrow 2018). As a result, local service providers (e.g., schools, healthcare providers) are often unprepared for the sudden increase in the volume of demand and the needs of the incoming refugee population (GAO 2012). Improving local stakeholder consultation and informing them in a timely manner about how many people are coming, when, and what their needs are, can help service providers get ready for the arrival of refugees and be aware of what they need in time to make arrangements or ask for additional support if needed (e.g., funding), avoiding the overwhelming of local services and resources. Involving and informing local residents can also help prevent backlash from locals who may otherwise feel blindsided or even alarmed by the new arrivals (GAO 2012).

Some examples of best practices for stakeholder consultation from the US (as identified by GAO 2012) include those developed by communities in Fargo, North Dakota, and Boise, Idaho, where service providers and the local voluntary agency formed a Refugee Advisory Committee to provide a formal, community-based structure for finding solutions to challenges in resettling refugees. These committees include, for example (GAO 2012: 16):

- representatives from the local voluntary agency,
- state and county social services departments,
- various city departments,
- school district representatives,
- local health care providers,
- non-profit organisations,
- employers,
- other community stakeholders.

In Fargo, the local voluntary agency solicits input from the committee annually on the number of refugees the community has the capacity to serve in the coming year and meets quarterly to address other issues such as the needs of service providers (ibid.). In Boise, local voluntary agencies develop a yearly Refugee Resource Strategic Community plan, with the above stakeholders providing input on the community's capacity for serving refugees; progress on the objectives outlined in the plan are reviewed through quarterly community consultations (GAO 2012).

We find similar recommendations about coordination with local actors from other national contexts. A study from Iceland (Dubus 2020), for instance, recommends establishing a coordination system amongst involved agencies (e.g., NGOs, municipalities, state government) and different staff involved in arrival (from sectors such as social work, education, employment services and healthcare), to support planning as well as reassure

individuals who may have uncertainties about resettled refugees. Similarly, Canadian experiences with Local Immigration Partnerships (Awere 2018; Cullen and Walton-Roberts 2019) have shown that formalised cooperation agreements (with funding) and coordination structures can assist with successful local resettlement, e.g., by raising incentives for municipalities to host refugees, building on social networks, and increasing preparedness. Furthermore, success factors identified in Finland (Sacramento, Turtiainen, and Silva 2020, 422) included:

- Multi-stakeholder cooperation and close coordination (including the selection and placement process) among municipalities, Immigration Authorities, local NGOs, migrant associations and voluntary organisations
- Individual integration plans and measures for refugees
- Ensuring integration conditions at the local level via central government funding for integration costs incurred by receiving municipalities (including an integration allowance, income support, and expenses resulting from special needs, such as chronic illness, child protection, or disabilities).

In summary, well-organised and timely consultation with local community and stakeholders is a key step to ensure success of resettlement integration programmes and prevent backlash from the local population by preparing and informing service providers and local communities.

Setting the timeframe

The envisioned timeframe of integration is another fundamental element of resettlement programmes, as it determines the length of support services and assistance, casework, and the type of outcomes that integration support aims to achieve.

In this regard, research from North America, for example, often calls for the expansion of the integration timeframe. In Canada, RAP eligibility has been suggested to be expanded to 24 months (Baskanderi et al. 2020). In the US, a pilot programme stretching case management (and resettlement services) from 3 months to 2 years has resulted in higher satisfaction with services among refugees and more success in reaching benchmarks of employment, housing and well-being (Fee 2019; Benson and Taccolini 2019; Pannagio and Benson 2019). There have also been calls to enable a longer relationship with caseworkers, beyond the initial 90-180 days (Sriram 2020).

The short-term perspective in current US integration programming in general has been criticised for incentivising short-term goals (such as getting a job in 3-8 months), often undercutting long-term quality outcomes in integration (Fix, Hooper, and Zong 2017). A framework that incorporates long-term objectives – ideally in a multidimensional perspective as discussed above – would allow for more comprehensive and long-term positive outcomes. An example for an alternative approach highlighted in the US literature is “the graduation approach, practiced globally, that sets different benchmarks of success based on individual aspects, such as language, work skill, age, education, and caregiving demands” (Benson and Taccolini 2019, 49).

Chapter 7: Implementation of integration policy and practice for resettlement refugees

As we note in Chapter 6, the term integration has been much contested in scholarly and policy circles. There is increasing acceptance that integration is multi-dimensional and context specific (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019) and bi-directional dependent on opportunity structures at the local and national level (Phillimore 2020). In this chapter we describe some of the policy opportunity structures implemented for refugee resettlement. We look at the state of knowledge around the fourteen integration indicators (Indicators of Integration [IoI]) set out in 2019 by Ndofor-Tah et al. with a view to both shaping policy and practice and measuring outcomes and evaluating programme effectiveness. We begin with the domain that has seen the greatest level of attention from policymakers: markers and means, where there is a considerable body of knowledge, and then work our way down the indicators. As with the IoI framework, our ordering of indicators is not intended as a signifier of their relative importance. We identify findings by country and those that apply more generally.

Markers and Means

Work

Work tends to be the integration indicator that receives the most attention in policy and research terms. Refugees take longer to access the labour market and tend to receive lower levels of remuneration than other categories of migrants. In most countries, there is a lack of recognition of refugees' formal and informal qualifications and skills with few opportunities for qualification conversion or accreditation of prior learning meaning that when refugees access employment they tend to be underemployed experiencing what has been described as "brain-waste". Lack of adequate language skills and especially vocational language also acts as a barrier to the labour market (Fozdar and Banki 2017; Pittaway et al. 2016). A lack of social capital has been highlighted as a key reason for low levels of employment among resettled refugees in Australia (Losoncz 2017). Sponsored refugees in Canada have higher rates of employment than those on other resettlement programmes, with a particularly strong effect for women which is assumed to relate to support offered by sponsors (Kaida, Hou and Stick 2020). Some countries select refugees for resettlement on the basis of their employability (i.e., Japan) but tend to place refugees directly into low skilled work from where they lack social mobility if unable to speak local languages (Phillimore et al. 2021). There is an absence of programmes to support employment of refugee youth (Morrice et al. 2020). In Canada and New Zealand, discrimination and racism by employers have been found to undermine access to employment (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2018; Baskanderi et al. 2020).

In Canada, work is disincentivised by reducing resettlement benefits by 100% when refugees earn more than 50% of the amount of resettlement benefits (Baskanderi et al. 2020). Also, many generic employment programmes are closed to people from refugee backgrounds (Hynie et al. 2016). Rodgers and Porter (2020) find evidence of a relationship between integration and poverty referring to Griffiths and Loy (2019) who note that in the US inadequate support in the post-arrival period is associated with poverty. Here there is strong evidence that increasing cash assistance in the US was associated with increased wages.

In Japan, employers are heavily involved in refugee resettlement with refugees matched to employers during a six-month long integration course (Phillimore et al. 2021) which ensures that all adult refugees are in work within days of leaving reception centres. Elsewhere there are calls for much greater collaboration with employers to optimise access to opportunities but also to encourage the development of initiatives wherein refugees simultaneously improve language skills, gain work experience and earn wages (Baskanderi et al. 2020). In New Zealand and the US, the importance of matching refugees to skills shortages has been recognised (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2018). However, tailored programmes which closely meet the needs of refugees, offer skills training and apprenticeships and recognise work experience from countries of origin are scant (Baskanderi et al. 2020).

In the US, one suggested solution for increasing employment and addressing underemployment is “a refugee workplace inclusion toolkit” (Scialabba et al. 2020). The toolkit contains information which explains the process to be recertified and highlights relevant resources which can accelerate return to work in the new context (ibid). Also in the US, a policy focus on rapid access to work has been found to increase levels of short-term employment, under-employment and unstable work with few long-term prospects (Benson and Taccolini 2019). Case workers are incentivised to push refugees into work using a fast-tracked, one-size-fits all approach that often leads to poor outcomes (Benson and Taccolini 2019; Darrow 2018). However, the goal of short-term employment can be in conflict with long-term labour market success, something that has also been noted in the UK context (Fix et al. 2017; Collyer et al. 2017).

In Canada, Wilkinson (2017) finds a range of measures that can improve refugee employability. These include improving the availability and accessibility of settlement and integration services to help refugees become proficient in English or French, filling gaps in education, and improving the leverage of foreign-earned credentials through expanding existing services, facilities and staffing, ensuring refugees receive accurate and up-to-date information from sources they trust, using professionally trained translators to ensure access to correct information and providing funding for transportation costs to increase the accessibility of services. They also pointed to the importance of better matching of refugees with employment opportunities through developing an international database to register pre-existing qualifications, expanding provincial or federally supported internships and mentoring schemes to assist with the transition into employment and creating incentives to employ refugees (see also Scialabba et al. 2020). In Japan, the Government subsidises refugee wages for the first six months to cover the period in which they are learning on the job and provides an interpreter for one month to enhance communication between employer and refugee (Phillimore et al. 2021).

