

**Redistribution and Recognition for Migrants and Refugees in
Aotearoa New Zealand: Neo-Liberal and Multicultural Discourses
in NGO Claims-Talk**

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Abstract

Located in demographically diverse Aotearoa New Zealand, this thesis provides evidence that claims made by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on behalf of refugees and migrants are defined by discourses that interact to provide improved outcomes, but also reproduce marginalisation. My core argument contends that while the parameters of social justice in society are framed by the key concerns of redistribution and recognition, as Nancy Fraser (1997) has asserted, these concerns are also discursively constructed. In order to develop a fuller understanding of redistribution and recognition, the thesis maps them to the key discourses within the settlement sector, described as those of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism. The former (even while it is currently influenced by a turn towards social cohesion) draws on economic ideologies and remains the dominant state discourse of Aotearoa New Zealand. The latter has been identified internationally as a discourse relating to the settlement of migrant and refugee minority cultures within a state. Neo-liberalism and multiculturalism offer distinct and comprehensive responses to social justice. As this thesis demonstrates, redistribution is positioned discursively as either a modest safety net or as a right to rectify structural and/or historical injustice. The discourses also provide alternative conceptions of how to recognise the migrant or refugee individual: as either a culture-free market oriented individual, or a culture-bearing community member. It is in the tension of these two discourses that NGOs frame their claims for redistribution and recognition.

This thesis comprises a critical discourse analysis which investigates the claims-talk of NGOs in this environment, identifying what NGOs involved in the resettlement of migrants and refugees say when making claims to the state. Drawing on interviews with ten different actors working within nine NGOs, a small survey of thirteen NGOs, and information displayed on websites of seven NGOs – some of the largest working in the settlement sector – I establish the ways in which questions of social justice are discursively constructed in Aotearoa New Zealand. I further determine how these NGOs negotiate conflict and alignment between the discourses, to consider the points at which their

negotiations fail or succeed in building better social justice. I find that NGOs use the discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism strategically, frequently deploying them together, or using one to counter potential or perceived negative effects from the other. Lastly, I identify points of unresolved tension in the discourses, particularly regarding the positioning of ‘need’ as a claim upon the state. This thesis thus extends existing scholarship on multiculturalism, neo-liberalism, and recognition and redistribution, and draws together these diverse bodies of theory to elucidate the complex nature of claims-making in the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Preface and Acknowledgements

The journey of this thesis has been far more arduous and tasking than I had ever thought it would be. There are worlds of difference between academic work and practical community work, even when the latter does involve lots of writing, and most of this thesis has been accomplished while I have juggled the two. The thesis was completed with a scholarship provided by the Marsden Fast-Start Grant from the Royal Society of New Zealand, Grant no. UOW0805 (Engaging Women and Migrants in New Zealand Public Policy). While I am deeply appreciative of the financial support which meant that I didn't need to work during this period of time, I learnt, in another sense, that I did need to work. I could not forget that what I do at a community level directly impacts people. If I am not available for conversations, if I'm not able to throw every speck of energy I have at a funding proposal so that we can ensure interpreters are available for counselling when our counsellors can only speak English and our clients speak other languages, then people are directly and negatively affected. This has meant that my thesis has repeatedly come second to what I have considered to be more immediate needs.

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List of abbreviations

ANGOA	Association of Non-Governmental Organisations of Aotearoa
ARMS	Auckland Regional Migrant Services
CID	Council for International Development
CRS	Christchurch Resettlement Services
DoL	Department of Labour
ELP	English Language Partners
HMST	Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
MSD	Ministry of Social Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NZFEC	New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils
OCVS	Office of the Community and Voluntary Sector
OEA	Office of Ethnic Affairs
SOGI	Statement of Government Intentions
RASNZ	Refugees as Survivors New Zealand
RS	Refugee Services
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WNRAS	Wellington Refugees as Survivors

Introduction

The right to make claims to the state for resources and for status in society is a fundamental feature of democracy. However, the ability to do this remains unequally apportioned in democratic societies, which complicates the ongoing struggle by marginalised groups for recognition to improve their social and political standings, and for redistribution to improve the material quality of their existence. In Aotearoa New Zealand, social justice for migrant and refugee populations – both marginalised groups – is developed in an environment that is mediated by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). This thesis presents an investigation of claims made to government by NGOs about migrants and refugees, in order to interrogate the discourses impacting these populations and the applicability of those discourses to social justice. It provides a theoretical analysis of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism, both of which inform social justice for migrant and refugee subjects, and an empirical analysis of claims made by NGOs.

In the early twenty-first century in Aotearoa New Zealand, the struggle for social justice occurs in a state that is demographically diverse. More than three quarters of the 4.4 million population are of European or ‘other’ ethnicity (77%), but a significant percentage are not, and comprise of Māori (15%), Asian (10%) and Pacific (7%), while all other ethnicities make up less than two percent. Of the population in Aotearoa New Zealand today, twenty three percent were born overseas, and ethnic diversity is expected to increase (Ministry of Social Development [MSD], 2010). The ethnic and cultural pluralism of the population has been the subject of considerable study and research, including health research (such as Pernice & Brook, 1996), research with a policy perspective (such as summarised in Department of Labour [DoL], 2004a; or provided by Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, & O’Neill, 2005), or applied cross cultural research (such as Nash, Wong, & Trlin, 2006).¹ These emergent bodies of research are important in the

¹The first of these works, Pernice and Brook (1996) provides an example of research into the mental health of migrant and refugee populations. The authors interviewed South-east Asian refugees, British immigrants and Pacific Island immigrants in a comparative study that assessed

context of this thesis because they have implied the need for the state to engage with ‘difference’. Practically then, how is the state to engage with people from the diverse cultural backgrounds and with the diverse social experiences and expectations that research has uncovered? For Aotearoa New Zealand, the application of principles of democracy requires an understanding of ‘difference’ as it relates to the state, and to democratic state processes. This thesis focuses on one aspect of the democratic process: that of claims-making by NGOs to the state on behalf of migrants and refugees.

Claims-making, including both formal and informal processes of making demands on the state, inhabits an arena complicated by different government discourses, different conceptions of the citizen, and limited resources. While welfare states are ideologically motivated to reapportion resources among citizens, state orientation has moved away from government-defined redistribution to ensure the welfare of citizens towards market-defined redistribution in a significant shift occurring over the last thirty years (Chang, 2001; Larner, 2000; Tickell & Peck, 2003). Through both theoretical and empirical research, this thesis demonstrates the different discursive options for claims-making that currently exist in the post-welfare, neo-liberal state. When the relationship between the citizen and the state is defined differently for different citizens, as feminist critiques have argued (for example, see Pateman, 1988 and Walby, 1994), claims that are made on the state by citizens are also differentiated. However, in spite of its importance to the democratic process and the implications it has for political life in culturally diverse Aotearoa New Zealand, claims-making – as a conceptual and substantive policy practice – remains a relatively un-researched area.

The challenge for NGOs as they make claims on behalf of migrant and refugee citizens is that this right is exercised in a deeply unsettled terrain, and in a nation-state that is undecided about how to accept and recognise the difference of ethnicity. Aotearoa New Zealand offers a claims-making terrain which does not

post-immigration and demographic factors in mental health outcomes. In the example provided by Spoonley et al. (2005), the authors make a case for using social cohesion as a policy framework for measuring outcomes of settlement, both host and immigrant. Lastly, the authors Nash, Wong and Trlin (2006) provide case studies of social work situations with migrants, based on interviews. They argue that the field of social work would benefit from attention to the social dimensions of migration.

provide a clear conception of ethnic difference in relation to the state, and which bears the historical scars of colonialism. While there is official government support for ethnically diverse migration (DoL, 2007c), there are also voices in society which claim that migration should not be allowed to bring further racial division into a society that is barely comfortable with 'two' peoples (for example, see "Māori Academic Slams 'White Supremacist' Immigrants", 2011). These low 'comfort levels' with cultural difference may be a result of the active historical use of immigration to design the nation as a 'British' state, one that has a history of acts such as the poll tax (a tax placed on migrants from China), and the dawn raids of the 1970s targeting people of Pacific nations (McKinnon, 1996; Ongley & Pearson, 1995). This historical terrain complicates the relationship of the contemporary ethnic migrant citizen to the state, a relationship already complicated by differing discourses of state/citizen engagement. Thus, the 'welfare state', the 'neo-liberal state', the 'bicultural' and 'multicultural' state exist in relationship with each other and with citizens, and influence the relationship of ethnic difference to the state. However, 'neo-liberal' and 'multicultural' states offer particularly well developed and competing narratives relating to the migrant or refugee subject, and these are examined in detail further in this thesis. The terrain of competing discourses in Aotearoa New Zealand complicates the claims-making arena that NGOs operate in, making it ripe and interesting for study.

Located within this relationship between the state and the ethnic migrant citizen, NGOs retain a position that is both historical and dynamic. For at least the last thirty years, NGOs have argued that social justice for new settler populations be considered and addressed by government in its provision of social and civil rights to all residents of Aotearoa New Zealand (Skyrme, 2008). At the same time, under the sway of neo-liberal ideology, the state has built the capacity and coherency of these organisations (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Lerner & Butler, 2005). In practice in Aotearoa New Zealand, this has meant that NGOs have become contracted by government to provide settlement services to migrants and refugees, and to serve as the voice of the 'people' in engagement with government (Skyrme, 2008). The development of government contracting practices has increased pressure on NGOs to meet contractual demands (Phang, 2006; Tennant,

Sanders, O'Brien, & Castle, 2006). Likewise, there is pressure from refugee and migrant communities about the nature of the 'voice' that NGOs provide (Awad, 2010). No longer is the argument simply about the establishment, interpretation and satisfaction of claims for support for new settlers; it is also about who is involved in making these claims, and what impact claims-making processes have on people who are marginalised. As Nancy Fraser (2005) suggests, these wider aspects of the political environment have become of paramount importance for claims-making and social justice.

It is this crossroads of tension that this thesis examines in depth. It is of immediate interest that we understand the claims about (and for) refugee and migrant people that are made by NGOs to government, in the context of the history and projected future of Aotearoa New Zealand, and complicated by the discursive environment that shapes government, NGO and citizen relationships. The research question that this thesis therefore intends to explore is:

- In what ways do discourses interact in the settlement sector to inform claims-making by NGOs for migrants and refugees in Aotearoa New Zealand?

A number of further questions derive from this. Firstly, what are the theoretical parameters of the discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism that relate to social justice in this sector? At an empirical level, I investigate what it is that settlement NGOs make claims for, and how these claims are discursively positioned. Specifically, what are the discursive premises from which claims can be made which provide appropriate redistribution, and offer powerful rather than marginalising representations of refugee and migrant people? What are the discursive practices that NGOs might use to create conditions of social justice? These are questions of pressing importance as Aotearoa New Zealand moves towards a future shaped by increasing population diversity. Before developing a thorough understanding of this diversity in Chapter One, however, the following sections of the Introduction describe the concept of social justice through the axes of redistribution and recognition, and proceed to introduce neo-liberalism and multiculturalism, illustrating how these are brought together in the present state.

Redistribution and recognition

In contemporary research, scholars such as Fraser (1997) note that claims to the state for social justice take two forms. Claims for redistribution are those that constitute either a claim for resources, or a claim about the institutional processes that are involved in redistribution. Claims for recognition are those that constitute a claim about how an individual or group should be valued and recognised within society. Despite the shift in the forms of political struggle from a period in the mid-twentieth century, in which claims of distribution were paramount, to the culturally-based struggles about identity of the 1970s onwards,² Fraser (1997) argues that injustice operates in modern society in forms of both misrecognition and maldistribution.

While many commentators position redistribution and recognition in a relationship where attention to one produces a trade-off for the other, others argue that this is not necessarily so (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008). In particular Fraser (1997) argues that following policies focused on only one – either redistribution or recognition – can lead to a loss in terms of the other. In order to remedy the imbalance wrought by claims developing along one axis only, Fraser reconceptualises social justice in order to take account of both axes of injustice simultaneously (Fraser, 1997, p. 12). In this reconceptualisation, better social justice must always pay attention to both redistribution and recognition (Fraser, 2007).

This thesis uses Fraser's (1997) paradigm to conceptualise claims to the state through redistributive and recognition axes, as both axes point to forms of injustice that might draw claims to the state for redress. Economic structures that generate racialised forms of injustice in Aotearoa New Zealand are evidenced in studies that show new migrants to be disadvantaged in terms of labour market engagement and income level (Winkelmann & Winkelmann, 1998).

Misrecognition is also highlighted in studies which show the devaluing of

² The shift from questions of distribution to questions of identity has occurred in social, political and academic spheres. In the 1970s, critical theory related to ethnicity was largely class-based, developing critical race studies which defined the struggle in terms of the racialised labour market and economy. The 1990s onwards, however, saw the rise of multiculturalism and the change to cultural identity politics which focussed the struggle on the subordinated status of different cultural groups (Fraser, 1997; 2007).

difference in policy (for example, see Humpage & Fleras, 2001) as well as multiple other areas of social life such as education (Bishop, 2003) and media representations (Michelle, 2011). Fraser (1997) argues that these cultural forms of status subordination (which include racism) operate to create a denial of the full rights and protections of citizenship.