Data from the US suggest that “high levels of underemployment among refugees (for those who hold a college degree or higher and are unemployed or employed in a low-skilled job) can affect professional mobility and attainment, and crucially, long-term earning potential” (Fix et al. 2017: 2; see also Warren 2020). Failure to offer interventions that could improve longer-term labour market outcomes and mobility may increase the likelihood of “brain waste” (Capps et al. 2015; Lee et al. 2015; Lumley-Sapanski 2020). Underemployment has a negative effect on mental health (Hess et al. 2019). Longitudinal research in the US suggests that men are more likely to prioritise economic integration (Puma et al. 2020) while evidence from the UK suggests that women prioritise the development of social networks and languages before work (see Phillimore et al. 2020). Calls have been made for integration strategies to account for gender differences and for investment in women’s education, and workforce training in varied, less gender-stereotypical areas (Minor and Cameo 2018).

Education

Many refugees face difficulties relating to lack of continuity of, and access to, education. Furthermore, many, although qualified, do not have access to certification or are unable to access mechanisms to convert these to local equivalents. In Canada and the UK, young adults (19-25) who had interrupted education are not allowed to access high school/secondary education, and thus could not continue to higher education due to lack of recognition of their schooling. Language classes are not tailored to different age groups and literacy levels (Hynie et al. 2016; Morrice et al. 2020). In the UK, access to schooling can take some time for all children and can be interrupted by frequent movement (Morrice et al. 2020). In the US, young refugees can miss out on mainstream education and job-training programs (Capps et al. 2015; Lumley-Sapanski 2020). Calls have been made for enhanced support, catch-up and bridging classes, not only in language education, but for young refugees to pass critical certificates such as GCSE which enable them to access higher education and apprenticeships (Morrice et al. 2020). In Japan, refugee children access six months of practice Japanese style learning before entering Japanese schools (Phillimore et al. 2021).

There is considerable evidence that investing in education for refugees improves outcomes in other indicator areas. Rodgers and Porter (2020) find that in Canada and Sweden increasing refugees' access to education on arrival reduces the likelihood of claiming welfare, increased employment and the likelihood of higher incomes in the longer-term. Modelling in Germany found that increasing investment in education and language learning would increase the likelihood of gaining a vocational qualification and reduce the net fiscal effect of resettlement (Bach et al. 2017). In Canada, there is strong evidence of significant returns on investments in post-secondary education, especially for women (Prokopenko 2018). There have also been calls to increase investment in women's education and workforce training in varied, less gender-stereotypical areas (Minor and Cameo, 2018).

In addition, interventions in schools aimed at both children and families have been found to improve family wellbeing. Practical measures implemented by primary schools in Australia such as the provision of bilingual School Service Officers could increase refugee children's wellbeing and their families' engagement in their children's education (Shallow and Whittington 2014). There is clear evidence that refugees settling as older children face more challenges and graduate at lower rates than their peers. Refugees accessing tertiary education have high rates of graduation and increased rates of employment and income (Rodgers and Porter 2020).

Housing

Refugees' access to good quality affordable housing appears to be a widespread problem, especially in urban areas. In Australia, the reluctance of real estate agents to encourage rental to recently resettled refugees because of lack of rental history, makes access to private rented housing challenging (Musoni 2019). In Latin America (Nardone 2019), it was difficult for refugees to provide 'guarantees' to private landlords. In Canada, transitional housing is provided by the provincial government for a limited period of time (Manitoba Province) (Silvius et al. 2019) but ultimately the best solution to housing refugees permanently was found to be social housing due to limited availability of private sector housing. In the US housing providers often need to be found in less than two weeks with the current process slow and cumbersome and in need of centralisation (Scialabba et al. 2020). In the UK's Community Sponsorship scheme, accessing housing of sufficient size within welfare limits has been addressed by rental top-ups from sponsorship groups or building on relations with philanthropists to access donations of housing (Phillimore et al. 2020). Also 'friendly' private landlords have been persuaded to reduce rents for refugees in exchange for longer lets.

Health and Social Care

There is extensive evidence that refugees experience both psychological and physiological health problems and selection by vulnerability may mean that refugees arrive with chronic or life-threatening conditions. It is important to conduct medical checks immediately after arrival, as many resettled refugees have medical conditions needing urgent attention (Perdrix et al. 2015). There is wide acknowledgement that refugees experience trauma resulting in a range of psychological conditions. Mental health is connected to a sense of self-efficacy and control over life and related to integration outcomes (Tip et al. 2020). Mental health is stigmatized in some refugee groups' origin communities with symptoms potentially manifesting in more culturally acceptable somatic forms (Pachner et al. 2020). Earlier screening for mental health issues is often neglected but can be undertaken by primary care physicians (Afkhami and Gorenz 2019; Kim et al. 2020). Refugee youth may not want to take up mental health services because of distrust in authorities and counsellors (Hadfield et al. 2017). Scholars have identified a potential role for refugees' co-ethnic community in helping to destigmatise mental health in their communities (Kim et al. 2020).

Often mental health issues are exacerbated or even caused by basic necessities not being met (Mitschke et al. 2017). Rodgers and Porter (2020) find evidence of a strong relationship between social integration, language competency and health. Interventions that improve financial situations have health benefits as do

participation in organised activities aimed at raising confidence. They also find that poor access to preventative healthcare may increase refugees' risk of developing chronic conditions in the longer term.

Cultural health capital can be problematic as refugees are unfamiliar with health systems and local language. Interpreters can offer much support in this regard (Musoni 2019) but in the UK Community Sponsorship programme there were concerns about confidentiality in small communities or where there is a gender mismatch between interpreter and refugee (Hassan and Phillimore 2020).

Women refugees face particular health issues. It is important to be cognisant that many refugee women have experienced sexual and gender-based violence. Research in Australia has shown that accessibility of health services for women "is a key obstacle, due to both cultural issues (e.g., shame or fear surrounding discussing health issues with unknown practitioners) and logistical ones, such as the inability to take time off from work or caring for children to travel to appointments" (Drummond et al. 2011 and Bartolomei et al. 2014 in Fozdar and Banki 2017: 52-53). In the US, education in maternal health care is important for empowerment (e.g., information on prenatal visits, labour and delivery, infant care, family planning and contraception methods) (Khan and DeYoung 2019).

Some countries, such as Australia, offer training for refugees in first aid and basic public health education such as nutrition, hygiene, dental health (Musoni 2019) but lack of connections between different levels of health service can be confusing with one-stop centres offering better access (Harris 2018; McMurray et al. 2014). The employment of refugee community members can promote increased trust and engagement with health programs (Khan and DeYoung 2019). For refugees originating from rural settings, US evidence suggests that health and nutrition problems could be alleviated by capitalising on their strong agricultural skills by giving them access to land or green space (Judelsohn et al. 2020; Sastre and Haldeman 2015). Cooperation among local GPs in Australia has helped "to overcome issues around the lack of information on the health needs of refugees (such as the lack of medical records)" (Musoni 2019: 5) (Musoni 2019). Some evidence from the US suggests that group interventions (with co-ethnics) work better than 'traditional' one-on-one counselling for certain groups of refugees (Afkhami and Gorentz 2019; Forrest-Bank et al. 2019; Mitschke et al. 2017); in general, culturally competent/sensitive peer programmes have shown to work well.

Leisure

The importance of leisure has only recently been noted regarding integration. In the UK, refugees spoke about how day trips around the UK and to "British" activities such as football matches helped them to settle (Hassan and Phillimore 2020). "A range of programs designed to assist in practical ways, such as driver's license training, are very popular with refugee communities, as are programs such as women's and men's groups that teach basic skills such as nutrition, sewing or using tools while offering opportunities for socialising" (Fozdar and Banki 2017: 6-7). Sewing and cooking together have been found to offer opportunities for language acquisition and the development of social bonds (Hassan and Phillimore 2020).

Social connections

The importance of social networks in refugee integration has been widely acknowledged, although questions have been raised about which types of networks are most useful in fostering integration across domains.

Social bonds

There is considerable scholarly interest in the role of social bonds. The building of bonding capital depends on the presence of ethno-specific community groups (Pittaway et al. 2016). In particular in rural/regional with low levels of ethnic resources, refugees can struggle to integrate socially and economically. In the US, evidence suggests that living in ethnic enclaves can be helpful for the integration of refugees, but can also result in isolation (esp. social, linguistic, cultural) from the mainstream population (Bankston and Zhou 2020; Dagnelie et al. 2019; Gilhooly and Lee 2017; cf. Hooper et al. 2016). In Australia, bridging and linking capital was found to depend to a large extent on bonding capital, in particular during initial settlement.

Communities with strong ties between members were found to encourage bridge building to the wider community and as a consequence to access community resources and power structures (Pittaway 2016). Young people from refugee backgrounds often prefer to participate in ethno-specific teams with young people similar to themselves, however Australian sports policy considers ethno-centric sports clubs as limiting the integrative capacity of youth and as promoting isolation (Jeanes et al. 2015).

In order to capitalise on the integration potential of existing ethnic communities, Bankston and Zhou (2020) recommend multi-agency working with migrant leaders to identify local resources available to support integration. Pannagio and Benson (2019) recommend that refugees can be provided with more support if they are assisted to develop their own community centres to build bonds.

For older refugees and those from communities with low levels of digital competency, digital literacy training might be helpful to avoid isolation: with social media, refugees can make connections to those in their co-ethnic groups, both in the US and to keep connected with people in the country of origin (Pachner et al. 2020). In Australia, the formation of ethnic communities was encouraged by regional service providers through government funds (DIAC 2010). Regional settlement policy also supported the development of bonding capital by settling refugees in clusters of families from a particular cultural or language group (Schech 2014).

Social bridges

Social bridges tend to be viewed as having the highest integration potential because they enable connections between refugees and receiving communities thought to yield access to multiple integration resources (see Phillimore et al. 2021). In relation to Community Sponsorship in the UK, Hassan and Phillimore (2020) found that solid relationships between volunteers and refugees could transition from bridging to bonding relations as people connected over shared experiences such as parenthood. Bridging relations were associated with financial support, access to institutions and other resources while bonding relations promoted a sense of belonging and emotional safety. Gender differences were identified in types of relations as women refugees were more likely to bond with volunteers, the majority of whom were female, but men struggled to build connections with local people who were neighbourly but not open to friendship. In New Zealand, women were found to build connections with other parents through schools, while men made friends through work (Elliott and Yusuf 2014). Tip et al. (2020) have argued that there is a need to provide more opportunities to increase refugees' social networks with host communities.

Bridging connections might include networks with individuals from outside a refugees' co-ethnic group but with whom they share some common ground. In Australia, for example, more established refugees from the Middle East have been supported to pass on their settlement experiences to more recent arrivals from Central Africa to help aid integration (DIAC 2010). In New Zealand, connections were formed through friendships with other Muslims with religious institutions providing hubs where refugees could meet established minority groups (Elliott and Yusuf 2014).

Development of bridging relations can be undermined by experiences of intolerance and racism. Pittaway et al. (2016) found that negative representations of refugees and experiences of racism and discrimination undermined individual and community self-confidence impacting on the capacity of individuals and groups to build social networks. In Australia, problems were identified for refugee youth participating in non-ethno-national sports teams which ranged from openly racist remarks and behaviours to the inability of coaches to deal with the diverse needs and cultural norms of refugee children (Jeanes et al. 2015).

Social links

Links with institutions are important to all resettling refugees and essential to enabling access to vital services. Caseworkers and volunteers frequently have a role in ensuring refugees are connected (Phillimore et al. 2020; 2021). In New Zealand, the building of linking social capital relied heavily on the voluntary input

of refugee community leaders who committed many hours supporting members of their community to access resources from civil society organisations and government agencies (Elliott and Yusuf 2014). In Australia, vulnerable refugee women experiencing problems with health, communication and poverty and/or social isolation were found to be most likely to fall through cracks in service provision. Vromans et al. (2018) argue refugee women need frequent, proactive, contact from caseworkers in order to access resettlement assistance.

Facilitators

Language and communication

There is extensive evidence of the importance of language competency in refugee integration regardless of their settlement pathway. Rodgers and Porter (2020) find that local language ability is a significant factor in access to work especially in the early years but that those engaged in language classes are less likely to be employed suggesting that a period of time is needed for language learning. In Canada, language learning is a key predictor of employment and mental health status, but language classes need to be tailored to age groups and literacy levels (Hynie et al. 2016). In the UK too, scholars note the importance of accounting for differential abilities as many refugees may be illiterate, or literate in a different alphabetic system (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018; Phillimore et al. 2020). Questions have been raised about the suitability of language classes for resettled refugees, especially regarding navigating day-to-day life and unspoken social rules (e.g., recycling, health system) (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018). However, Al-Salem (2020) warns that language training should not be used for civic education or teaching “values”. In New Zealand, the patchy nature of service provision is a concern. The Government of New Zealand (2018) suggests introducing language assistance services guidelines for central government agencies and funded services to help with providing best-practice planning, funding and delivery of public services for resettled refugees with limited or no English.

Culture

It is important for refugees to develop knowledge of institutional and social cultures in order to know the ways that systems work and how to “fit in”. Refugees arriving in the UK as part of the Community Sponsorship scheme expressed a desire to learn more about UK culture sometimes learning through social connections (Hassan and Phillimore 2020). In Australia, Losoncz (2017) found a disconnection between cultural goals which refugees were meant to achieve and structures providing access to these goals. While Australian resettlement policies focussed on refugees adopting Australia’s cultural goals (economic participation and acceptance of Australian values), there was less emphasis on enabling refugees to achieve these goals. In the UK Tip et al. (2020: 3174) found there was a need to “clarify how British social and cultural systems work, including the practical information necessary to navigate daily life”.

Interpreters have been found to be important for language and cultural mediation. Some Community Sponsorship interpreters in the UK acted as unofficial cultural mediators (Hassan and Phillimore 2020). Following concerns about how refugees would fit into a rather homogenous Icelandic community, programme managers and social workers in Iceland planned joint activities before arrival to enable communities and refugees to meet and introduced “cultural experts” who spoke Arabic, and could engage in discussions about possible cultural challenges (Dubus 2019).

Digital Skills

Little research examined the role of digital skills in integration. In the US, Pachner et al. (2020) found that digital literacy programs might be necessary for some refugees with older refugees needing particular support. Research in the UK has identified the core importance of digital competences for supporting Community Sponsorship refugees during pandemic conditions. Those with pre-existing digital skills fared much better than those with no skills. Digitally capable refugees were able to become self-sufficient more quickly as they learned to negotiate access to healthcare and welfare themselves online. Furthermore, those

with sufficient skills were able to access wide ranging resources such as online language classes, tuition sessions for children and women only exercise and socialising sessions (see Reyes-Soto and Phillimore 2021). In New Zealand, a government-funded initiative “Computers in Homes” provides a 30-hour basic computer-training course for refugees which was helpful in enabling refugees to learn how to access the internet (Andrade and Doolin 2016).

Safety and Stability

There is little research focusing specifically on safety and stability and integration for resettled refugees. In the UK, Community Sponsorship refugees outlined how the provision of support and reassurance from volunteers promoted a feeling of safety (Hassan and Phillimore 2020) which they had not encountered for many years. In New Zealand, a driving initiative called ‘Turning the Curve’, aimed to assist resettling women to access and use the road system with drivers and driving instructors commenting that a license enabled women who may otherwise be driving illegally to have the means and ability to drive safely (Kale and Kindon 2020).

Foundations

Rights and responsibilities

Rodgers and Porter (2020) find that refugees are more likely to naturalise than other categories of migrant and those who are naturalised are more likely to access better quality employment. Individuals who had naturalised were more likely to express a stronger sense of belonging, to engage in more volunteering and higher levels of group membership than other migrants. But in Canada, there were financial and language barriers to naturalisation although refugees with permanent residence are more likely to be in work. In the UK, all refugees interviewed in a study on Community Sponsorship expressed a desire to access citizenship seeing this as securing their position in UK society and enabling them to access certain rights such as ability to travel overseas (Hassan and Phillimore 2020).

Multi-dimensional integration initiatives

Above we have outlined findings where they have identified what works in relation to supporting refugee integration in those areas. Identifying good practice in terms of how programmes work is often difficult because initiatives and interventions tend to focus on measuring refugee outcomes rather than the processes or actions which generated them. In this section we outline findings which offer insight into good practice in programmes intended to support resettlement refugees to integrate across multiple domains.

Hashimoto-Govindasamy and Rose (2011) found that the Community Support Programme offered by the Sisters of Mercy at a farm in Sydney had multiple benefits for women, such as offering support with childcare so women could focus on their well-being and fostering social interaction in a safe environment. It also offered an exercise component building on participants’ concerns about sedentary post-resettlement lifestyles. A range of programs designed to assist in practical ways, such as driver's license training, have been identified as popular within refugee communities, as are programs such as women's and men's groups that teach basic skills such as nutrition, sewing or using tools while offering opportunities for socialising (Fozdar and Banki 2017).

The Calgary Catholic Immigration Society programme “Employment First”, combines a six-week job placement, skills training, workplace training, and mentorship support for high-needs refugees (Calgary Catholic Immigration Society 2019). The ‘Turning the Curve’ initiative, which aimed to assist resettling women to access and use the road system safely, was successful because it was developed in response to refugee-background women’s advocacy, was governed by them, fostered independence and did not have a strict timeframe (Kale and Kindon 2020).

The US non-profit organisation USAHello partnered with UNHCR to create and rollout the FindHello application. This app uses a mapping tool to help refugees locate integration resources such as housing, food,

health care, and jobs in their local area (Scialabba et al. 2020: 9). The initiative and its centralised platform were found to be an effective way for resettlement agencies to share and access information, and to work together to improve their operations and refugee integration experiences.