Redistribution and recognition are therefore used in this thesis as a primary division between types of claims. While they do not reside in isolation from each other, discerning the core differences between these types of claims lends itself to an analysis of the discursive landscape of claims-making. Just as Kerner argues that Fraser's 'justice' approach requires attention to the discursive movement of power in understanding the work of NGOs in the global south (Kerner, 2010), one of the findings of the theoretical analysis that this thesis provides is that the axes of redistribution and recognition do not exist as fixed theoretical constructs through which social justice might be obtained, but are defined within discursive frames which provide distinctly different claim articulations for each axis, as well as different policy responses.³

Multiculturalism and neo-liberalism

The two discourses selected for analysis in this thesis offer alternative stories of appropriate state/citizen relationships and social justice. Multiculturalism is a discourse that deals directly with minority cultural, ethnic and religious difference within a state (Kymlicka, 1995). Neo-liberalism, on the other hand, considers cultural, ethnic and religious difference to be inessential characteristics of a citizen whose relationship to the state is better defined by the labour market (Gershon, 2008). However, this thesis will show that both discourses seek to define the relationship of the refugee or the migrant to the state.

Neo-liberalism developed out of neo-classical economics, which emphasises the importance of the marketplace for determining the best results in both economic

³While Fraser is not unattuned to discourse, she has not developed the discursive parameters of redistribution and recognition in particular contexts, as is done in this study. This thesis treats both justice and injustice as discursively constructed, particularly through claims-making. A similar approach to understanding social justice as discursively constructed is taken by Simon-Kumar (2008) in her critique of EEO discourses in the New Zealand public sector, although this study does not compare different discourses impacting social justice.

and social spheres (Chang, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Keevers, Treleaven, & Sykes, 2008). Government is encouraged to be minimal, individuals are assumed to be self-interested, rational and competitive, and society is governed by the 'natural' order of the marketplace, wherein some rise to the 'top' through successful competitive strategies as others work to improve their position (Chang, 2001; Hartman, 2005). Neo-liberalism has, over the last decade, come to be tempered by a turn towards a paradigm of social cohesion, which acts as a critique of the market focus of neo-liberalism and emphasises citizens who take some responsibility for their actions towards their own societal inclusion and a state that encourages and engages with community and diversity (Humpage, 2006; Rose, 2000). Under this turn, government is still keen to engage with the processes of the marketplace, but is also responsible for ensuring that citizens enjoy opportunities by reducing barriers for participation in social and economic terms (Rose, 1999; 2000).

The second of these discourses, multiculturalism, includes narratives of cultural difference and the importance of cultural maintenance for the wellbeing of individuals (Kymlicka, 1995). It develops the ethnic minority individual as connected to community, and conceives 'community' as coherent and relatively fixed (Bussemaker & Voet, 1998; Spinner-Halev, 2001). While the political literature that discusses multiculturalism is largely normative theory, addressing what policies states ought to pursue in relation to cultural minorities living within their borders (Joppke, 2004, p. 239), it also develops narratives of the ideal state as plural, the ideal individual as culture bearing, and society as accommodating of difference (Kymlicka, 1995).

One of the aims of this thesis is to map the key aspects of these two discourses onto a framework of claims-making that includes the primary distinction between claims for recognition and claims for redistribution. This produces the theoretical framework for this thesis, the alignment of the discourses to social justice. The theoretical alignment of discourse to social justice is particularly necessary for this study because of the historical positioning of NGOs as agents of social justice within the state. This thesis reflects a particular interest in how these discourses potentially interact with claims for redistribution and recognition, and points at

which they collaborate or conflict to produce social justice within Aotearoa New Zealand.

The present state

Aotearoa New Zealand has experienced several periods of significant ideological upheaval and state overhaul. From 1984 to the present, neo-liberal ideology has informed considerable government practice (Larner & Butler, 2005). However the fifth Labour coalition government (from 1999 to 2008) produced a significantly different focus, as it was particularly interested in relationship practices of partnering and developing community, and wove together narratives of justice, inclusion and social cohesion (Humpage & Fleras, 2001; Larner & Butler, 2005; Larner & Craig, 2005). Under this approach, neo-liberalism has still been influential but has been softened by ‘new’ conceptions of the citizen as socially connected to community.

This approach was closely related to the Third Way articulated by Giddens (Larner & Craig, 2005), and is conceptualised in this thesis as neo-liberalism influenced by social cohesion, a positioning that is argued in depth in Chapter Two. Most importantly for this thesis, during this period the government pursued policies of both increased redistribution and increased recognition for cultural groups (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Larner & Butler, 2005). In the specific context of the sector, this government introduced the New Zealand Settlement Strategy to support the integration of new migrants into the country, and opened the Office of Ethnic Affairs (OEA) to support the official recognition of cultural difference in society and government.

Given this background, the present research maps the discursive landscape in which claims for social justice are made by NGOs working in the settlement sector. This thesis argues that NGOs negotiate claims-making in ways that both produce better social justice and reproduce marginalisation by deploying narratives offered by both discourses.

Outline of chapters

Following this Introduction, Chapter One begins with a review of the settlement sector in order to capture the relational and historical nature of claims-making in Aotearoa New Zealand. This chapter provides a history of settlement and an explanation of the complex, value-laden and discursively constructed terms ‘settlement’, ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’, and how these relate to culture and ethnicity. The major actors within the sector are briefly introduced, including significant NGOs as well as the dominant government funders invested in settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following this, the ontological and epistemological bases to this thesis are described. In order to orient the reader to the research methodology undertaken, elements of Fraser’s (1991) model of pragmatic discourse analysis are outlined. This is used, with Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991), to guide the discourse analysis of data conducted in Chapters Three and Four. This data and the methods and research design that were followed are described in the second part of Chapter One. The data includes 28 pages of processed website information, a survey of national and local NGOs, and nine interviews with ten participants working in national and local settlement NGOs. The chapter ends with an explanation of my positioning in the research as an ‘insider’, and a discussion of related ethical issues that arose in the course of the research.

Following this grounding in the sector and the methods/research design is a theoretical and literature based chapter designed to frame my analysis of the claims made by NGOs. In Chapter Two: The terrain of discourse, I begin with an examination of the literature relating to the two different discourses operating in the settlement sector – neo-liberalism and multiculturalism. I provide a historical overview of each discourse, before outlining the salient points that each develops in relation to claims of recognition and redistribution. This chapter includes a table showing the main points of each discourse as it relates to the state, society and the individual (p. 62), and a table that shows the discourses in relation to redistribution and to recognition (p. 64). The second of these tables (and the analysis in the chapter) marks an innovative response to questions of social justice as it provides a framework for comprehending redistribution and recognition as discursively defined in the settlement sector.

Chapters Three and Four provide the results of my research and analysis. The analysis of claims for redistribution in Chapter Three shows that claims made by NGOs are clustered around the process of redistribution, rather than being direct claims for resources. While direct resource claims were present in the data, the majority of claims were about the processes by which decisions regarding redistribution are made and implemented. They included claims that welfare approaches to decision-making were flawed (and a related counter-claim – that ‘needs’ should determine redistributive agendas); that redistributive responses from government should be better coordinated; that measuring processes are unrealistic; and that decisions about redistribution should include refugees and migrants. The analysis provides evidence of interviewees using discourse strategically to make claims about redistribution.

The complementary analysis of claims relating to recognition, offered in Chapter Four, argues that narratives provided by the interviewees demonstrate the discourses again being used strategically to provide positive representations of migrants and refugees as ‘contributors’ to society. However, these narratives also demonstrate that the discourses can be articulated together to create negative representations of migrants and refugees as ‘non-contributors’. Non-contribution is related in some narratives to the ‘damage’ that interviewees refer to, as having been sustained by the migrant or refugee in the journey of immigration, and in some cases to the subject’s failure to provide community connection. In both these analysis chapters, the difficulty of developing a viable claim based on what NGOs see as the realistic position of arguing for ‘need’ is highlighted and discussed.

Following from these analyses, the Conclusion revisits the questions of import to this thesis and suggests the theoretical implications of considering social justice discursively. Firstly, these implications include the observation that justice, defined differently by different discourses, is a process that needs to be negotiated continuously rather than an end-point that can be ‘achieved’. Secondly, the research suggests that, strategically used, there is the potential of recouping benefit from neo-liberal discourse. Following this discussion of theoretical

implications, I consider the discursive articulations and practices favoured by NGOs in their quest for social justice. In doing this, the Conclusion highlights two unresolved conflicts investigated in this research. Firstly, the narratives evinced disagreement among NGOs about the utility of making claims to the state based on ‘need’ – a conflict that appears both in relation to claims for redistribution and claims for recognition. While ‘state’ discourse requires needs to be elaborated as a justification for redistribution, respondents were aware of the potentially negative effects of articulating need while making claims. Secondly, the narratives also revealed disagreement over the role of the NGO in this discursive claims-making territory: should the NGO should operate as a ‘translator’ between government and migrant and refugee citizens, or operate as an advocate to ensure government ‘listens differently’ as claims are made? Finally, the Conclusion reflects on the pragmatic and strategic ways that NGOs use one discourses to counter another, or use both in alignment. The thesis concludes with the above points of tension, which draw together the strands of the analysis to consider the work of NGOs, as society and the state continue to engage with increasing population diversity, and injustice remains a palpable issue for migrants and refugees.

Chapter One: Sett(l)ing the scene

In the Introduction, I commented on the New Zealand state⁴, into which migrants and refugees are received, and I developed the key theoretical concepts used in this thesis, including the discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism and the axes of social justice. This chapter describes the settlement sector in some detail, and goes on to address methods and research design. This introduction to the arena of settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand includes a historical overview of how the population became diverse, and the argument that the categories and definitions of ‘refugee’, ‘migrant’, ‘ethnic’ and ‘culture’ are socially constructed as marginal. The position of NGOs within this sector is then established with a discussion of the key conflicts, motivations and practices that inform government, community and NGO relationships. This discussion highlights the received and constructed role of NGOs and the concepts by which their practice is theoretically understood. Following this, the nature of knowledge that this research aims to advance is described, and I outline the methods, data collection and analysis that were undertaken to produce this research. Lastly, I locate myself in relation to the research and the settlement sector.

History of settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand

Aotearoa New Zealand, originally settled by Māori, is a society that has had approximately 200 years of immigration from Britain, but also countries other than Britain, which comprise some of the populations with which this thesis is interested. As this section demonstrates, this history of immigration is implicated in the development of ‘othering’ that informs the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ and the practice of ‘settlement’.

The earliest post-Māori arrivals in the country, predominantly whalers who decided to stay, included the occasional Chinese, Scandinavian, Indian and Spanish nationals (Belich, 2001). However, despite other nationalities having an early presence, ‘New Zealand’ was quickly secured for settlement by Britain and

⁴ Throughout this thesis I will refer to Aotearoa New Zealand, *except* when I am referring directly to the state, which is officially known as New Zealand.

conditions of immigration were put in place which strongly encouraged British immigrants to settle, and discouraged other immigration (Belich, 2001, p. 223). The short-lived gold rush saw a settlement of about 2,600 Chinese people (McKinnon, 1996), and other small settlements of French and Germans were also established in the 1800s. However, the depression of the early 1900s encouraged anti-‘other’ sentiment and restrictions were placed on non-British subjects, including the infamous poll tax on Chinese and restrictive English language requirements (McKinnon, 1996). This ushered in the era of the White New Zealand policy, to which the only divergence was small groups of Indian arrivals (Belich, 2001). In the late 1950s there was a lifting of some of the restrictions, in particular those which emphasised race, which saw increasing numbers of Pacific Island immigrants – including Fiji Indians – and from 1970 onwards, large numbers of Malaysian and Asian migrants arrived through business and family immigration channels (Belich, 2001; McKinnon, 1996). In 1995 and again in 2002, the English language requirements for immigration were made more stringent, and in 2003 an additional change was made to target highly skilled migrants for the labour market (Spoonley & Pearson, 2004).

As well as the cultural and ethnic diversity that was gained through general migration, a significant stream of migration has come through refugee channels. In the 1930s the first refugee arrivals to Aotearoa New Zealand were a shipload of Jewish people from Europe (Beaglehole, 1988). Later, in 1944, a boat-load of Polish refugees was accorded protection (Manterys, 2004). In spite of the suspicion and lack of willingness to resettle refugees that was present in society from these early years, Aotearoa New Zealand continued to offer protection to people from war-torn countries, gaining small populations of Yugoslavs, Greeks and Poles (Beaglehole, 1988). From the 1970s, these populations included large numbers of South East Asian refugees from Cambodia and Laos. Refugee resettlement was not enshrined as policy, however, until 1987 when the government signed an agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to take 750 refugees a year (Mortensen, 2008, p. 34). In 2011, Aotearoa New Zealand retains this international commitment to resettling refugees, and selects these, with the UNHCR, from various nations that have experienced internal conflict and whose residents have fled to refugee camps in

neighbouring countries (Council for International Development [CID], 2008). A person may also come into the country as a refugee through family reunification channels, bringing the approximate intake of refugees into Aotearoa New Zealand to just over 1,500 a year (DoL, 2004c; Mortensen, 2008). As well as the populations described earlier, refugee populations in Aotearoa New Zealand include African populations from Somalia, Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti. Aotearoa New Zealand has also taken and continues to take refugee populations from South East Asia (CID, 2008; DoL, 2004c).

Who are ‘migrants and refugees’?

As the section above shows, the early settling of ‘difference’ in Aotearoa New Zealand was accompanied by suspicion from society and racist policies from government, all of which began to inform the construction of ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’. The history above, similar to that related by official government sources such as the Te Ara encyclopaedia of New Zealand, refers to newcomers and immigrants as different to ‘settlers’ (Phillips, J. 2009), which I suggest infers an ‘other’ status on refugee and migrant arrivals to our shores, who become different by definition through historical record. While early settlers arrived and ‘settled’ (by themselves, presumably) the following section shows that ‘settlement’ has become an activity that is done to others.

Currently, then, Aotearoa New Zealand is arguably seen as a multicultural society with diverse populations who have historically come through various immigration pathways.⁵ To support this diversity, a plethora of organisations that represent particular ethnic groups or provide support or services to pan-ethnic populations

⁵Aotearoa New Zealand is referred to as a multicultural nation in the New Zealand Settlement Strategy in Minister David Cunliffe’s foreword (DoL, 2007c) and also rates highly on Banting and Kymlicka’s scale of multicultural countries (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). However, Aotearoa New Zealand grounds much of its political and social practice in biculturalism, which defines the state in relation to two peoples, ‘Māori’ and ‘the Crown’, a state enacted through the Treaty of Waitangi. While the debate about the relationship between multiculturalism and biculturalism is barely started in Aotearoa New Zealand, Justice Durie conceptualises the differences as biculturalism being between founding partners and multiculturalism being about the general acceptance of cultural difference (Durie, 2005). Larner (2005) has further traced the discourses of multiculturalism and biculturalism through the state of Aotearoa New Zealand noting the conflicts between them and pointing to the politicisation of these discourses as problematising the debate (Larner, 2005). This tension between multiculturalism and biculturalism inevitably impacts the development of multicultural discourses in Aotearoa New Zealand and will be further referred to in relation to partnership, in Chapter Three (see p. 79; footnote 35).

have been established and are considered part of the ‘settlement’ sector (Skyrme, 2008), where settlement refers to the process whereby persons not born in Aotearoa New Zealand arrive and live in the country (DoL, 2007b).⁶

Pan-ethnic populations referred to above are populations with some defined characteristics (such as length of time in Aotearoa New Zealand, and migration journey) that span a number of different ethnicities. The three dominant ones for the purpose of this research are ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’, and ‘ethnic’ people, each of which is addressed by government as a population (Larner, 2005). These ‘populations’, however, are made up of many smaller ethnic-specific populations that may not have any particular links between them other than the immigration pathway of ‘migrant’ or ‘refugee’ (Mortensen, 2008). The categories of ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’ are therefore constructed for particular purposes and do not necessarily retain a connection other than mode of migration, a factor that makes these terms subject to the contestations described below.

Although one of the primary distinctions made in the sector is between people who arrive as refugees and people who arrive as migrants (Mortensen, 2008, p. 6) Mortensen points out that this distinction itself is becoming ambiguous. In terms of arrival, ‘refugees’ are generally accepted into the country through the annual refugee quota of 750, while migrants come through other immigration channels such as business and family (DoL, 2007c). These other immigration channels can also contain refugees, however. The New Zealand Settlement Strategy states that while close to 60% of migrants arrive through skilled or business categories, 30% come through the family sponsorship stream and 10% come through humanitarian channels (DoL, 2007c). These latter two categories are particularly likely to contain people from similar circumstances as officially selected ‘quota refugees’.

⁶ The definition of settlement is not specifically addressed in the documents from Aotearoa New Zealand that I surveyed. However, the New Zealand Settlement Strategy refers to its aim as being “to ensure that New Zealand is a welcoming destination for newcomers” (DoL, 2007c, p. 3). Also, the Australian government defines settlement as ‘the period of adjustment that occurs following a migrant or refugee's arrival in a new country’ (What is Settlement?, n.d.) It is reasonable to assume that this definition can be extended to Aotearoa New Zealand, although as one interviewee said in a conversation about what settlement is: “Nobody outside of the sector actually knows what it means” (Participant I, Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

The sector, and literature relating to migration and settlement, is unclear on when a person stops being a migrant or a refugee (Mortensen, 2008; Pahud, 2008). Some refugee-centred organisations argue that refugee status ends on arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand, at which point people become permanent residents. Once people have arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is no longer accurate to refer to them as refugees, and thus many people working closely with these communities in the settlement sector refer to them as having a refugee background, or as former refugees.⁷ This statement allows for the fact that a person may arrive through any immigration channel and still have a similar background to people who arrive through ‘refugee’ channels.

However, there can also be significant differences between people who arrive as refugees and other migrants, particularly in relation to trauma and to levels government support after arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand (Mortensen, 2008; Ministry of Health [MoH], 2001; Pahud, 2008). By the United Nations 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees’ definition, a refugee is a person who ‘owing to a well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, ethnicity or culture, has left his or her country of origin and cannot avail himself of the protection of that country’ (UNHCR, 2007, p. 6). This definition describes both the trauma background of a person and the history of migration, rather than the present circumstances of the individual. The constructed nature of the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ means the differences between individuals bearing these terms are at times negligible and at other times extraordinary. This being the case, this thesis is also a study in conflict and hegemony in the sector – drawn from current received wisdom about who refugees and migrants are, who NGOs want them to be, who and what NGOs are, and what government is and does. For pragmatic reasons I will refer, as the sector still does (Pahud, 2008), to ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’.

Interacting with the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are those of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘culture’, also socially constructed. While every individual has an ‘ethnicity’, many people who arrive in a country through refugee or migrant streams are

⁷ For example, ChangeMakers Refugee Forum refers to itself as representing the interests of “refugee background communities” (Multicultural Services Centre, 2011).

considered, through a hegemonic interpretation that obscures other divisions such as class and gender, as ‘ethnic’ others when they are not of dominant ethnic British extraction (Samers, 1998; Dolby, 2000). Thus ‘ethnicity’ particularly resides with non-white, non-European/British subjects, through the well-documented practice of othering (Cormack, 2010; Penrose & Jackson, 1993, p. 18). In Aotearoa New Zealand, it also exists through definition as being of non-Anglo Celtic and non-Polynesian descent (OEA, 2002). Confusing this even further, government departments such as Statistics New Zealand define ethnicity as self-identified, a measure of cultural affinity that is different from race (Cormack, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, n.d.) although it is also commonly used as a racial identifier as well (Walker, 2001).

Culture is likewise ascribed to ‘others’ through processes that differentiate ‘us’ from ‘them’ (Cormack, 2010; Penrose & Jackson, 1993). Migrants arrive in Aotearoa New Zealand with a ‘cultural background’ and are required to ‘assimilate’, ‘acculturate’ or ‘integrate’ into society. All of these are processes by which ‘other’ culture is valued or devalued, and actioned in society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

These categories are therefore socially and discursively constructed as marginal, particularly as they interact in the settlement sector. This social construction renders the categories ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ as referring to populations that are potentially traumatised, ethnically and culturally different, and requiring support to settle. The huge differences between individual circumstances, inevitably invisibilized by either of these terms, means that the constructions are sometimes accurate and sometimes not, but always problematic.

Who works in the settlement sector?

NGOs working to support the settlement of migrants and refugees are generally located regionally, with a mixture of those that are independent Charitable Trusts or Incorporated Societies and managed by a Board of Trustees (such as the Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust [HMST], the Christchurch Resettlement Service [CRS] and Auckland Regional Migrant Service [ARMS]), and those that

come under the umbrella of national bodies (such as English Language Partners [ELP] and Refugee Services [RS]) (Skyrme, 2008).⁸

In Aotearoa New Zealand the nationwide growth of service provision by NGOs in the settlement sector began with refugee specific services. Early refugees were largely sponsored through church efforts and in 1976 the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement was established, which became Refugee and Migrant Services in 1990 and is now Refugee Services (RS, n.d.a).

The 1980s saw the growth of organised English language provision for migrants, though coordinated locally, with the national organisation 'ESOL Home Tutors' established in 1992. This organisation coordinated volunteers to partner with migrant and refugee people who did not already speak English (ELP, n.d.). The 1990s generally saw a growth in the number of agencies offering support to these populations, and in the variety of support that was offered (Skyrme, 2008). This support included refugee-specific services such as Refugees as Survivors NZ (RASNZ), an Auckland-based mental health service established in 1995 (though conceived in 1988) and Wellington Refugees as Survivors (WNRAS), established in 1997 (RASNZ, n.d.). Resettlement services were also established in Christchurch (Skyrme, 2008). Following this limited expansion in service for refugees, there were similar services set up regionally to support migrants. The HMST was set up to support migrant resettlement in 1999, while ARMS was established in 2003 for a similar purpose (Skyrme, 2008).

Within the sector there is also a growing body of organisations that are specifically run by migrant and refugee people for settlement or advocacy. The Federation of Ethnic Councils (NZFEC) was established in 1989 (Skyrme, 2008) and in 2004 'Settling In', an initiative of MSD, established local forums

⁸ Information about the specific structures of organisations is available from a central location at the Charities Commission website, which is found at www.charities.govt.nz. Community organisations are generally not under any compulsion to be registered and take several forms which include unincorporated societies, incorporated societies or charitable trusts. Under any of these structures they can be known as non-governmental organisations, community organisations or not-for-profit organisations. However, government funding to community organisations generally requires that organisations be established as charitable trusts (Tennant et al. 2006).

coordinated by refugees, such as the Waikato Refugee Forum and ChangeMakers Forum in Wellington (MSD, n.d.b). Added to this, there exist a host of smaller locally-coordinated groups, such as those listed on the OEA website (OEA, 2011).

The government role in this sector changed in the early twenty-first century with the establishment of the OEA in 2001 (OEA, 2002) and the New Zealand Settlement Strategy, launched in 2004 to provide coordinated local responses and face-to-face support for migrants to Aotearoa New Zealand (DoL, 2004b). Through the DoL, these 'Settlement Services' are regional points of contact for migrants (Skyrme, 2008) in 18 different cities and towns, the contracts for which are held by local government and community organisations. MSD also provides funding for networking services, previously referred to as Settling In (MSD, n.d.b). Other government funders also provide some funding for services and outcomes in this sector, including the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, [MoE] n.d.) and the Ministry of Health (MoH) (Long, n.d.). As Sankar and Wong point out, these government departments and ministries have priorities for the sector that might seem divergent rather than complementary (Sankar & Wong, 2003). They are also immersed in a discursive environment that favours neo-liberalism, which will be described below as creating particular funding and relationship practices.

Funding and relationship practices

During the period from the turn of the twenty-first century, NGOs have internationally become increasingly important in civil society, gaining greater position as providers of government-funded services to the community in the place of direct government intervention (McDonald & Marston, 2002; MirafTab, 1997; Tennant et al., 2006). As NGOs have increasingly been praised for efficiency and economy, they have consequently been given more funding and input. In Aotearoa New Zealand, as elsewhere, policy making has taken a participatory turn and NGOs are vital in this government/community nexus (Barnes, Newman, & Sullivan, 2004; Larner & Butler, 2005; MirafTab, 2003). In an environment where participation is essential, NGOs may become an even more important link when migrants and refugees speak English as a second language and thus face accessibility issues (Cuthill, 2001; Skyrme, 2008).

The organisations who have participated in this research through the survey or through providing an interview are largely considered ‘service providers’ as recipients of government or philanthropic funding to provide government and community defined or negotiated services to communities (Cass & Brennan, 2002; Skyrme, 2008). Service providers have particular relationships with government, maintained through processes that currently include partnership and contract (Larner & Craig, 2005; Tennant et al., 2006).

In and outside of practice in Aotearoa New Zealand, partnership is a well-documented current form of relationship between governments and community (Bristow, Entwistle, Hines, & Martin, 2009; Chaney, 2002; Larner & Craig, 2005). These authors have documented partnership as the current dominant practice of relationship between government and community, and Curtis (2003) has drawn a link between the adoption of a social cohesion paradigm by neo-liberalism and the practice of partnership, which is also, as Harrison points out, a contested term, referring to “very different kinds of relationship and activity” (Harrison, 2002, p. 587).

Within Aotearoa New Zealand, the Clark government defined partnership as a way of understanding the relationship between government and community. In 2000, Helen Clark said:

Now, our third way government is seeking a new role, built around that concept of partnership, acknowledging the limitations of government, but also accepting the responsibility of leading, facilitating, enabling, brokering, and funding where appropriate to get results. (Curtis, 2003, p. 2)

The concept of partnership was further enshrined in the Statement of Government Intention for working with the community (SOGI). The SOGI made the key points that relationships between government and community, voluntary, and Māori organisations would be developed so to provide space for cooperation and communication while recognising the independence, innovation and diversity of

the sector (MSD, 2001, p. 1). These partnership principles were endorsed and have been upheld as preferred principles by the Association of Non-Governmental Organisations of Aotearoa (Association of Non-Governmental Organisations of Aotearoa [ANGOA], 2009). They heralded an optimistic sentiment in government/community relationships. In 2006 research conducted for the Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector (OCVS) described the relationship in Aotearoa New Zealand between government and community organisations as increasingly positive. This research was strongly supportive of the voluntary sector and critical of previous government practices, such as contracting, which were seen as unsupportive to community organisations (Tennant et al., 2006). The Labour government Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector, Winnie Laban, heralded the research with words directly taken from it, describing the community and voluntary sector as “energetic, innovative and vocal, offering rich opportunities for citizen engagement” (Field-Dodgson, 2006, para. 4). Moving from the community sector to the settlement sector, partnership principles remain important, as part of the relationship process outlined in the Settlement National Action Plan (DoL, 2006).