Chapter 8: Monitoring and evaluation of resettlement programmes

Introduction

The monitoring and evaluation of resettlement programmes refer to reviews, reports commissioned regularly, usually on an annual basis, by relevant government agencies, including peer-reviewed studies and external studies by international institutions such as the UNHCR and the European Commission (EC). The study of resettlement is facilitated by the availability of data. Countries that collect statistical data enabling identification of individual refugees have access to strong insights about the effectiveness of their programmes and interventions (Rodgers and Portman 2020). For example, Canada evaluates its programmes each year (GRSI 2020) and uses census and administrative data, while Switzerland collects data every 6 months on refugees for 2 years since they arrived (Ahad et al. 2020). In the case of the EU in particular, the EC's European Migration Network plays a crucial role in setting and monitoring EU programmes' standards, since many of them are funded by the AMIF (Kukyte 2017). Defining measurable benchmarks and time frames for the evaluation of the integration progress of resettled refugees, albeit challenging, is what drives the improvement and tailoring of services (UNHCR 2010).

There are different approaches to monitoring and evaluation, types of indicators and measures. Some countries focus on results-driven accountability, e.g., New Zealand and Australia (Shergold et al. 2019). Others (e.g., the US) focus more on measuring outcomes against policy objectives (Darrow 2018; Griffiths and Loy 2019), limiting monitoring to inputs and immediate results, such as how many refugees have been resettled and from which countries (Ahad et al. 2020). There are fewer examples (e.g., Canada and Australia) in which monitoring is proactive and happens through random sampling (online questionnaire or phone interviews) to understand how refugees themselves evaluate the services that they receive (Kaduuli 2020). Monitoring and evaluation is usually conducted by the national authorities who are responsible for resettlement schemes. This can be challenging, in particular for countries that do not have an established M&E culture and relevant capabilities (Ahad et al. 2020). The main challenge to the development of evidence-based policy is low levels of robustness in evaluations, or the tendency to measure only small changes or initial outcomes, while there is no longer-term evaluation approach (Benton and Diegert 2018). Finally, using one comprehensive measure or a composite of several indicators together is not necessarily effective because integration is a multidimensional and multidirectional process, often yielding contradictory results in different policy areas, e.g., it is possible to be well integrated in the school system, but have poor housing conditions (European Union and the United Nations 2018; Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019). The lack of harmonization of data and failure to disaggregate between different categories of refugees make comparative studies of resettlement programmes challenging. In a meta-review of findings covering six national resettlement programmes Rodgers and Portman (2020) found that findings around functional integration indicators (i.e., housing, education, work) were broadly comparable while those on softer aspects such as social inclusion varied according to context.

Measures and indicators

Different countries use different measures and indicators to evaluate the outcomes of resettlement programmes. Differences can often be accounted for by states' different understandings of what integration means, or different integration priorities.

- Outcome-based performance measures: The US evaluates programmes almost entirely based on a single outcome, rapid early employment. "This can be effective in demonstrating financial self-sufficiency and elimination of public dependency; however, this alone does not guarantee that the foundation is set for resilience and long-term success" (Lee et al. 2015: 59).
- New Zealand describes five main objectives/indicators: self-sufficiency, participation, health and wellbeing, education, and housing (Ahad et al. 2020). The overarching aim here is for refugees to be able to fully participate in society, socially and economically, as soon as possible, to live independently, have

equivalent responsibilities and rights to all New Zealanders (UNHCR 2018).

- The UK Home Office developed the Indicators of Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019) including 14 domains of integration, ranging from work and housing to digital skills and stability (Ahad et al. 2020). According to some scholars, the country's resettlement programme allows for a more active involvement of refugees in the determination of what should be considered successful resettlement (Nawyn 2013).
- Australia monitors and evaluates its resettlement and integration programmes based on two types of indicators: systemic/process and life outcome (labour access and level of income, occupational status and quality of housing) (Fozdar and Banki 2017). A results-driven accountability approach enables the government to monitor how much refugees benefit from available services and "to improve the performance of programs by planning, implementing and measuring outcomes against government objectives" (Shergold et al. 2019, p. 48).
- The Canadian department for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship (IRCC) undertook a Rapid Impact Evaluation (RIE) between June and September 2016 to assess the early integration outcomes of those resettled through the 2015-2016 Syrian Refugee Initiative. The evaluation focused on the challenges of implementation, identifying unmet needs, lessons learnt and opportunities for improvement. The tools used included focus groups and surveys with Syrian refugees, in combination with a series of other evidence (Government of Canada 2016). For example: iCARE - Immigration Contribution Agreement reporting Environment): a web-based performance measurement data system used by SPOs to track clients' use of settlement services. Statistical data is also collected about other groups of newcomers and analysed sources include Annual Settlement Outcomes Survey, 2016 Census, Longitudinal Immigration Database (Gure 2018)
- In Sweden randomised control trials are utilised, where some refugees, irrespective of how they arrived, are randomly assigned "treatment", i.e., participation in a particular measure and compared with other refugees who do not receive it. For example: an evaluation of intensive counselling and coaching by the Swedish Public Employment Service assigned participants into either a treatment group (intensive coaching) or a control group (regular introduction programmes) and found that intensive coaching increased an individual's chance of employment (Benton and Diegert 2018).
- Quasi-experimental design or natural experiments comparing natural differences in effects of integration policies if they are implemented in different stages and/or different locations. For example: in Sweden, a workplace introduction programme was introduced in a number of pilot municipalities before being rolled out nationwide, rendering an evaluation possible (Benton and Diegert 2018).
- In Germany an occupational language training programme was evaluated by comparing participants in programmes with non-participants (Benton and Diegert 2018).
- In the case of the EU, the main sources of information on challenges and good practices in resettlement programmes are reports on their implementation within the framework of evaluations of relevant EU funds (e.g., European Refugee Fund and AMIF). These can take the form of surveys distributed to resettled refugees, who are asked to evaluate the services they receive, or reports prepared by the organisations themselves (European Migration Network 2016).

Funding and delivering monitoring and evaluation

In practice, the entity responsible for overseeing and funding monitoring and evaluation of resettlement programmes is often the government, given its ownership of the programme, its interest in seeing the exercise succeed, and the fact that other stakeholders recognise its legitimacy. For example, in Italy, the Resettlement Unit within the Ministry of the Interior manages the programme *and* conducts internal monitoring. Usually, the lead authority is the national Government but where countries have devolved governments, these may implement additional or different programmes and undertake evaluations at state or provincial level. The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), set under the New York

Declaration, provides certain benchmarks that ensure the rapid and well-supported reception and admission of refugees (European Union and the United Nations 2018). New Zealand measures the progress in improving its integration outcomes every year using a series of indicators agreed by the Government (UNHCR 2018), i.e., self-sufficiency, participation, health and well-being, education and housing (Immigration New Zealand 2019).

Strategies and good practices

Once again, much variation can be identified in practice but work by Ahad et al. (2020) has sought to identify useful strategies and practices.

- Canada is planning to conduct surveys to compare integration outcomes of newcomers who access settlement services and those who do not, across all newcomers (GRSI 2020).
- Since 2019, the UK has expanded the indicators framework to include 14 indicator areas, containing hundreds of indicators, across 4 domains, aiming to capture the complexity of each (Ahad et al. 2020).
- In Switzerland, integration goals, such as language proficiency, gaining employment and housing, accessing health care and having a basic understanding of local society, are set on the national level. Based on these, the cantons assign refugees with individual coaches early on (within three months from arrival), who monitor their progress for up to two years. Data, collected every six months, are entered into a database and analysed by a university partner, forming the basis for evaluating the refugees' integration progress (Ahad et al. 2020).
- While setting up monitoring and evaluation methodologies after a programme has been running can be costly, the cases of Ireland, Italy, and the Netherlands demonstrate the relevant benefits (Ahad et al. 2020). By developing performance-based indicators, these countries managed to shift the focus away from evaluating programmes based on the numbers of resettled refugees and towards the overall quality and sustainability of resettlement programmes (Fratzke and Kainz 2020). For instance, qualitative studies conducted in France demonstrated that resettlement could have a positive impact on small towns and rural areas. This is because it can lead to an overall improvement of the quality of services for all, such as transportation and doctor availability (Tardis 2019).
- Denmark introduced a reform in 2004–05 adding to the selection criteria an assessment of the integration potential (language skills, educational and work background, family situation etc.) of refugees. Eventually, a comparison between those selected before and after the reform showed that those that arrived before the reform had in fact higher employment rates. As a result, the assumed link between selection criteria and integration was refuted, opening the way for the consideration of wider range of factors during selection (Ahad et al. 2020).

Challenges and shortcomings

Implementing effective monitoring and evaluation is difficult. A number of challenges and shortcomings associated with approaches adopted can be identified.

- Self-sufficiency as the benchmark for refugee integration (US): not only is 'successful' integration measured through self-sufficiency, but this benchmark is focused solely on economic performance (i.e., gaining employment) rather than other aspects such as sociocultural integration and health and well-being (Darrow 2018; Griffiths and Loy 2019; Benson and Taccolini 2019). Correlating outcomes such as employment with 'successful' integration creates a disconnect between refugees' understandings of successful integration and policy assumptions (Tyson 2017). Focus on economic performance contradicts selection policies' aim of selecting the most vulnerable populations (Bernstein and DuBois 2018; Fix et al. 2017).
- Lack of consideration of the pre-migration experiences of refugees (such as length of time spent in a camp) when it comes to evaluating integration progress (Hynie et al. 2019)

- In most European countries the evaluation of integration programmes is done only through quantitative survey measures and targets only a limited period after settlement. For example, a recent comprehensive evaluation of Swedish labour-market programmes monitored employment support, credential recognition, skills assessment, subsidised work experience, traineeships, and even self-employment support for all disadvantaged groups. But it only recorded outcomes 90 and 180 days after programme completion (Benton and Diegert 2018).
- Conflict between short- and long-term goals because entry into initial employment does not equate with long-term self-sufficiency (Benson and Taccolini 2019). The focus on short-term employment influences the types of services available to refugees. This is because service providers tend to provide services that encourage short-term independence from cash assistance, even though they might not help refugees achieve long-term self-sufficiency. Having to quickly secure employment often prevents refugees from seeking formal education, work experience and language courses (Fix et al. 2017; Capps et al. 2015), which can help improve their integration outcomes (GAO 2012).
- Funding predicated upon performance leads many caseworkers to avoid disclosing programmatic shortcomings (for fear of losing funding if they reveal ‘failures’), which results in faulty M&E – it ‘looks’ like the program is working even though it’s not, e.g., US (Fee 2019).
- A policy and practice framework that prioritises specific measurable outcomes, such as quick self-sufficiency, pushes resettlement workers to deliver these outcomes to the detriment of other more sustainable integration goals. For example, they push resettled refugees quickly into low-income jobs, which prevents the acquisition of skills that would enable a better paid job in the future. As a result, service provision is structured in a way that trains refugees to behave in a certain way and locks them into certain paths (Darrow 2018)
- Lack of input from and consideration of the needs of refugees and caseworkers in systems of monitoring and evaluation (Fee 2019; Darrow 2018; Benson and Taccolini 2019). Research has shown that resettled refugees “measure success not by their individual economic self-sufficiency but by their ability to ‘give back’ to their communities and to maintain a connectedness to their culture of origin” (Lee et al. 2015: 58).
- Structural barriers (such as racism or lack of training of workers in cultural differences) remain unaddressed when evaluating integration services. For example, research shows that teachers often lack training in multicultural and multilingual education (Hurley et al. 2014) or resettled refugee children were improperly signposted to relevant agencies (McBrien, 2011).

Chapter 9: Community and Private Sponsorship

Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, sponsorship is viewed as having considerable potential for increasing refugee resettlement places. Some sponsorship schemes are set up to offer additional places to those set aside in a country's resettlement quota. As such they offer the prospect of additionality. A body of literature has been generated around sponsorship with Canada leading the way. The relatively new implementation of sponsorship programmes elsewhere in the world means there is currently less knowledge about these. Sponsorship schemes often function quite differently from wider resettlement programmes hence we have dedicated the final literature review chapter to sponsorship responding to the research questions within this chapter.

Selection

All countries work in collaboration with the UNHCR to select refugees to resettle (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019). The UNHCR prioritises vulnerable displaced people for whom repatriation or local integration are not viable options (Lenard 2020). In sponsorship programmes the same criteria as government-led resettlement programmes apply: individuals need to qualify for refugee status under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Refugee Convention) and to pass the states' security checks (GRSI 2020).

Refugees of specific nationalities are often favoured over others, who may still qualify for sponsorship but will have to wait for longer (Hirsch et al. 2019). Differences in the length of resettlement processes result in inequalities, for instance, Ethiopian and South African refugees wait on average five times longer than Iraqi refugees to be resettled in Canada (Kaduuli 2020). Where sponsors can select the refugees they wish to resettle (Bertram et al. 2020), the selection process is also influenced by the sponsorship groups' perception of who would 'fit in' better in their community (Haugen 2019). This is particularly the case for small rural groups, which tend to favour Christian families (Haugen 2019).

For the blended type (BVOR) in Canada, where responsibility for refugee support is shared between communities and the government, refugees are selected from a group of pre-assessed by the UNHCR and the government (Bertram et al. 2020). BVOR does not allow sponsors to 'name' refugees, but sponsoring groups can express interest in refugees pre-selected by the UNHCR and Canadian visa officers (Labman and Pearlman 2018).

Criteria used for selection

While Canada began in the 2000s to favour those 'in urgent need for protection' and the 'vulnerable' (Krivenko 2012), countries such as Australia and New Zealand use the criteria of 'job readiness' to select resettlement refugees, which means that refugees must demonstrate they can live without government support, being within an established age range (usually under 50s) and have language knowledge, and employability skills or a job offer (Hirsch et al. 2019; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2019). When the criteria of 'job readiness' is applied, women are less likely to be resettled as their access to education and work is often limited in their countries of origin and they, therefore, lack the skills and qualifications to obtain a job in a third country (Hirsch et al. 2019). However, the provision of resettlement places according to more diverse criteria, such as the presence of family members in the country, the offer of a job or access to education, is more aligned with the multitude of reasons why people migrate (van Selm 2020).

Private sponsorship tends to respect family unity, resettling the family members of the refugee main applicant and granting them equivalent rights (GRSI 2020). However, there are limitations to the definition of family members. In Canada, the age of individuals that can enter as dependants was reduced from 22 to 19 (Labman 2016). Additionally, women are often resettled as "dependant" on the men they arrive with, and classified as either their daughter, wife, or sister (Grieco and Boyd 2004 in Senthanaar et al. 2020).

Agreeing quotas

Most countries with sponsorship programmes have not set a cap on the number of refugees to be privately resettled, assuming sponsorship's unlimited capacity (Labman 2016). Canada has recently established a limit on the number of refugees who can be resettled through organisations (SAHs) that sign a sponsorship agreement with the government (GRSI 2020). The decision was taken in collaboration with SAHs organisations to speed up application processes (Kaduuli 2020). However, the cap includes limits on specific levels of refugees to be resettled, "thereby limiting sponsor ability to respond to specific refugees" (Labman 2016: 69). More recently, the Canadian government also shifted to establishing a three-year cap for the number of refugees and people with humanitarian and other reasons to be resettled enabling more strategic planning (Kaduuli 2020). Although privately sponsored refugees in Canada are in addition to the government's commitment, they are still counted in the country's final resettlement quota (Pohlmann and Schwiertz 2020). In deciding how many people and who can be resettled, countries take into account multiple factors such as financial considerations, refugees' needs and choices (Lenard 2020; Pohlmann and Schwiertz 2020). Little is known about why and how such decisions are made.

Placement

Generally, countries such as Denmark, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and Finland adopt a policy of dispersal to place resettled refugees in areas where there is a lower concentration of people with the same ethnic background with the hope that living away from co-ethnics will speed up their integration. Conversely, Canada prefers to place refugees near each other (Larsen 2011 in Bhattacharyya et al. 2020). Refugees resettled through Community Sponsorship in the UK are placed close to their sponsorship group.

For private sponsorship, the lack of consultation with refugees about the type of places they are to be located can have detrimental effects. For instance, in the UK some refugees placed in areas with low levels of population diversity found integration challenging (Phillimore and Reyes 2020a), while others would prefer rural over urban areas because they originally come from similar areas. Refugees may be reluctant to express a preference for the nature of a placement, thinking that it may slow down or undermine resettlement (Rodgers and Porter 2020). Unsatisfactory placement can result in secondary migration which can further impact integration processes (Mata 2017). When sponsors can select refugees and establish relationships prior to their arrival, refugees are more likely to have their needs met. For example, in the Italian Humanitarian Corridors programme, a family with a deaf child was resettled in a location with a school where people use sign language (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).

Studies exploring the importance of place in resettlement have mainly focused on rural areas. As refugees are more visible in small rural communities, tensions, racism and discrimination, have been reported. Sponsors in rural areas in Canada and the UK have found pre-arrival activities, and mediating relations between refugees and the community reduced tensions (Haugen 2019; Reyes and Phillimore 2020).

The strengths of rural places are (Haugen 2019; ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019):

- The low cost of living, especially regarding affordable housing for large families.
- The whole community participates in supporting newcomers.
- Resettled refugees focus more on language learning to communicate as there are few minority groups that share their mother tongue.
- Compared to urban areas, rural areas have more retired people who have spare time to volunteer.
- Although rural places can have fewer services, they are sometimes more accessible than urban areas where there are long waiting lists (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).
- Finding a job in a small area can be easier because there is less competition and refugees are more likely to be introduced by volunteers (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019; Villa 2020).

- The arrival of refugees in rural areas has sometimes resulted in a growth of the local economy and community's services (Shergold et al. 2019; Patuzzi et al. 2020).

The weaknesses of rural places are (Haugen 2019; Villa 2020):

- The absence of people sharing refugees' backgrounds is associated with fewer opportunities to mix and access culturally specific services and an increase in loneliness (Phillimore et al. 2020).
- Interpreters are often not available or are expensive.
- Rural areas have poor public transport. Sponsorship groups must work harder to help refugees to access resources and opportunities (Phillimore et al. 2020). Rural sponsors often encourage refugees to obtain a driving license and a vehicle which enables them to feel more independent (Haugen 2019).