However, while partnership is the relationship process, contracting remains the preferred government mechanism for funding these organisations, a process which tends to enforce government-defined outcomes in order to measure and evaluate contract effectiveness (O'Brien, Sanders, & Tennant, 2009; Phang, 2006). Government-preferred outcomes require NGOs to measure for improvements in well-being, rather than measurements of outputs (MSD, n.d.a). The linking of partnership as a principle to the ongoing practice of contracting signals a continuing link between principles of social cohesion and those of neo-liberalism. This research looks at the ways that claims are made by NGOs in their relationships with government, so it is important to note that these relationships with government are not value-free, but are laden with overtones of money-transfer and rules of relationship, realised or potential (Sankar & Wong, 2003). These analyses also point to the contested relationship between NGOs, government, and communities, a contestation particularly fraught in the settlement sector, which is complicated by populations whose barriers to communication

with government, and to ‘citizen engagement’, are not just those of discourse but those of language also (Skyrme, 2008).

This discussion of the settlement sector began with the history of settlement, through which was identified the socially constructed nature of the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’, as well as the contested role and practices of NGOs in the sector. This discussion has introduced the major government funders of the sector and the funding and relationship practices that impact NGOs. Having thus established the parameters of the settlement sector, the next section relates the methods and research design used to conduct the research reported in this thesis.

Ontological and epistemological statement

Social science research is often divided into three distinct paradigms. Each of these, positivism, interpretivism and critical social science research, is briefly described in this section. Following this, I outline the methodology that was used to conduct a critical discourse analysis of in-depth interviews with ten managers or co-ordinators of regional and national settlement NGOs, a survey of thirteen settlement NGOs and publically available texts from NGO websites, produced by NGOs as part of their profiles, promotion or planning processes. The chapter ends with an exploration of ethical issues that arose in the course of the research.

The approach that has historically dominated social science research is a positivist one, marked by the idea that the social world can be understood and mapped in much the same way as the natural world, by similar measures that capture and analyse data to find a set of answers to the questions that are asked (Weinberg, 1936). Positivism describes both a belief that social reality is patterned and can be discovered, and that humans are rational and act according to measurable motivations. Under a positivist model, scientific knowledge that has been or can be tested and proved is considered a more accurate and superior type of knowledge than other kinds. Further, positivism emphasises that because knowledge is built from methods that can be tested, replicated and measured, it is objective (Neuman, 1994; Ruane, 2005).

Ontologically and epistemologically, positivism fails to provide an adequate platform for this research. While research relating to discourse seeks out patterns in language and text and can be large scale, replicable and arguably tested (Fairclough, 1995) and can thus methodologically align with positivism, the questions that this research engages with are different to those motivated by a positivist approach, which might be more interested in discovering the measurable realities of settling in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The second approach to social science research discussed here is interpretivism. This approach considers that the purpose of research is to “understand social life and discover how people construct social meaning” (Neuman, 1994, p. 62). Interpretivism offers the critique of positivism that knowledge is not objective, but rather subjectively located in experience and values. Further, social reality cannot be ‘discovered’ but can only be described as all knowledge is contextual (Blaikie, 2007; Neuman, 1994). This links with an approach such as that taken in this research, which seeks to define the different discursive contexts in which claims for redistribution and recognition are made. Further, like this current piece of research, interpretivist research is usually conducted by immersion into the social reality of the people being researched and the researcher must make every effort to see things from the perspective of the researched (Blaikie, 2007; McLaughlin, 2007; Neuman, 1994).

However, interpretivism has been critiqued from the bases of feminist and critical race studies for being too subjective and unable to evaluate between different versions of social goals (McLaughlin, 2007; Neuman, 1994). It does not provide a practical platform for this research either, which seeks to evaluate discourses for their application to better social justice.

Both positivist and interpretivist methodological approaches are actively considered useful in the study of migrant and refugee settlement. The Migration Research Group trace the patterns of migration in Aotearoa New Zealand using positivist methodologies and assumptions, as well as making “micro-level inquiries into the experiences of particular groups of immigrants” (Bedford, Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2002, p. 73). Likewise, the large Refugee Voices

research study, commissioned by the DoL, gathers narratives from participants but classifies them using quantitative positivist methods (DoL, 2004c). On the interpretivist side, books such as those published by the Wellington Refugees as Survivors Trust present the stories of settlement in participants' own voices (WNRAS, 2010).

Some research, however, takes a third approach to questions of settlement, an approach referred to as 'critical social theory', which has developed critiques to both interpretivism and positivism. Critical social theory emphasises the importance of developing practical, pragmatic knowledge which acknowledges cultural and structural impacts and is judged by its ability to produce action (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Critical researchers are interested in questions of power and inequality, and consider research as an important tool to expose these (Neuman, 1994).

The current research is located in a critical framework, and is attentive to feminist critiques of research methods that do not involve or empower participants. It also draws on critical feminist understandings of society as being socially constructed through research in ways that actively and inactively disadvantage individuals positioned as inferior to a white, androcentric norm that is historically and ethnically situated (Anderson, 2011; Lyons & Chipperfield, 2000). In particular, attention was paid to conducting research that would minimise any power differential between me and the participants (Lyons & Chipperfield, 2000), where interviewees would share control over the texts they produced, and in which reciprocity and reflexivity were important factors (Lather, 1991).

This study is also epistemologically steeped in an understanding of feminism as social justice, which demands that research is purposeful and useful in a context of not just building knowledge but also ensuring that knowledge is co-developed, useful and accessible to individuals and groups who are positioned in disadvantaged ways by current social constructions (Anderson, 2011; Smith, 1999). This research is thus aligned with feminism, social justice, and critical research and further, with a critical discourse framework. The elements of this framework as they combine in this research have required the development of a

discursive framework around aspects of social justice (such as recognition and redistribution) and policy directions (such as multiculturalism).

The research question posed in the introduction to this research indicates three different areas of interrogation. At the first basic level, I am investigating what some people *say* about what other people *want*, and how what they say positions the others in relation to dominant discourses. This level of research has a clear critical perspective and obvious application to social justice. At the second level, I am investigating the way that discourses are used in interaction with each other in the application of social justice. This level of research is also strongly steeped in a critical research perspective. At the third level, I am investigating the way that discourses define social justice in the not-for-profit sector. This level of the research is far more theoretically based, but retains a critical perspective on social relations.

In particular, this research locates power within discourse, as employed by particular discursive techniques and as able to be wielded by different people at different times. It builds on a Foucauldian analysis of power operationalized through discourse, with a feminist bent that is articulated by Nancy Fraser (1991).

Pragmatic model of discourse theory

Fraser's (1991) pragmatic model of discourse theory argues that there are four things that feminist political theory requires from discursive theory. These are an ability to understand the complexity of identities as constructed by society, and as constructed through multiple strands of discourse; the ability to chart the formation of social groups as distinct from identities and as active in society rather than as passive existences; the ability to express the advantaged position of dominant social groups through discourse and thus develop a full understanding of hegemony; and the ability to understand and perpetuate counter-hegemonic definitions and interpretations (Fraser, 1991, p. 99).

This model, therefore, has a political bent to it that Fraser argues is missing from theories of discourse that develop discourses as relative systems of producing and ascribing meaning. Fraser's (1991) model links with the critical discourse theory

provided by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991), whose methods of analysis also inform this research.

A pragmatic discourse theory enables the analysis of claims for recognition and redistribution made by NGOs to be understood as active articulations of social identities, and social groups, and as operating across axes of power and marginality in society in order to contest hegemonic discourses or collaborate with them. As Fraser says, the pragmatic model is concerned with “how people do things with words” and thus provides room for the analysis of the strategic use of discourse by NGOs, as socially situated agents, for particular ends (Fraser, 1991, p. 107).

Fraser’s articulation of the plurality of discourses opens the door for discussing the two discourses interacting in the sector currently, the way that these discourses interact together to develop representations of refugees and migrants, and the way they are also strategically used to claim justice. Fraser refers to the way that discourses operate in tension with each other, creating points of conflict and of contestation along the axes of dominance and subordination (Fraser, 1991, p. 101). This perspective of discourses working together to perpetuate inequalities or to counter inequality is important because it explains the way very different ideological standpoints (such as neo-liberalism and multiculturalism) can coalesce in particular narratives or over particular stories.

Methods and research design

The empirical analysis contained in Chapters Three and Four uses data from four different sources and the following section describes this data and how it was gathered and processed.

a) Website Information

Having worked in the settlement sector for several years, I was familiar with the main organisations that provide settlement services. I identified seven of the largest of these organisations based on their financial returns in 2009, which were listed with the Charities Commission. Following this, I conducted a website search of these NGOs, in order to gain an understanding of the different

discourses in use, the claims that organisations were making in a public forum, and the representations that were made of refugee and migrant people. These organisations were a mixture of regional and national organisations and included (in no particular order) English Language Partners (ELP), Wellington Refugees as Survivors (WNRAS), Refugees as Survivors New Zealand (RASNZ), the Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust (HMST), the Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS), the Christchurch Resettlement Services (CRS) and Refugee Services (RS). These organisations were not expected to be fully representative of all the organisations in the settlement sector, but were selected to allow me to develop an appreciation of the discourses in active use in the sector.

I downloaded all the data available on the websites of these NGOs, unformatted it by cutting and pasting into Microsoft Notepad, which retains characters but not contextual data such as pictures or formatted headings, and copied into Microsoft Word parts of it that were 'claims'. These included claims describing the work of NGOs, and claims about migrant and/or refugee people. One organisation did not have a website at the time of this search and I used publically available annual reports listed with the Charities Commission. This resulted in a Microsoft Word file of 28 pages of processed data.

This method of gathering data eliminated information that was not related to this study, such as procedural information about fundraising or how to become volunteers. Following this, I conducted a linguistic analysis on this data through a series of Microsoft word-searches that determined which of the keywords and phrases that I had identified in the literature review about claims-making might be most prevalent. I ran searches for verbs that might describe the work of NGOs, such as 'provide', 'help' or 'support', and searches for words or phrases that might describe the representations that NGOs made of migrants and refugees, such as 'international experience', 'issues', and 'skills'. The results of these searches are summarised in Appendix A. Each result in the search was read to ensure contextual accuracy before it was counted (Appendix A: Results of website data word search).

Some of this information appeared to have direct relevance to the sector, in particular the use of the term ‘need’ which appeared far more frequently than the use of the term ‘rights’. I provided some of this information to interviewees during interviews in order to get their perspective on it, and I also used it to inform the analysis in Chapters Three and Four. Data from this website search is used throughout the analysis chapters, and identifies the organisations which generated it and the website addresses it came from.

b) Survey

Following the exploratory analysis of website information, I contacted twenty-one NGOs by phone or email to undertake a survey. I sent them an introductory email about the research, a consent form for participating and a three-question survey which asked them to make a brief position statement about who they were and about what claims they routinely made to government. This was not a survey in a quantitative sense, but provided more direct qualitative data and initial contact with participants who would potentially participate in an in-depth interview.

Potential participants for this email survey were selected from the upper management of non-governmental organisations that are self-identified as working with ethnic, migrant or refugee communities, using both my current knowledge of the sector and the Charities Commission website, which I searched with the key terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’. Where possible, the participants were contacted by phone first, during which conversation I explained the research and gained consent to send the email survey and the information sheet to them.

Participants were English speaking and employed in the NGO sector, and thus identified as my colleagues. Participants were considered to have given consent for the data to be used if they sent back the survey and answered the questions. Participants were also people who had participated in interactions with government, a fact ascertained through a telephone call or through my own prior knowledge of the participant, and were therefore likely to be versed both in the questions I asked and in the process of research generally.

Thirteen organisations responded to the survey. Survey results were collated, names removed, and ‘claims’ divided into single claim ‘cells’ in a table

(Appendix B: Survey results) in order to remove as much identifying information as possible. For the purpose of this research, identifying information was not as relevant as understanding the relationships between claims and discourses.

c) Interviews

Following the survey, nine interviews were conducted with a total of ten interviewees. Three of these participants had also participated in the survey. Apart from one interview with two participants, these were all people who worked as colleagues and were personally known to me through previous or ongoing interactions. They were based in Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington. Open-ended interviews were conducted, which took the form of conversations in which key themes were covered (Appendix C, Interview guide). These were recorded on a digital recorder and then sections of the interviews that appeared to have relevance were transcribed and subjected to style and content analysis to identify discourses.

d) Other sources of information

Following this analysis of NGO narratives, government and public discourses were specifically sought to illustrate these discourses in alternate spheres. This included searches of parliamentary logs and Google searches for public and media discourses.

Each of the four different data sources provided narratives that could be analysed for their discursive dimensions and these sources correlated over particular points, as will be described in Chapters Three and Four.