The few studies that focus on the advantages and disadvantages of urban areas for sponsored refugees stress that sponsors there are better supported and advised, mostly because of the availability of relevant NGOs and community groups, as well as local authorities that have experience working with refugees (Sabchev and Baumgärtel 2020; Phillimore et al. 2020). Housing costs are the main challenge in urban areas (Phillimore et al. 2020).

Family reunification

Resettlement and integration processes are more successful when refugees know their family members are safe and close by (GRSI 2020). Refugees and volunteers are often unaware of family reunion policies and of how difficult family reunion can be. Inability to reunite with their relatives causes refugees suffering which affects their well-being and their ability to integrate (Phillimore et al. 2020). The shortage of family reunion programmes and limitations associated with these programmes motivate refugees to use private sponsorship to resettle their family members. For instance, almost all refugees who apply for resettlement through the Australian Community Support Programme are supported by relatives already in the country (Hirsch et al. 2019). Consequently, the use of sponsorship programmes for family reunification reduces the possibility for the most vulnerable refugees to be resettled if they do not have a family member able to sponsor them (GRSI 2020).

Outside of sponsorship schemes, there are some routes through which refugees can sponsor relatives, but these pathways require sponsors to meet specific criteria, such as being a citizen or permanent resident (GRSI 2020). Sponsors' desire to help refugees to reunite with family members is evident, but volunteers are often unable to guide and advise on possible solutions (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b).

Through private sponsorship in Germany, refugees who act as sponsors must take financial responsibility for the people they want to resettle. To help alleviate this burden, members of civil society have sought to share costs (Pohlmann and Schwiertz 2020). Similar initiatives have been developed in countries such as France where family members may enter the country with humanitarian visas (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019)

The often narrow range of family members who can be reunified can also undermine refugee attempts to reunite with family. Canada no longer allows extended families to be resettled (Labman 2016).

Integration

There are few studies that compare integration outcomes for private sponsorship and government-led programmes. Many are conducted in Canada and focus on specific aspects of integration processes (Hyndman et al. 2017; Kaida et al. 2020). Canadian findings are useful to support the development and the improvement of private or community programmes in other countries such as the UK because some similarities exist between sponsored refugees recently resettled in these countries. For instance, both Canada and the UK have lately focused their resettlement initiatives on vulnerable refugees from the Middle

East and North Africa, particularly from Syria (Government of Canada 2016a; Wilkins 2020). To some extent through the Canadian Private Sponsorship of Refugees Programme and the UK's Community Sponsorship Scheme, sponsored refugees are then offered similar assistance by sponsoring groups, including housing and language training, support in accessing employment, healthcare and services (Government of Canada 2016b; Wilkins 2020).

Employment

Studies that look at employment show that privately resettled refugees are encouraged by their sponsors to find a job, but that they struggle to have their past working experience and qualifications recognised (Ritchie 2018, Phillimore and Reyes 2020b). Research on Canada further found that sponsored refugees are more likely than government-assisted refugees to access employment in the short term (Hyndman et al. 2017; Kaida et al. 2020). However, the initial gap between the groups disappears in the long term. This pattern is explained by the tendency of sponsorship groups to welcome people who are more educated and less vulnerable than those selected for the government-led schemes (Government of Canada 2016a, IRCC 2019) and pressure placed on refugees by sponsors to accept jobs, which may not match refugees' skills and/or preferences, before the sponsorship agreement ends to ensure independence (Kaida et al. 2020). Working soon after arrival can undermine language acquisition, which means refugees can only access low paid jobs (Hyndman and Hynie 2016).

Amongst privately sponsored refugees, less educated individuals achieve more positive long-term employment outcomes than those who are more educated, and this is especially the case for privately sponsored women compared to those who are government-assisted (Kaida et al. 2020). Such findings may be explained by the fact that, in order to access highly skilled employment, the more qualified and skilled refugees "require re-accreditation or skill upgrading, something beyond the reach of sponsors' short-term support" (Kaida et al. 2020: 1703).

Language

Learning a new language is one of the main obstacles for refugee integration regardless of resettlement route, accentuated by the fact some refugees have received low levels of education in their country of origin as was evident in the Community Sponsorship evaluation in the UK (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b). High levels of language competency are associated with positive long-term employment and earnings outcomes (Kaida et al. 2020). Good quality, appropriate classes for language learning are hard to find especially in rural areas (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b)

Accessing services

In terms of accessing resettlement services in Canada, slightly fewer privately sponsored refugees than government-assisted refugees use the assistance provided by settling organisations (IRCC 2019). This gap increases in the long term, where government-sponsored refugees continue to depend on state assistance (Schmidtke 2018). Evidence shows that sponsored refugees are more likely to find support inside the sponsorship groups (IRCC 2016b in Drolet and Moorthi 2018) and therefore have less need to contact external agencies. For instance, sponsors usually provide tailored language classes to accommodate refugees' needs (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b) and organise additional initiatives and activities to involve their social networks in supporting refugees (Hanley et al. 2018). Approaching organisations or strangers for support is seen as a sign of weakness in some refugee origin countries so some refugees prefer to rely on their family and friends, whom they often meet in religious services (Hanley et al. 2018).

Schools play a fundamental role in the integration process of young refugees, but also of their relatives who can benefit from the interactions with teachers and other students' parents (Hanley et al. 2018; GRSI 2020).

Housing

In Canada, sponsored refugees, as government-resettled ones, risk being homeless after their arrival if sponsors do not provide them with adequate accommodation (St. Arnault and Merali 2019). The lack of affordable housing makes Community Sponsorship difficult in the UK (Phillimore and Reyes 2020b). A solution to the housing problem has been the development of the Canadian website 'Roofs for Refugees' to connect potential landlords and sponsoring groups (GRSI 2020). Another good practice is the Refugee Community Organisation of Manitoba's (IRCOM) housing model employed in Manitoba (Canada) which offers refugees not only help to find accommodation, but also wrap-around support such as English classes, driving lessons and childcare provision (Silvius et al. 2019). Collaborating with faith organisations and housing associations, Italy has found successful solutions to provide resettled refugees with long-term housing. Some 85% of the newcomers have had access to free or low-cost accommodation (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).

Social Networks

Sponsors' networks are useful in facilitating refugee integration, especially when newcomers are welcomed by members of the same ethnic community (Kaida et al. 2020). Links with members of the same cultural background play an important role in inclusion, allowing refugees to enlarge their networks, build relationships, and receive information and support (Hanley et al. 2018). Refugees rely more on members of their own community than on sponsors of different ethnic backgrounds when it comes to finding work (Hanley et al. 2018). However, having interactions only with co-ethnic community members can increase the likelihood of marginalisation from the wider society and lead to inaccurate or inadequate information (Schmidtke 2018; Hanley et al. 2018).

Sponsorship enables refugees to have wider networks with the host country (Agrawal and Sangapala 2020). These encounters benefit newcomers and the whole community, reducing discrimination and creating more diverse and welcoming societies (Villa 2020; Reyes and Phillimore 2020). On the other hand, sponsors can be too intrusive and overwhelming (Hyndman et al. 2017), acting without consulting the resettled family first, and potentially creating uncomfortable situations for refugees (Hassan and Phillimore 2020).

Sponsored refugees develop a strong sense of attachment to the community (IRCC 2019), but in Canada this sense of belonging is higher for government-assisted rather than privately resettled refugees (Jedwab 2018). This finding highlights that the relationship between sponsors and refugees itself is not sufficient to help refugees feel more included in society (Gingrich and Enns 2019).

Health

Regarding access to health systems, Canadian sponsored refugees seem to be better supported to have their medical needs met compared to government-sponsored ones (Oda et al. 2019). However, both refugee groups face challenges such as high costs and a lack of cultural understanding by the medical staff (Woodgate et al. 2017). In the UK, sponsorship groups have been instrumental in ensuring refugees can access healthcare and time is dedicated to explaining complex systems and ensuring access to appointments (Reyes and Phillimore 2020; Hassan and Phillimore 2020).

Rights and responsibilities

The legal status and the associated rights that are granted to resettled individuals once they arrive in the receiving country have an impact on the refugees' capacity to integrate. Canada, Australia, Germany, the UK, and Ireland allow privately resettled refugees to reside in the country for a substantial period with almost the same rights as citizens. Conversely, in France, Italy, Portugal, and Switzerland refugees who have already arrived in the country need to wait for their application to be approved before having their status and rights recognised (Bertram et al. 2020). The offer of a time-limited status to refugees can impact negatively on integration processes as it generates instability and decreases the commitment of refugees and communities to develop inclusive societies (van Selm 2020). Sponsored refugees in the UK express a strong preference of

becoming citizens but also concerns that their lack of knowledge of local laws puts them at risk of inadvertently breaking the law and consequently being deported (Hassan and Phillimore 2020).

NGOs and volunteers

Sponsorship programmes operate differently across countries. Italy, France, and Portugal rely on pre-approved organisations to sponsor and in some cases to select refugees (Bertram et al. 2020). Germany, Switzerland, and Ireland delegate all responsibilities to volunteers, while Canada, Australia, and the UK “have mostly relied on groups or communities to share the sponsoring responsibilities, although some involvement of professional organizations is sometimes required” (Labman 2016 in Bertram et al. 2020: 263). The length of the sponsoring agreement also varies, German sponsors’ have a commitment of three years while Swiss volunteers support refugees only for three months (Bertram et al. 2020). In the UK, where the resettlement support lasts for a year, and provision of housing for two years, volunteers express their concern about the impossibility for refugees to reach independence during this time and they continue to support newcomers even after the agreed period (Phillimore et al. 2020). The quality of support that privately resettled refugees receive depends on the preparedness of sponsorship groups (Fratzke et al. 2019). Overall, evidence suggests that sponsorship groups offer sponsored refugees a wider range of assistance and tailored services, such as childcare and transportation, than those offered by government case workers (Fratzke and Dorst 2019).

Motivations for getting involved

In the UK, shocking media coverage of the refugee emergency in 2015-2016, religious duty and civic responsibilities are reported as the main motivations for people involved in Community Sponsorship (Phillimore and Reyes 2020c). Volunteers engaged in refugee sponsorship programmes express great satisfaction with their experience, through which they have the possibility to meet new members of their community as well as to develop skills and knowledge (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2019; Phillimore and Reyes 2020c). Sponsors also raise awareness of refugee issues and start advocating for displaced people in the whole community (Lenard 2016).

The role of NGOs and volunteers before refugees’ arrival

The work of volunteers starts before the arrival of the refugee family and includes not only meeting the government’s application requirement, but also organising events and activities to inform the wider community. For instance, sponsorship groups in the UK established relationships with local schools and advised them how to better support refugee children’s learning process (Phillimore and Reyes 2020c). Prior to the arrival of refugees, sponsors mentioned difficulties in finding volunteers willing to lead, as there is a fear of being too exposed, and in planning without knowing sufficient information about the family (Tito and Cochand 2017). The lengthy process from establishing a sponsorship group to welcoming a family is also a problem that can lead to volunteer attrition (Chapman 2014; Tito and Cochand 2017).

The role of NGOs and volunteers after refugees’ arrival

Following the arrival of refugees, the initial weeks and months involve the provision of intense and time-consuming support by sponsors, who assist newcomers with many bureaucratic processes with which sponsors themselves are often not familiar (Dyck 2017; Phillimore et al. 2020). Especially at an early stage, sponsors rely heavily on interpreters, who may not be well informed about resettlement processes and can provide refugees with incorrect information (Phillimore et al. 2020). As language is one of the main barriers, sponsors often provide refugees with tailored language classes by qualified teachers as well as informal conversation sessions in addition to training offered by external institutions (Phillimore and Reyes 2020d).

The relationship between sponsors and sponsored refugees

Some of the issues that volunteers encounter in supporting refugees could be mitigated if sponsors had more details about the resettled people prior to arrival, for instance about refugees’ level of education and literacy, life before and during displacement, and extended family members; and if volunteers knew more about refugees’ culture and religion (Phillimore et al. 2020; Phillimore and Reyes 2020e). Sponsors and refugees

who can meet online during the pre-departure phase tend to establish a stronger relationship as volunteers can better understand the situation in which displaced people live and can better understand their refugees' needs (Kyriakides et al. 2019). In the Humanitarian corridors in Italy, the involvement of NGOs in the selection and matching and the active collaboration between state's institutions and civil society allows displaced people and welcoming groups to be well informed and prepared before arrival (Villa 2020).

Studies on private sponsorship evidence that the relationship between sponsors and resettled refugees can be problematic if volunteers fail to recognise and treat newcomers as equal, and to adopt a "mutualistic" rather than a "paternalistic" approach (Haugen et al. 2020). Sponsors tend to expect refugees to always follow their advice and perceive them as ungrateful if their recommendations are ignored (Lenard 2016). Problems in the refugee-sponsor relationship are often not immediately identified if refugees do not feel comfortable raising concerns (Silvius et al. 2019). Mediating agents can be employed to mitigate challenges and misunderstandings, even where sponsors are refugees' family members (Lim 2019). Open conversations between sponsors and sponsored can be beneficial (Phillimore and Reyes 2020d). Additionally, because sponsors can be frustrated if refugees do not reach independence at the end of the sponsorship agreement, volunteers should be provided with more information about the realities of integration processes (Dyck 2017; Lenard 2019).

Training and Supporting volunteers

Training and information help sponsors have a clearer understanding of their role and responsibilities (Lim 2019; Fratzke et al. 2019). Sponsors welcome connections with other sponsorship groups to share experience and to receive advice (Fratzke et al. 2019; Phillimore and Reyes 2020a). In France, for instance, volunteers benefit from the creation of a helpdesk provided by an expert organisation, Caritas (Fratzke and Dorst 2019). The development of useful resources and training sessions offered by RESET in the UK and by the SHARE Networks for European countries are also successful examples of how volunteers' knowledge and skills in private sponsorship can be increased (Fratzke and Dorst 2019; Fratzke et al. 2019). RESET in the UK, the SHARE Networks in Europe and the Caritas in France have created good practice repositories so groups can receive advice and learn from one another.

More diverse volunteer cohorts are needed to participate in sponsorship to offer a wide range of support to refugees. In the UK, for example, the prevalence of white middle class women sponsors represented a problem for male newcomers who wished to be supported by volunteers who they felt they would be able to relate to (Phillimore and Reyes 2020d). Lack of knowledge about living on a budget resulted in inappropriate advice on where refugees should shop (Phillimore and Reyes 2020d). Additionally, engaging volunteers who have experience working with refugees and migrants offers some advantages (Phillimore and Reyes 2020a).

The role of faith organisations and universities in private sponsorship

The literature on private sponsorship notes the importance of faith organisations (Bramadat 2014; Phillimore and Reyes 2020c). In 2014, almost three-quarters of the organisations (SAHs) that signed a sponsorship agreement with the Canadian government were religious (Chapman 2014). Universities have recently assumed a more active role in private sponsorship, demonstrating successful use of their networks and resources to welcome refugees. Examples of good practices are provided by the Student Refugee Programme of the World University Service of Canada, the RU Lifeline Syria Challenge of Ryerson University and the University Corridors programme of the University of Bologna in Italy (Cukier and Jackson 2017, Mckee et al. 2019; ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).

Monitoring and evaluation

No perfect evaluation programme was evident in the literature reviewed. Studies tend not to distinguish between the outcomes of privately sponsored and other resettled refugees, and even when research is

available it rarely examines long-term results (Hyndman and Hynie 2016). The development of M&E strategies tends to be limited to a target group for a narrow period and when multiple categories of resettled refugees are analysed, differences between individuals and programmes are not taken into account (Government of Canada 2016b). The relationships between sponsors and those they sponsor in countries such as Canada are not constantly monitored during resettlement processes and therefore problems often go undetected (St. Arnault and Merali 2019). Good practice is evident in Switzerland, where each resettled refugee is assigned an integration coach, who checks newcomers' progress every six months for two years (Ahad et al. 2020).

To assess refugee integration outcomes, it is necessary to adopt multiple indicators across different domains, such as the UK Indicators of Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019), to capture the complexity of integration processes, instead of accounting for a limited number of objectives (Ahad et al. 2020).

Australia, New Zealand and the US adopt a results-driven approach to M&E to inform settlement service providers about their contributions in reaching integration's outcomes set by governments (Shergold et al. 2019). However, in the US information is collected only to record initial data such as the number of resettled refugees, rather than assess the long-term outcomes of resettlement programmes (Ahad et al. 2020). Ireland, Italy, and the Netherlands, demonstrate the benefits that can be obtained from setting up M&E systems focused on the quality of resettlement programmes even once schemes are running. However, to limit costs and unexpected challenges M&E should be planned in advance (Ahad et al. 2020).

Some organisations providing resettlement services already have M&E systems in place, which could be adapted to collect information on a larger scale, but such a strategy would require wider participation and coordination between states and organisations on the ground (Ahad et al. 2020; Fratzke and Kainz 2020).

Academics are often asked to research private sponsorship schemes (GRSI 2020). Independent studies are necessary to access a wider data pool and to explore the sustainability of resettlement programmes from a more objective point of view than that of the governments who developed the scheme (Carrera and Cortinovis 2019; Ahad et al. 2020). Good examples are provided by the Community Sponsorship evaluation conducted by the Institute for Research into Superdiversity (IRiS) in the UK and by the qualitative study on Italian Humanitarian Corridors of the American University of Notre Dame (Ahad et al. 2020). Such studies are important because they enable an analysis of programmes from multiple perspectives, including the points of view of refugees, volunteers and NGO's staff (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019). The level of response to participation in M&E studies, shows the willingness of sponsors and refugees to contribute to improving sponsorship schemes (ICMC Europe and Caritas 2019).