Analysis methods

Fraser (1991) provides the broad outline of the discursive theory that guides this thesis, but the practical application of it is provided by others. This section considers the ‘conflict’ and ‘collaboration’⁹ used to describe the interaction of discourses in the data, and links these to in-depth theories of discourse analysis

⁹ Collaboration is not a term one usually associates with discourse analysis. However, it is a term that is in frequent use by people working in NGOs. I have used it throughout this critical discourse analysis to describe the strategic alignment of two different discourses, as the use of the familiar term brings this work closer to a potential practical understanding and use by NGOs.

provided by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991). These theorists point to a focus on language as providing “a resource for spelling out how...differences between discourses are realised in the language of the text” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 105). Fairclough’s model of discourse analysis also pays attention to the choices of words and clauses that are used, and the construction of identity and representations in texts.

The type of discourse analysis conducted in this research also connects with linguistic analyses, what van Dijk refers to as the ‘style’ aspects of discourse analysis – that is, “the textual result of choices between alternative ways of saying more or less the same thing by using different words or a different syntactic structure” (van Dijk, 1991, p. 116). These stylistic choices were identified through the texts and analysed for their relation to the discourses. This involved identification of words and clauses.

Following this, these texts were further analysed for syntax, the point at which I have interpreted discourses as being in either conflict or collaboration. Where discourses were identified as in conflict, sentence structures allowed each discourse to be differentiated, as one discourse was countered with the other. As discourses collaborated, the words and phrases that were used in narratives either referenced two or more distinct discourses, or evoked the different discourses but used them within the text in such a way that one could not be distinctly differentiated from another.

As identified by Fairclough (1995), critical discourse analysis also requires attention to the production of discourse. This research used texts produced by four different mediums – the various data sets - and notes the differences between these mediums during the analysis of the data.

The particular type of discourse analysis developed through this thesis, therefore, draws on critical linguistics and discourse methodology as outlined by Fraser (1991), and detailed by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991). It focuses on clauses within the narratives and uses analysis of style and words to draw attention to phrases that academic scholarship has identified as associated with

particular discourses; in this particular context, the discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism. It does this in order to identify how social justice is defined and argued for in the settlement sector.

Positioning the research

I am positioned within this research as an insider in a community of peers who manage NGOs. Because of this, the research methodology I have used has borne some relationship to ethnography, as I have found myself positioned as a participant/observer in my every day work (Genzuk, 2003). This has allowed me to develop a meaningful understanding of the relationship that NGOs have with discourse. However, the gathering and processing of data raised a number of methodological and ethical issues for me, particularly relating to what I perceived as a conflict between my critical intentions to expose narratives of marginality, and my feminist intentions to produce research that supported and enhanced the work done by my participants – all working alongside me in the field of social justice. At times during this research I have worried that these two intentions could not be met simultaneously. Further to this conflict of intentions, in my capacity as a manager of an NGO I have twice been placed in conflict with participants in this research who manage other similar organisations. Outside of interviews and in the course of our work, I have argued for outcomes that are different to those they believe are appropriate. The particular conflict for this research was that I then required participants' permission to use their interview data, and was thus potentially motivated to temper either my research findings or my public arguments. This conflict was managed through reflexivity, in particular the process of sending drafts of this work to participants for their comment and additional input, which I have welcomed and used. Ultimately, I have tempered neither the research nor my arguments, but ensured that the research has protected the identity of participants where any negative impact might be perceived.

Ethical issues

The key ethical issue that guided my research, therefore, is summed up in the question 'who is more marginalised?', as this research follows the feminist methodological imperative to not produce research that further perpetuates

marginalisation (Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1996). This research deals with two different groups that are potentially marginalised in Aotearoa New Zealand. Firstly, people who have arrived as migrants or refugees face ongoing documented marginalisation in the exercise of settlement. This chapter has outlined some of this history and practice, but the ongoing marginalisation includes gaps in provision of English language tuition for people who do not already speak English (Watts, White, & Trlin, 2001), lack of access to interpreting (de Bres, 2010), ongoing marginalisation in the workplace of people with a non-traditional accent or a non-English-speaking background (Henderson, Trlin, & Watts, 2006) and a lack of adequate engagement for refugee and migrant groups in decision-making processes (DoL, 2007b).

Secondly, non-governmental organisations and the people who work in them also face marginalisation in society, through ongoing insecurity of funding (Tennant et al., 2006, p. 14), lower wages than average government and business sectors (Social Services Providers Association, 2007), lack of engagement in decision-making processes (Bristow et al., 2009) and the feminisation of community work (Trotman, 2004). The OCVS has also acknowledged that the demands placed on NGOs – which must continually complete successful funding applications to ensure their continued existence – are both time-consuming and reproducing of relations of marginalisation (OCVS, 2010).

The ethical dilemma in this research for the critical researcher lies in the problem of identifying further marginalisation by one marginalised group towards another. For the critical researcher, should one point out the negative effects of NGO representations of marginalised groups if this information may impact negatively on funding for also-marginalised NGOs? If the impact of such critical work is for the NGO to lose funding to work with refugee and migrant people, who ultimately suffers? As Parker notes her Cambodian refugee research participants saying, “When you throw a stone at the elephant it comes back into our cooking pot” (Parker, 2002, p. 160).

In many ways then, the process of research that I have followed bears a relationship to processes of indigenous research followed by indigenous peoples,

such as described by Linda Smith (Smith, 1999). The NGO sector has as much to lose by ‘being researched’ as it has to gain, if the research is done by outsiders whose frame of reference is different. Careless research, or research done from an epistemological standpoint that does not agree with that of the NGO, can mean the loss of critical relationships and the loss of funding from government. The important principles of ‘respect, reciprocity and feedback’ for indigenous research have thus also informed this study (Porsanger, 2004, p. 113; also see Smith, 1999).

The steps I took to resolve this dilemma included steps of confidentiality and reflexivity. However, once I had completed the interviews I found it necessary to reposition my research in order to highlight societal discourses that are reflected in NGO claims-talk, rather than examining organisations and their claims directly – which approach which may have unnecessarily highlighted competition between organisations and potentially been damaging if some narratives were seen as better, or more acceptable than another. Positioning the research to highlight societal discourses fairly places the perpetuation of marginalising discourses in a societal context, rather than allowing a critique to fall on the shoulders of NGOs, who are walking a tightrope with community and funders. However, it also meant that the research focused on the theoretical implications of discourses conflicting and collaborating, and included theoretical constructions and debates that have lifted the thesis away from my primary aim to produce something of immediate relevance and usefulness to the sector. Although I have researched myself, my peers and colleagues, my research ‘subjects’ became discourses, and I used participants as generators of narratives rather than direct research subjects. This has been for our protection.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered both the settlement sector and the methods and research design. The sector comprises of multiple actors, described in this research as migrants, refugees, NGOs and the state. This chapter, however, has highlighted the internal complications of these constructed categories and the historical positioning of each, as well as the current relationships and practices of government. The internal complications of the sector have informed the

methodological considerations as well, and this chapter has outlined the ontological and epistemological bases of this research as well as the particular methods used to gather data. These factors allow the research that was undertaken to reflect both the agency of NGOs and their struggle to navigate competing discourses. This struggle is highlighted in the next chapter, which looks at the two significant discourses in the sector and theorises their interactions with each other along the axes of redistribution and recognition.

Chapter Two: The terrain of discourse

In an arena where the key categories of ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ describe populations that reflect a broad spectrum of experiences and are marked by various social inequalities, it would be unsurprising to find the practice of claims-making both prevalent, and negotiated through different discourses. The previous chapter described the complexities of the settlement sector, including the role and position of NGOs in relation to the state. Subsequent chapters will provide empirical evidence of the discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism as they are used by NGOs in the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand, to conceptualise their points of interaction and theorise their impact on refugee and migrant subjects.

This chapter outlines the theoretical position of this thesis, and the analytical approach used to conduct the analysis in Chapters Three and Four. It develops an analysis of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism as discourses,¹⁰ and maps these to claims of recognition and redistribution. The discussion proceeds from the understanding that the liberal state, with its philosophical tenets of justice, freedom and equality, has historically engaged with claims of injustice from subjects marked by difference. The core argument is that within the current liberal state, neo-liberalism and multiculturalism formulate maldistribution and misrecognition differently, and thus offer different responses to claims for justice which nonetheless collaborate and conflict within the settlement sector. This

¹⁰The discursive parameters of neo-liberalism have been mapped by multiple authors, including – but not limited to – Foucauldian analyses of governmentality as engaged with by Rose (1999; 2000); policy analyses such as those by Larner (2000); and political analyses of the state and citizen, such as those by Clarke (2005). These parameters will be described further in this chapter (beginning on p. 38). The parameters of multiculturalism are less clearly defined. It is considered to be either a descriptive response to multiple populations living together (as in Foner, 2007) or a normative policy response to claims on the state from minority populations (as in Kymlicka, 1995). Analyses such as McLennan (2001) argue that multiculturalism includes a number of different discourses and McLennan notes conservative, corporate, liberal and critical multiculturalism (McLennan, 2001). While noting these analytical measures to understand multiculturalism, I argue that the parameters of multicultural discourse include particular narratives similarly applied by theorists and different from other narratives which belong to other discourses. Thus McLennan’s analysis points to the use of other discourses (such as neo-liberalism – which encompasses McLennan’s ‘corporate multiculturalism’) under the rubric of ‘multiculturalism’.

chapter begins by broadly describing the historical development and parameters of each discourse, before exploring the relationship of each to redistribution and recognition. Following this, the points of potential conflict or strategic alignment between neo-liberalism and multiculturalism are highlighted for use in the analysis presented in Chapters Three and Four.

The liberal ‘streams’ of discourse

While they differ, sometimes vehemently, over points of detail, it is not difficult to group the many liberalisms into a number of distinctive streams which divide and recombine as they meander through the infested marshlands of modern history. (Hindess, 2004, p. 36)

That this thesis considers two different discourses should not obscure the important fact that both of these discourses are based on liberalism. As Hindess points out, liberalism encompasses multiple and very different strands of theory concerned with two broad areas of interest. The first relates to ideas of how the state and citizens should properly interact to ensure the freedom of citizens, while the second relates to justice in the development of individual liberty and protection of private property (Hindess, 2004). While at one level, as the discourses are mapped they seem completely divergent in their responses to these liberal tenets, it is important to note that they are both engaged in the same project that liberalism has always been engaged in – they are answering the same questions of freedom, justice and equality.¹¹

This analysis looks at the different ways that liberal arguments about maldistribution and misrecognition are framed in neo-liberal and multicultural discourses. Neo-liberalism answers questions of injustice by positioning the market as the mechanism for defining state/individual relations, borrowing from neo-classicist economists such as Friedman and Hayek (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Thorson & Lie, 2007). Within this discourse, society is just

¹¹The genealogy of these ideas is not the focus of this thesis but is important to note. While neo-liberalism and multiculturalism develop different and distinct definitions of and responses to misrecognition and maldistribution in their interaction with liberal theory, their common parent ensures that these questions remain relevant for refugee and migrant subjects marked by difference.

if the market, a neutral arbitrator, is given the freedom to determine social outcomes. However, neo-liberalism has recently developed a turn towards social cohesion with the re-positioning of community into this equation. This establishment of community within liberalism is considered to be ‘fathered’ by Giddens, in his 1998 articulation of the Third Way (Everingham, 2001; Larner & Craig, 2005).¹² The social cohesion turn in neo-liberalism is significant, as it both critiques some of the blunter mechanisms of neo-liberalism while further extending neo-liberal discourse into the realm of the social.

Kymlicka (1995) mooted multiculturalism as a form of liberalism that advances community as vitally important to the concept of individual liberty and citizenship. While multiculturalism is sometimes critiqued as anti-liberal (for example, see Joppke, 2004), Kymlicka’s formulation of it places it firmly on a liberal footing and is widely used in the scholarship on culturally plural populations (Kymlicka, 1995). Multiculturalism answers questions of injustice by positioning the cultural/ethnic community as the unit through which justice is arbitrated in society (Kymlicka, 1995). While some articulations of multiculturalism provide it with a narrative that is built on imperatives of social cohesion (for example, see The Runnymede Trust Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain [the Runnymede Trust], 2000), this chapter argues that multicultural discourse allows for the articulation of ‘hard¹³’ differences as a feature of *justice*, whereas this articulation creates unacceptable or ongoing conflict within a paradigm of *social cohesion*. Thus multicultural narratives which allow for these differences to co-exist within a single state compete with

¹²The turn in neo-liberalism, when it is acknowledged a turn at all (Larner & Craig, 2005) is related to Third Way-ism (Giddens, 1998), social cohesion discourses (Spoonley et al., 2005), a politics of community (Everingham, 2001), social investment or post neo-liberal state discourse (Lister, 2006), roll-back vs. roll-out neo-liberalism (Tickell & Peck, 2003), advanced liberalism (Rose, 1999), and inclusive liberalism (Porter & Craig, 2004). While all these ‘different’ turns to neo-liberalism emphasise different features, they all emphasise community/state relationships, referred to by Clarke (2005) as a “hybrid neo-liberal and social democratic/communitarian discourse of the citizen” (p. 448). I have chosen to refer to social cohesion as it is a narrative that is frequently referred to in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly in relation to settlement (Spoonley et al., 2005) and thus bears a particular relationship to this topic.

¹³‘Hard’ differences are those differences in which the freedom of practice for one group conflicts with the freedom of practice for another and thus can not be mutually accommodated within a liberal state (Joppke, 2007; Meer & Modood, 2009). The most common examples refer to female circumcision/genital mutilation and the wearing of niqab (Levy, 2000). Many commentators refer to the difference between strong and weak multiculturalism, which refer specifically to the state’s provision of different types of rights (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). These two concepts, ‘hard’ and ‘strong’ multiculturalism, are not related, and both are discussed in this thesis.

narratives, such as those provided by the Runnymede Trust (2000) or Cattle (2006), that articulate society as cohesive through common ideals.

Despite having common roots in liberal theory, neo-liberalism and multiculturalism provide distinctly different results when they are translated into policy, making it important to trace their movement through the discursive landscape of claims-making. All liberalisms may share a mother, but not all produce the same political children.

Neo-liberal discourse

Neo-liberal discourse entered the political arena post-World War II, with a linking of neo-classical economics with liberal political and moral philosophy, in what Chang (2001) rather famously depicts as an “unholy alliance” (p.1). It draws on Adam Smith’s conceptions of the individual as naturally competitive and markets as facilitating competition to produce the greatest efficiency (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Chang, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Thorson & Lie, 2007).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, as in other Western democracies, neo-liberalism has flourished during the last 30 years. In response to liberalism’s model of individual property rights and government to ensure freedom, neo-liberalism advances market mechanisms as the best means of ensuring liberal state/citizen relationships that protect private property (Hartman, 2005; Harvey, 2005). From 1984 onwards, under the Fourth Labour government and successive National governments, Aotearoa New Zealand offered perhaps the most pure form of neo-liberal policies in the Western world (Jessop, 2002; Lerner, 2000). The state was rolled back following neo-liberal determinations of non-state interference in the marketplace. An emphasis on user-pays in health and education emerged, along with anti-welfareism (Bertram, 1993). In practice, this meant the state followed processes of deregulation and privatisation of the public sector (Haworth, 1994) and corporatisation and managerialism in public administration (Martin, 1994). Public management processes meant that the machinery of government was moved to focus on outcomes, which produced a change in accountability and management of the public sector (Dale, 1994; Martin, 1994).

Neo-liberalism has been identified and critiqued as a discourse by governmentality theorists such as Nikolas Rose (1999; 2000), and these critiques inform a wealth of empirical research that is used in this discussion. The discursive parameters of neo-liberalism are well established and include narratives of competition, efficiency, rationality (in people and resources) and economic self-sufficiency. In the following sections the narratives of neo-liberalism are mapped to claims for redistribution and recognition.

Neo-liberalism and claims for redistribution

Societal redistribution within a neo-liberal ideological paradigm is not a favoured process (Hartman, 2005; McCluskey, 2001). The state is considered to be responsible for little more than allowing the marketplace, assumed to be a level playing field, to determine societal outcomes while state intervention (in the form of redistribution) is considered coercive and a form of market failure. Neo-liberalism recommends a minimal state in order to avoid this coercion and failure (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Chang, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Haworth, 1994; Thorson & Lie, 2007). Due to this ideological leaning towards a minimal state, community organisations have benefitted from increased funding and responsibility, as the neo-liberal state contracts out social support (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Larner & Butler, 2005). When government instances of redistribution do occur, this should be geared towards changing the patterns of distribution to allow market mechanisms to take control. As Harvey (2005, p. 2) notes:

If markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, healthcare, social security or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not intervene.

It is under this mandate that state redistribution may be required to ensure a marketplace exists for individuals to participate in.

Neo-liberal discourse concurrently positions government-initiated redistribution as a response to market failure and individual self-management of distribution as

market success. This places citizens as responsible for the costs and benefits of their choices (Bertram, 1993; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Thorson & Lie, 2007). Because neo-liberal individuals are self-interested utility maximisers, able to influence the market to provide adequate 'distribution' to themselves, they are considered motivated to thrive in the environments of competitiveness which minimal state redistribution provides (Harvey, 2005; McCluskey, 2001).

As Tickell and Peck (2003) point out, however, neo-liberal policy cannot meet the purity of its rhetoric. Thus, even at the height of neo-liberal rhetoric, states reshape rather than abolish redistribution (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Hartman, 2005) and provide targeted welfare assistance which, focused through neo-liberal ideology, aims to mimic marketplace competition and provide a "modest safety net of last resort" (Prebble, 1991, as cited in Rudd, 1993, p. 226). In order to remain consistent with this ideology and also provide necessary services, neo-liberal policy implementation favours a one-size-fits-all model (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) which positively affects, necessarily, majority-based issues. Under a neo-liberal imperative, the New Zealand state from 1984 onwards adopted a form of government/societal relations under which redistribution occurred through contractual relations (Fougere, 1994; Haworth, 1994; Martin, 1994). Within this model, Ministers began purchasing services from public servants, and there was a separation between funders (government agencies) and providers, purported to provide increased accountability in dealing with self-interested individuals, otherwise ideologically inclined towards actions that would benefit their own interests (Dale, 1994). Contractual relations maintain the citizenship/state relationship as being one of 'rights' and 'responsibilities' with contract holders (citizens) being held accountable as to whether they are deserving of redistribution or not (Dean, 2007; Haney, 1997; Lens, 2009). Thus while the neo-liberal state clearly still engages in redistribution, and is open to claims for such, this redistribution clearly defines both the distributor and the recipient, with the ideological move away from redistribution informing the stigmatisation of the latter. However, neo-liberalism has also been critiqued for failing to provide even a modest safety net. Kelsey (1994) describes the effects of redistribution under neo-liberal policies in Aotearoa New Zealand as "devastating" (p. 189), relating

the way the poor, sick, women and unemployed (to which might be added the ‘newly arrived migrant or refugee’) were impacted.

Faced with a daunting combination of unemployment, benefit cuts, enforced dependence, and user part-charges, they were free to choose whether to use their scarce resources to buy housing, health, education or other essentials like food – and which of these essentials to go without. (Kelsey, 1994, p. 189)

While neo-liberalism’s anti-redistributive stance might appear to render the discourse silent on redistributive matters, there are in reality a number of factors that mark the neo-liberal redistributive environment. These include narratives of competition (McCluskey, 2001), policy implementation to resolve majority issues (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), efficiency and accountability (Martin, 1994), the need to regulate against self-interest (Dale, 1994), and the creation of independence and consequences for choices (Thorson & Lie, 2007). Throughout these narratives, the aim of neo-liberalism to, at the very least, reduce redistribution is strong. In fact, in seeking to avoid redistributive measures where injustice for migrants and refugees has been established, the neo-liberal government may favour recognition, and the ‘re-valuing’ of difference into market neutral terms (Fraser, 2007).

Neo-liberalism and claims for recognition

To those facing the injustice of misrecognition, neo-liberalism offers the comforting maxim that the marketplace is neutral, a ‘level playing field’. This type of ‘recognition’ remedy to injustice that neo-liberalism offers, however, has been subject to considerable critique, as neo-liberal representations focus on the ‘ideal’ de-gendered, (Larner, 2000), de-cultured (Gershon, 2008) subject as competent to contract in the marketplace. As Susan St John describes, the neo-liberal state favours healthy, employed and childless individuals (St John, 1994, p. 95). Concepts such as rationality (for example, see Lawy, Quinn, & Diment, 2009), and economic self-sufficiency (Hartman, 2005) are of paramount importance in this discourse. Thus neo-liberalism has been critiqued for the poor effects it has on people who may be considered irrational or not economically

self-sufficient and thus ‘at risk’ (Fisher, 2008), ‘vulnerable’ (Francis, 2006), ‘needy’ (Fraser, 1989) and ‘a burden on society’ (Dumbrill & Lo, 2009). The subject representations of rationality and economic self-sufficiency are reviewed in more depth here because of their applicability to new migrants, potentially without work and operating under different rationalities than that of the ideal neo-liberal individual.

The first narrative of the individual in neo-liberal discourse is that one has the responsibility to make rational choices in relation to consumption (Fisher, 2008; Lawy et al., 2009).¹⁴ When Lawy et al (2009, p. 750) suggest that “it is the very essence of neo-liberalism to present the individual as entirely responsible for their own destiny”, they are referring to the emphasis in this discourse on ‘rationality’, meaning making choices towards employment. In this narrative, subjects who are represented as making irrational choices are therefore misrecognised as irresponsible (Kelsey, 1994), incapable of rational claims making (Moore, 2009), and hence excluded from the claims-making process (Dowse, 2009).

Through rationality, neo-liberal discourse constructs an ideal subject who is able to self-manage risk (Peterson, 1997) such as the successful entrepreneur. This representation has been critiqued for the misrecognition it consequently generates for those who require support from others and who are denied the opportunities to make claims on their own behalf because of the risk they are seen to impose on themselves and, potentially, to society (Dowse, 2009). Fisher argues that when individuals are perceived as unable to manage their own risk, others will speak and decide ‘more wisely’ on their behalf (Fisher, 2008). Fisher describes this as creating ‘damaged identities’ which applies to any people unable to manage their own ‘risk’, including those with health issues, deafness or disability; those who are mothers, indigenous or not heterosexual; and those who retain socially undesirable belief systems (Dowse, 2009; Fisher, 2008). To this we might add the refugee or migrant person who is unable to navigate the systems of a new country alone. The ‘protection’ of those ‘at risk’ has consistently been linked with neo-

¹⁴ Max Weber theorised rationality as a dividing construct, separating instrumental rationality from belief-oriented, emotional and traditional rationality and privileging the former. The ideal rational neo-liberal subject - a person who makes rational and responsible choices - remains Weber’s (Jacobs & Sobieraj, 2007; Sevenhuijsen, 2003).

liberal representations. This ‘protection’, in neo-liberal narratives, is afforded by another powerful representation of expertise. Fraser (1997) discusses the power of experts to define both interpretations of, and solutions to, problems. With the growth of neo-liberal ‘professionalism’ for NGOs, so too has grown the expectation that organisations will be able to offer expert opinions about clients (Kamat, 2004; McDonald & Marston, 2002). Thus, neo-liberalism requires the ideal individual to make responsible and rational choices, and concurrently defines these choices as leading towards market engagement. Those who do not make these choices might be considered irrational, irresponsible, and at risk, and thus subject to protection defined by experts – who are increasingly frequently NGOs.

The second narrative of the individual in neo-liberal discourse is that of economic self-sufficiency, in which citizens are transformed into consumers (Dowse, 2009; Keevers et al., 2008; Rose, 1999). This narrative perpetuates misrecognition, since in contrast to people who are identified as economically viable citizens, the discourse represents users of welfare as needy (Elstub, 2006; Kelsey, 1994). Once the individual is identified as a consumer, it becomes a small step to represent this person as ‘needy’ if they do not have the self-sufficiency to consume at expected levels. Thus, claims of ‘need’ may be translated to representations of ‘needy’ through a process that Fraser (1989) documents and theorises as the social construction of need.¹⁵ Haney (1997) records this identity shift for welfare-assisted mothers in the Hungarian context, representations of whom changed from competent ‘state-builders’ to needy non-contributors as Hungary developed a policy focus on material needs, which came to stigmatise poverty as a result of laziness and worked directly against the interests of women.

¹⁵ The movement of claims of ‘need’ to stigmatization as ‘needy’, and other aspects of the politics surrounding the making of claims of ‘need’ is expressed by Fraser (1989), and has been particularly cited in work done with marginalised groups and with groups that might be considered deviant and whose needs are therefore subject to considerable contestation (such as Moore, 2006). Fraser refers to three different moments of contestation over needs – that of establishment, interpretation and satisfaction. Fraser’s (1989) article establishes that needs-talk has become a central conflict in welfare states and exists as a contested arena of competing claims about needs and how they can be resolved (p. 159). For Fraser, the focus of welfare policy shifts from talk about how needs can be satisfied to talk about how needs are interpreted (p. 160). However, society, Fraser argues, is not merely plural, it is stratified and made up of groups with unequal power. Therefore, some needs interpretations become privileged by virtue of who is extolling them. The competition about interpretation therefore occurs between groups with non-equal power and resources, struggling to establish their interpretation as hegemonic (p. 164).

Where previously women had been entitled to support from the state based on motherhood, policy changes established this provision on the basis of poverty. Haney argues that this redefined women as 'needy'. Dumbrill and Lo (2009) point out the same processes at work for refugees and asylum seekers who, in their documented cases in Canada, became identified as needy and a burden on the host society by the social workers allocated to them.

In summary, neo-liberalism answers the injustice of misrecognition by positing that recognition of difference is not important, as ideal subjects are rational, able to self-manage risk, and to compete for economic advantage in a difference-blind market place. The discourse is critiqued, however, for creating further injustices of misrecognition as 'failed' subjects are represented as risky, lazy or irresponsible, and are therefore positioned as unable to make their own claims on the state. In particular, the discourse is charged with turning the articulation of 'need' into a representation of a failed subject who is 'needy'. Where this is accepted by the state as an injustice requiring resolution, as Fraser (2007) points out, neo-liberalism may favour cost-effective remedies of recognition and 'revaluing' a subject, over the provision of material resources to resolve the injustice.

Overall, neo-liberalism can be seen to provide comprehensive responses to liberalism's questions of freedom, justice and equality, providing a model of redistribution that is interested in competition and contracting out, but has been critiqued for the inequalities it produces (Clarke, 2005; McCluskey, 2001; Tickell & Peck, 2003). It also provides a response to misrecognition that ignores difference in the 'ideal' actor in order to create equality, but has been critiqued for the marginalising subject representations it produces for the actor who is not the neo-liberal ideal. While neo-liberalism remains an enduring political stance, theorists still admit to evolutions in the discourse (Larner & Craig, 2005), which display a re-emerging emphasis on community and social cohesion for the state. This chapter now turns to examine social cohesion as an extension of neo-liberalism.