Canadian M&E system

As Canada has the longest history of private sponsorship, more information is available on its M&E system. Canada conducts an annual evaluation of Private Sponsorship and requests organisations that signed a sponsorship agreement to provide a report of their experience, including positive and negative outcomes such as sponsorship groups' failure (GRSI 2020). Additionally, there is routine monitoring of the numbers of active private sponsorship groups and resettled refugees, and a survey is conducted to assess the experiences of resettled Syrians (GRSI 2020). More recently, online questionnaires or telephone interviews were used to randomly contact resettled refugees, including sponsored ones, and receive feedback on resettlement processes (Kaduuli 2020). Canada's Resettlement Services Assurance Team uses the collected data to identify and solve issues with sponsorship groups, but also to check eventual immigration law's violations (Kaduuli 2020).

Chapter 10: Conclusion, gaps in knowledge and recommendations

After over half a century of research on refugee resettlement there is now an extensive and growing knowledge base on resettlement programmes, the experiences of resettled refugees, and refugee outcomes. However, much of the literature gives little consideration to policy and practice, focusing instead on refugee experiences. In this review, we sought to look at the state of knowledge about resettlement policy and practice, differentiating between sponsorship and broader resettlement programmes, looking across the whole resettlement process from selection of refugees through to monitoring and evaluation of resettlement programmes. Although most of the scholarships focus on North America, we found an increasing interest in resettlement policy research in Europe and Oceania, but with enormous variation in policy and practice between different countries.

Although refugee selection is undertaken based on core UNHCR criteria, some countries add additional criteria. Most countries set quotas, some do not achieve their annual quota, while others treat sponsorship refugees as additional to their quota. Many programmes have been running for many years but are augmented by specific additional actions around refugee emergencies such as those observed following conflicts in Syria. Most refugees are placed on a no-choice basis, sometimes using a dispersal approach as they are allocated on a quota basis to municipalities. Increasingly resettlement is being targeted in rural areas, an approach found to have mixed benefits for refugees and receiving communities alike. In some countries, refugees are matched to areas best suited to their needs, to employment opportunities, or to be located close to family members.

NGOs and volunteers frequently have a key role in refugee resettlement. Clearly volunteers are key to sponsorship models although even within sponsorship programmes there is much variation, with some programmes expecting sponsors to provide high levels of financial support to refugees, and others focusing more on housing and integration assistance. Faith organisations tend to play the greatest role, mobilising congregations to support refugees, but also in some cases contracting with Governments to offer services or running entire programmes such as the humanitarian corridors. Volunteers are motivated by faith or emotional drivers. In Canada, family members can privately sponsor and support refugees. NGOs can suffer from under-funding or insecurity of funds and lack of consultation by the states that expect them to offer refugee support.

Families are often separated when migration is forced. Although some attempts are made to resettle family units together, 'Global North' definitions of family can differ markedly from those in the 'Global South'. Thus, refugees often find themselves separated from relatives. Where regulations allow, refugees incur considerable financial hardship to reunite with family members, but frequently unreachable minimum income levels or restrictive definitions of family mean reunion is not possible. Those who are unable to reunite with family members report that separation undermines their ability to integrate.

Integration policy and practice vary extensively, with most states providing some pre-arrival orientation and post-arrival integration programmes. The focus of these programmes, duration of eligibility and integration goals vary, with emphasis often placed on employment, sometimes to the detriment of other integration indicators. Funding levels vary, as does the expectation of who takes responsibility for delivery of integration initiatives. Frequently there is a high level of NGO engagement in integration support, sometimes as part of contracted arrangements with local and national governments. Integration initiatives are sometimes holistic, focusing on several integration indicator areas; in other cases, they focus on specific areas such as work or language, and can be offered as part of a specialised programme for refugees or mainstreamed for instance into wider work activation programmes. Evidence suggests that women can have more difficulty integrating in some areas such as work or education and may prioritise the needs of their children and family above their own personal development.

Both governments and agencies engage in monitoring and evaluation, focusing on specific interventions, entire programmes, or refugee outcomes. Given different definitions and understandings of integration and different priorities it is unsurprising that measures and indicators vary. Most outcome measures are short-term, but some states engage in sophisticated measures such as experimental designs and RCTs. Few cost-benefit exercises have been undertaken to enable assessments of the added value of increased investment in integration initiatives.

Gaps in knowledge

In addition to identifying the state of knowledge in resettlement policy and practice this review has enabled us to identify key gaps in knowledge. These are set out below.

Selection and Placement

- There is a dire absence of evidence around how the selection process affects refugees, both those who have been selected and those who have been rejected, and how different groups of prioritised refugees may be affected differently e.g., by gender or age.
- Little research compares integration outcomes of refugees who have entered via different criteria (e.g., via integration potential criteria) and how individual characteristics of refugees, such as vulnerabilities and skills, contribute to integration outcomes.
- Little is known about the factors that contribute to states deciding to increase and/or fulfil their resettlement quotas.
- Little is known about comparative effects of various dispersal policies on refugee integration, e.g., whether allocation based on random allocation/quotas or capacity, or voluntary acceptance of refugees is more effective. More research is needed on how effective targeted placement is.
- There is little research on the preferences of refugees in placement and how these affect their integration and/or secondary migration.
- There is little research on how dispersal affects refugee integration in the longer term.
- Evidence that compares integration outcomes for refugees placed in rural and urban areas is limited.
- Little is known about whether successful integration depends more on refugees' individual characteristics or preferences, the effects of ethnic or inter-ethnic networks in the host community, willingness of the community to accept and integrate the refugees, or structural conditions such as availability of housing and employment.
- More research is needed on consequences of secondary migration for integration.

Volunteering and NGOs

The knowledge base on volunteering and NGO involvement in resettlement is not as extensive as that on refugee integration outcomes so there is much scope for further research, particularly around identifying good practice. Key gaps include:

- Exploring the role of volunteers in sharing knowledge about refugee resettlement broadly amongst wider communities.
- Identification of good practice in volunteer training and support.
- Identification of which models of collaboration and partnership, and refugee support, are most effective.
- Examining why some sponsoring groups fail and reasons for volunteer attrition.

Family reunification

There is little research in this area and therefore many gaps in knowledge. These include:

- The impact that being reunited with family members has on wellbeing and integration in the short and long term.

- There is a lack of knowledge about the ways in which reuniting with family, or not being able to reunite, affects integration processes and outcomes.
- Gender dimensions both in terms of the impacts of reunion but also in terms of who can and does apply for family reunion.
- The extent that the desire to be reunited with family affects decision-making processes in respect of resettlement options or asylum destination countries.

Integration

- There is a need for comparative analysis of levels of investment and types of approaches adopted in different resettlement schemes, looking at integration outcomes, potentially using a cost/benefit approach.
- Within US literature, Bernstein and DuBois (2018, 23–24) identify a lack of knowledge regarding:
 - Refugees’ long-term career paths (and how they can be supported more effectively)
 - Refugees’ continued learning trajectories.
 - The intergenerational changes in integration-related outcomes for children of refugees and their descendants (including, but not limited to, socio-economic mobility).
 - The impacts on host communities and processes of adaptation, including challenges for communities with or without a strong integration infrastructure for refugees.
 - Consistent information on factors beyond economic, linguistic, and civic integration outcomes that describe refugee well-being and provide information on their interaction with the receiving community and local infrastructure.
 - Issues concerning housing, transportation, social connection and isolation, mental and physical health.
- Research is needed on how refugees transition from supported/provided accommodation to finding and funding their own housing.
- More research would be useful on the role of leisure activities in the integration process, particularly with regard to the development of cultural knowledge and social networks.
- More research is needed about refugees’ levels of digital literacy and how the presence or absence of skills impacts on integration in other domains
- There is a dearth of evidence of refugees’ social care needs. Care for older people may become more pertinent as the refugees who arrived in Europe during the 2015 emergency begin to age.
- Research tools exploring integration should include questions about safety and stability, but work is needed to operationalise these concepts, perhaps through exploring their meaning with refugees.
- Given the impact of racism and discrimination on refugee integration experiences and integration outcomes, more knowledge is needed about how they can be tackled and the work of agencies such as the police in addressing them.
- More work is needed to develop mechanisms to effectively evaluate and compare initiatives to identify what works and to showcase good practice. Using the Indicators of Integration framework may offer potential in this regard.

Monitoring and evaluation

- There is an absence of knowledge about the use of gender-specific and intersectionality-sensitive benchmarks capable of recording and accounting for differential outcomes.
- There is a need to develop tools and instruments to record outcomes for refugee children and youth, and to identify the kinds of interventions that are effective for them.
- Measurement of integration outcomes rarely accounts for refugees’ input and voice. There is a need to ask refugees about their integration priorities, when they consider themselves integrated, and

how they measure their integration. Such knowledge might be compared with official benchmarks to examine the extent to which goals are aligned.

- There is a lack of knowledge about the relative costs and benefits of different types of refugee resettlement programmes and how outcomes compare to refugees who come via asylum routes.
- Few comparative studies have been undertaken to compare different policies and practices and their costs and benefits both to refugees and to societies and economies more generally. More work is needed that compares approaches across contexts.

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