The social cohesion turn in neo-liberalism

When in 1995 the World Summit for Social Development described social integration as “the creation of ‘a society for all’, in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play” (World Summit for Social Development, 1995, para. 66), the summit was using a discourse of liberalism that is concerned with social relationships. Where classic neo-liberalism places emphasis on the market governing relations between the state and the individual, this version of liberalism, as indicated by the Summit, places more weight on society actively creating itself through concepts of inclusion, cohesion, equality of opportunity, and ethics (Rose, 2000).

While this discursive shift is still connected by multiple theorists with neo-liberalism, it is also identified as a political strategy that sits between free market individualism and state centred collectivism (Everingham, 2001; Larner & Butler, 2005; Rose, 1999), and with increasing international and national government discourse about social exclusion/inclusion as an outcome to measure state effectiveness and participation of marginalised groups in state processes (Barrett, Heycock, Hick, & Judge, 2003; Humpage, 2006; Macleavy, 2006; Peace, 2001; Rose, 2000). The concepts of ‘inclusion’ and ‘exclusion’ particularly indicate a repositioning of neo-liberalism into a discourse concerned with social cohesion (Porter & Craig, 2004; Rose, 2000), which has been a defining narrative of Aotearoa New Zealand since the late 1990s (Humpage & Fleras, 2001; Humpage, 2006).

Rose (2000) refers to the ethical mandate towards inclusion, framing it as the “ethical reconstruction of the excluded” in which “each excluded person, even the convicted prisoner, should be 'given the opportunity' to achieve full membership in a moral community, and to adhere to the core values of honesty, self-reliance and concern for others” (Rose, 2000, p. 335). Social exclusion is therefore a relational concept that captures the marginalisation of individuals and groups and places a positive value on cohesion in society (Barnes & Prior, 2007). Under this mandate, government is required to create equality of opportunity in order to ensure inclusion, but the neo-liberal roots of this turn towards social cohesion still

emphasise the ‘responsibilities’ that sit alongside the ‘rights’ of equal opportunity (Rose, 1999; 2000).

As in classic neo-liberalism, the subject is responsible for creating the means and mechanisms to take up state-provided opportunities, but Rose refers to the further “responsibilisation” of the subject that is a feature of the social cohesion discursive turn (1999, p.74 – also see Clarke, 2005), which refers to the responsibility on the subject to engage in their own inclusion (Rose, 2000), and to understand themselves as partners with each other and with the state (Rose, 1999). Under this charge of personal responsibility for inclusion, government engages in redistribution when the individual is not able or responsible enough to access resources that provide them with inclusion (Rose, 1999), or does not *yet* understand themselves as responsible. While classic neo-liberalism has always offered equality of opportunity, this is extended in Rose’s formulation to be motivated by ethical values rather than market ‘equalities’ (Rose, 1999).

According to Spoonley et al. (2005), it is under the parameters of social cohesion (rather than neo-liberalism) that the New Zealand state is responsible for ensuring that all citizens enjoy equality of opportunity. Applied to migrant and refugee subjects in this context, Spoonley et al. (2005) describe opportunities to engage with society as providing “avenues through which migrants can gain access to resources and the positive outcomes that they provide” (p. 92). Equally, government interested in social cohesion for migrants is responsible for ensuring equality of access to education and social services (Immigration Settlement Strategy, 2004, as cited in Spoonley et al. 2005, p. 86) and for providing protection from discrimination and harassment based on difference (Spoonley et al., 2005). These interests of government can be differentiated from the goals of neo-liberalism inasmuch as they are measured and motivated by inclusion and cohesion, for as the Settlement National Action Plan states, “New Zealand’s prosperity is underpinned by an inclusive society” (DoL, 2006, p. 3).

The turn to social cohesion also features a particular redistributive process for government. Porter and Craig (2004) argue that the emergence of interdepartmental collaboration is a feature of government under this paradigm,

where governmental heads of department have been given broader responsibilities towards wellbeing and are encouraged to work together (Everingham, 2001).¹⁶ The softening of neo-liberalism has seen a different approach to contracting from government, where contracts are considered partnerships between government and community (Curtis, 2003; Larner & Craig, 2005; Rose, 1999), in contrast to classic neo-liberalism which considered contracting to be efficient and a necessary check on self-interest (Bertram, 1993). In social cohesion narratives, ‘working together’ is a partnership not just between the citizen and the state but between different parts of the state (Larner & Craig, 2006; O'Brien et al., 2009). This ‘whole-of-government’ approach has impacted the settlement sector and can be seen in the National Settlement Strategy put in place by the DoL, which lists support from fifteen different governmental ministries and departments and also refers directly to a “whole-of-government” approach (DoL, 2006, p. 3). Redistribution under the neo-liberal turn towards social cohesion is thus concerned with ensuring inclusion, participation, and equality of opportunity and access, while enforcing the idea of shared (government, individual and societal) responsibility for outcomes.

A focus on shared responsibility for outcomes is not one that has been taken lightly by the government in Aotearoa New Zealand. In 2003, the Funding for Outcomes project was launched, which aimed to bring together multiple government contracts held by any one community organisation under a single contract, in order to improve efficiencies, provide a mechanism for a whole-of-government approach, and provide more consistent outcomes for clients (Pomeroy, 2007). Although ‘outcomes’ is not *necessarily* a term that links with social cohesion narratives, its rise in the lexicon of government narratives, seen in the commentary provided by Pomeroy and noted by O’Brien, Sanders and Tennant (2009) and Humpage (2006) has coincided with the turn to social cohesion that the state has taken, and is thus frequently linked with measuring client progress towards inclusion.

¹⁶This whole-of-government approach has been linked with what Keevers et al. (2008) refer to as network governance but retains considerable purchase with the social cohesion turn, which has worked to soften competitive neo-liberal approaches. Keevers et al. point out that the whole-of-government approach is not a new one but that governments have always been in the business of creating more efficiency.

Narratives of social cohesion also impact the subject representations that neo-liberalism has developed. Individuals become not just market-oriented individuals, but also part of the wider community of society (Cantle, 2006). In a socially cohesive society, individuals are able to trust each other and are respectful of law and civil and human rights (Rose, 1999). The workplace and social sphere are important sites in these narratives, where individuals are involved in employment and society, contributing to both economic and social activities (Rose, 1999). Need remains an important narrative as individuals marked by 'need' are expected to take joint responsibility for their recovery from exclusion to inclusion and full citizenship (Everingham, 2001; Humpage 2006; Porter & Craig, 2004). In these narratives, 'need' moves from being a failure of the individual, as it is in neo-liberalism, to becoming a failure of society, as it is a responsibility of both the individual and the community to meet needs. The turn in the discourse suggests that individuals who 'need' are not 'needy', but 'disadvantaged', a subject representation prevalent in social cohesion narratives (Peace, 2001).

This discursive turn in neo-liberalism also suggests a number of new potential subject representations to add to neo-liberalism's successful, rational competitor. One might be of the 'connected', or 'partnered' individual with networks and links that connect those who are 'excluded' to inclusion – making them “nodes in little webs of connectedness” (Rose, 1999, p. 266; see also Lerner & Craig, 2005). Rose (1999) refers to the professionalisation of 'community', which has seen the institutionalisation of community development roles and the change in perception of subjects marked by community. Individuals who are 'culturally competent' and able to negotiate more than one community are represented positively in this discourse (for example, see Nybell & Gray, 2004). Unlike classic neo-liberalism, social cohesion discourses are comfortable with the idea of diversity, and multiple communities defined by culture, ethnicity, sexuality and interest (Rose, 1999). This narrative is articulated in Aotearoa New Zealand policy also, as MSD argues that cultural identity is an important contributor to wellbeing and to social networks which provide support and shared values and aspirations (Strategic Social Policy Group, 2008). In this turn in the discourse, contribution is also

emphasised, both in terms of contribution to the marketplace and contribution to society. As Spoonley et al. point out “The New Zealand National Immigration Settlement Strategy... implicitly identifies an inclusive and cohesive society as one which accommodates new migrants and recognises the contributions that migrants make” (2005, p. 86).

As noted above, the discourse of neo-liberalism influenced by social cohesion is one defined by inclusion and exclusion, which has implications for redistribution but also has implications for how subjects are represented. ‘Connection’ and ‘community’ particularly reference inclusion for those who can be represented positively in this discourse. However, Humpage (2006) asserts that an inclusive society is marked by the exclusions that exist around it, and hence the concept of ‘inclusion’ portrays ‘differences’ as abnormal and deviant (Humpage, 2006, p. 224), which may mask a fundamental inability of the social cohesion state to deal with ‘difference’ that does not seek to cohere, or actively resists doing so (Everingham, 2001; Humpage & Fleras, 2001).

The social cohesion turn to neo-liberalism both builds on neo-liberal claims of and responses to recognition and redistribution, but also critiques these responses. It is comfortable with narratives of market competition, economic self-sufficiency and rationality, but further develops the community as a new arena for neo-liberalism. In this, it gains a closer relationship to discourses of multiculturalism.

Multicultural discourse

Multiculturalism became apparent in political and academic commentary from the 1970s onwards, as states grappled with the increasing pluralism of their populations and identity politics were on the rise (Vertovec, 2007; Inglis, 1996). As a policy direction, multiculturalism engages with cultural and ethnic difference to determine the appropriate direction of the state in dealing with these differences. It is a term used variously to describe culturally heterogeneous populations in a demographic sense (as in Foner, 2007) or to propose normative policy related to recognising group difference, as in Kymlicka (Joppke, 2004). Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul (2008, p. 159), in particular, describe multiculturalism as a concept that varies by context and writer, encompassing

demographic descriptions, an ideology that diversity should be celebrated, policies or programmes, or normative political theory. In a practical sense, multiculturalism also displays complexity when the emphasis on cultural definitions confuses group identities that are based on race, religion or other identities (Meer & Modood, 2009). For the purposes of this thesis, following the distinction made by Joppke (2004), multicultural *discourse* proposes a model of state relations with difference, rather than describing a diverse population. Thus, after one of the foremost theorists of multiculturalism, Kymlicka (1995), multiculturalism refers to the state's response to difference, rather than simply describing the population of a nation state.

The multicultural state's response to difference takes the form of both recognition and redistribution. In 1999, Kymlicka argued that multiculturalism had "won the day", as multiple Western states implemented policies which included special rights for ethnic minorities (p. 113). At the time, other theorists argued that this gleeful claim was premature. Theorists such as Joppke (2004) and Barry (2001) critiqued both the connection to liberalism on which Kymlicka's formulation of multiculturalism lies, and whether there really was a political adherence to a multicultural discourse. Since the twenty-first century, multicultural policy has also become increasingly critiqued for failing to bring about promised social cohesion outcomes (Meer & Modood, 2009; Vasta, 2007b). In European states, it is considered in retreat, even while population diversity grows (Joppke, 2004; Kymlicka, 2005).

The most cohesive articulation of multiculturalism is that of Kymlicka (1995), who premises the theoretical argument for states to provide both weak and strong rights for ethnic minorities on the liberal argument that it provides greater freedom, equality and justice for individuals when the state acknowledges their connectedness to community. This communitarian critique of classic liberalism describes the embeddedness of individuals within their social, community or ethnic groups and the importance of these groups for giving meaning to activity (Bloemraad, et al., 2008; Kymlicka, 1995; Meer & Modood, 2009; Ringelheim, 2010). It argues that an individual's ability to pursue their interests is done best from a position that accords their cultural perspective with recognition and/or

rights (Kymlicka, 1995; Phillips, A. 2002; Spinner-Halev, 2001; Taylor, C. 1993). Even weak multicultural rights – including the right to organise and identify based on ethnicity or culture – provide the best outcome for society in terms of individual identity, an argument posed in terms of self image and ability to participate and lead a meaningful life.¹⁷ Multiculturalism therefore makes discursive, if not realised, room for cultural rights to curtail or provide freedoms not otherwise allowed within a liberal state.

The New Zealand state adheres to a variety of policies that are considered ‘multicultural’. It rates highly on Banting and Kymlicka’s (2006) scale of countries that support multiculturalism for immigrants due to having most or all of the policies/provisions these authors listed, including the presence of the OEA, the adoption of ‘multiculturalism’ in the school curriculum, the funding of ethnic group organisations,¹⁸ and the funding of mother-tongue language learning. The OEA (2008) briefing to the incoming minister specifically mentions the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, which includes support for the economic, social and cultural rights of minority groups and the right of these groups to maintain their language and culture. The importance of ethnic community groups being able to protect and develop their culture, heritage and language and to provide social support to community participants is also echoed by Family and Community Services and DoL initiatives, such as the Settling In programme (MSD, n.d.b) and the Settlement Support initiative (DOL, 2004b).

Multiculturalism and claims for redistribution

According to the Human Development Report (2004) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), multiculturalism requires particular political processes for sharing of power with national/indigenous and migrant minorities, which necessarily impacts redistribution within states. The report suggests that

¹⁷Kymlicka’s (1995) full argument relates to providing a conceptual framework to understand and allow ethnic group formulation and rights within a liberal society (see also Herr, 2004; Spinner-Halev, 2001; Taylor, C. 1993). Phillips’ argument in contrast is that culture should remain with individual choice rather than be recognised as a group attribute (Phillips, A. 2007).

¹⁸For example, ethnic groups are listed as a funding priority for the Department of Internal Affairs Community Organisation Grants Scheme which provides small amounts of funding for community groups related to building organisation capacity (Community Organisation Grants Scheme, 2011).

multicultural policies are those that ensure the political participation of diverse groups, address diverse religious practices, provide legal pluralism, admit multiple languages, and redress social exclusion (Fukuda-Parr, 2004). These have two important redistributive outcomes. Firstly, they suggest that multicultural redistribution requires decision-making processes to proceed by way of consultation and participation of affected minority groups. Secondly, they suggest that redistribution ought to proceed by provision of resources directly to cultural/ethnic minority groups in some form of state pluralism.

However, while multiculturalism specifically provides for redistribution to support cultural pluralism, there is considerable critique that the discourse erodes or inhibits claims for societal redistribution generally, on the grounds that it ‘erodes’ ideas of universality, social cohesion and common citizenship (May, 2002). Critics of multiculturalism claim that the theoretical division of the state and society into competing groups and interests disables social cohesion and thus the impetus for societal redistribution (Joppke, 2004; Ringelheim, 2010). In this critique, special rights for redistribution claimed through multiculturalism are in conflict with the idea of universal rights that underpin welfare redistribution (May, 2002).

The critique that multiculturalism inhibits societal redistribution is addressed by Banting and Kymlicka (2006), who counter these claims with empirical evidence that nation-states which provide strong multicultural policies have also experienced growth in the provision of welfare support. Banting and Kymlicka acknowledge the difficulties in indexing these features of a state but suggest that, despite the critique, multiculturalism and claims for welfare redistribution are not opposed.

The theoretical divide between multiculturalism and social cohesion considered here heralds an ongoing discursive and theoretical confusion, as social cohesion is claimed to both be a rationale for and against ‘multicultural’ policies. Lining up against multicultural policies, Esses argues that “there are now ethnic groups...who must try to get along in this country”, and “it is imperative that [historical conflicts] do not become a part of the Canadian fabric” (1996, p. 145).

This narrative points to multiculturalism as the purveyor of conflict into what is otherwise a cohesive ‘fabric’, an argument also articulated by Berry and Kalin (1995). The Runnymede Trust provides a positive, normative narrative to the same issue, stating: “Every society needs to be cohesive as well as respectful of diversity, and must find ways of nurturing diversity while fostering a common sense of belonging and a shared identity among its constituent members” (2000, p. ix), in a narrative which points to multiculturalism being the answer to cultural conflict. This theoretical divide suggests that at least some of what is referred to as ‘multiculturalism’ in these arguments may belong to another discourse. Therefore, this section further defines what can be referred to as part of multicultural discourse when making claims for redistribution, and what might be referred to as another discourse.

My argument begins with the theory that underpins multiculturalism and redistribution. There are two rationales within multicultural narratives that provide the discursive foundations for claims of redistribution. The first of these is ‘justice’ (as argued by Young, 1990) and the second is ‘social cohesion’ (as argued by the Runnymede Trust, 2000). As Kymlicka theorised, claims for ‘special’ redistribution are the most obvious and dominant feature of a multicultural discourse that is distinct from other discourses within a liberal state (Kymlicka, 1995). Redistribution to provide for special rights of minority ethnic or migrant groups is justified through the argument that recognising difference is a necessary theoretical basis for justice.¹⁹ From a standpoint of justice, Young (1990) argues for a conception of group difference and rights to rectify structural injustice. Arguments for this type of redistribution suggest that because government is responsible for ensuring that the rights of cultural groups are recognised, maintained and respected, and for ensuring the protection of minority interests (as in Kymlicka, 1995), the provision of special rights is a necessary point of redistribution (Dudas, 2005; Herr, 2004; Young, 1990). This argument for multiculturalism is the one articulated in the aforementioned Human

¹⁹The ‘difference vs. equality’ dilemma is fundamental to feminist political theory and the arguments similarly apply to ethnic difference as gender difference. Succinctly – should all be considered ‘equal’ citizens and treated the same (which may disadvantage those who do not conform to the white male that this ‘norm’ was developed from) or should some be considered ‘different’ and therefore treated ‘specially’? Applied to multiculturalism, Young (1990) argues that some must be treated differently in order for conditions of justice to be met.

Development Report (2004), and links to the argument that pluralism generally makes for redistribution to proceed by consultation with different groups (Bristow et al., 2009; Hoppe, 1999). Young's formulation of rectifying structural injustice allows for claims to the state for redistribution based on 'need' that are not inhibited by stigmatizing the recipient as 'needy', but rather refer back to the 'rights' of the recipient. According to Young, justice means that having material or cultural 'needs' met is a *right* under this discourse, rather than creating the subject as needy. The first rationale for multicultural redistribution then, is that special group rights are necessary to acknowledge and allow for structural injustice related to cultural difference.

On the other hand, the 'social cohesion' argument makes redistributive policy a response to societal exclusion rather than an argument based on group rights (Everingham, 2001). This multicultural argument, developed by the Runnymede Trust (2000), describes a narrative of redistribution for the purpose of developing cohesion among culturally-differentiated groups. These claims for redistribution can certainly refer to minority rights, respect for different cultures and plural systems of governance, but they point to the exclusions that maldistribution causes, and make the argument that redistribution is necessary and should be targeted to cultural groups in order to overcome such exclusions (the 'inclusion' argument is traced in depth in Vasta, 2007a). The linking of social cohesion to a multicultural discourse indicates a valuing of diversity as society becomes able to enjoy multiple cultures without the political elements of 'hard' multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2009; Rose, 2000; Runnymede Trust, 2000).

However, the argument that redistribution should occur in order to develop social cohesion in a multicultural society is quite a different one to the argument that redistribution should provide special rights in order to achieve justice. Young (1990) and the Runnymede Trust (2000) both argue that a society that does not allow for group differentiation is more likely to be conflicted and fragmented than one that does, but while Young argues from a perspective of providing justice for different groups, the Runnymede Trust argues from a perspective of uniting a society. The *result* of a social cohesion narrative, therefore, is not one of multiple communities marked by differences that may not be compatible, but one of a

single society marked by cultural diversity. While the Runnymede Trust (2000) refers to one of the goals (for Britain) as being a community of communities – a pluralist notion – narratives of social cohesion have already been linked to those of inclusion, and Helne (2004) argues that inclusion is always towards a collective social community, rather than the multiple communities that multiculturalism implies (as cited in Humpage, 2006). Thus, while Young’s argument invokes ongoing recognition and rights for differentiated cultural groupings, a social cohesion discourse, while it can be argued for and operationalized within a multicultural state, sits less easily with either the ongoing recognition of difference and provision of special rights as described by Kymlicka (1995), or the multicultural democracy described by the UNDP (Fukuda-Parr, 2004).

The above argument is not the only point at which multicultural discourse meets with neo-liberal and social cohesion discourse. While the provision of special rights might be a dominant feature of multicultural discourse, rights advances that are provided because of the perceived ‘valued’ of the citizen segue back towards neo-liberal discourse, a development that can be seen in recent changes to citizenship criteria in Europe, as new laws increasingly emphasise the responsibilities that sit alongside the rights conferred by citizenship (Joppke, 2007). In European states, ‘rights’ of citizenship now carry civic responsibilities of learning the national language and culture. The increasing articulation of responsibilities as they sit alongside rights is also applied in other sectors. Haney’s analysis referred to earlier, and that of Lens (2009), who traces the development of discourses of responsibility versus discourses of rights in American administrative law court rulings about welfare application appeals, shows that rights articulations, the narratives that multicultural discourse relies on, easily move into a discourse of neo-liberalism influenced by social cohesion, which emphasises responsibilities as the measurement for the provision of rights (Dean, 2007; Haney 1997; Lens, 2009). These analyses indicate that the introduction of measurement (or ‘responsibility’) can most easily sit alongside special rights, particularly if they are provided towards ‘deviant’ or disenfranchised groups. Once measurement is introduced into the equation, Pateman’s (1989) analysis of the white male citizen as ‘naturally’ entitled takes on a more poignant focus as the ideal subject against which others may be measured.

However, a government leaning towards social cohesion discourses does not tend to put special rights in place for different groups (unless this coincides with practices of contracting out provision, as Durie (1998), cited in Larner, 2000, p. 18 observes) but continues to act to protect individual rights (Rose, 1999). While multiculturalism and neo-liberalism influenced by social cohesion both recognise inequalities as something government is obligated to engage with through redistribution, the inequalities that they recognise are framed differently. In social cohesion discourses, these inequalities are *discursively* identified by exclusion rather than poverty and deprivation (Peace, 2001), while in multiculturalism, inequalities are discursively identified by deprivation, both historical and current, and injustice (Young, 1990).

Because of this divide, when patterns of distribution and economic wellbeing are proven to be related to cultural, ethnic or religious difference (as in, for example, Brown & Chung, 2007) they do not, therefore, necessarily invite a *multicultural* discourse of redistribution. Brown and Chung's argument, in fact, is that market mechanisms are resolving discrimination and bias in patterns of maldistribution in a multicultural state. For the purpose of this thesis, multicultural redistribution is defined as using narratives of justice and rights, while narratives of social cohesion or narratives of the market, are also potentially referenced as 'multicultural' by politicians and policy makers. The establishment of redistributive claims in a multicultural state may therefore draw on discourses other than multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism and claims for recognition

Claims for recognition also provide potential for further defining a multicultural discourse. Joppke argues that the central claim of multiculturalism is that integration should proceed by "recognising the 'culture' that constitutes a minority as a distinct group" (2004, p. 238). Baumann (1996) also argues that 'culture', with community, has become the cornerstone of public discourse around multiculturalism (Baumann, 1996, p. 20). Baumann links these terms with ethnicity, as they are in multiple texts, including Kymlicka's statement of 'poly-ethnic rights' (Herr, 2004; Kymlicka, 1995). Multiculturalism is therefore linked

with subjects having a cultural structure from which to interact. Subjects who do not consider themselves as having a cultural structure, or who are unable to interact with this cultural structure, may suffer multicultural misrecognition which, in this framing, might be considered cultural ‘incompetence’. Though May (2002) argues that minority cultures do not use multiculturalism to preserve an ‘authentic’ culture but rather to ensure they have a meaningful cultural structure from which to make their own choices, nevertheless it is clear that multicultural discourse casts ethnic people into an interpreted and reified ‘cultural/ethnic’ identity (Dolby, 2000; Hoffman, 1996), which is the identity of the ‘other’, that may prevent them from being represented in other ways, available to the ‘non-cultural/non-ethnic’ individual, furthering this misrecognition.

While David Taylor downplays the ‘difference’ element of multiculturalism for an individual when he writes “difference categories do not represent the totality of identity” (Taylor, D. 1998, p. 346), Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, and Martin’s (2006) formulation makes clear that the identity of a *community* may be built around being *different* from ‘majority culture’ and maintaining that difference in the face of majority culture. According to multiculturalism, other strands of liberalism, with their attendant principles of equality and common citizenship, severely understate the importance of group affiliations (Kymlicka, 1995; May, 2002). Multicultural claims to the state for recognition thus develop the community as the basic unit of society and individuals as requiring connection to a community (Kymlicka, 1995). Within this narrative, communities are defined by their difference from each other.

From these discussions, it is possible to extrapolate potential aspects of recognition that narratives of culture, community and ethnicity might signify. The theoretical critique of ‘culture’ in multiculturalism (where it has not focused on the tendency of multiculturalism to reify culture)²⁰ has focused on the validity

²⁰Baumann critiques multiculturalism for the way it creates culture as a fixed discrete identity, and is not alone in this critique. Once identity positions become fixed to ‘culture’, culture becomes reified (Hoffman, 1996; Dolby, 2000). As Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) suggest, “the very fact that such activity is conducted by and for groupings marked by their cultural identities confirms the perception that these identities do provide the only available basis of collective self-definition and action” (pp. 62-63). Further, as Narayan points out, essentialist notions of culture are detrimental to agendas focused on justice (Narayan, 2000).

of multicultural entitlements to exhibit and organise culture - such as the right to wear traditional dress in public and to funding for public festivals (Kymlicka, 1995; Spinner Halev, 1997). Theorists have also debated whether such 'culture' leads to illiberal outcomes for people marginalized within the cultural group (Herr, 2004; Okin, 1999; Phillips, A. 2002; Shachar, 2000). However, through all strands of the discussion, a 'cultural' identity discursively constructed by the debate includes exhibiting elements of difference visible to the majority culture (Durie, 2005) which might include dress, language, or religion, as well as more serious matters of cultural ontology (Parekh, 2005), including propositions unacceptable to other cultures (Herr, 2004).

Difference is thus the aspect through which multicultural narratives of community, culture, and ethnicity are understood. Because multiculturalism is posited on the grounds of providing cultural or ethnic groups with the means to organise and celebrate their culture (Kymlicka, 1995), it defines an individual as interested in maintaining difference. Difference is linked, in this narrative, with culture and community.

As with the discussion about redistribution, not all 'recognition' narratives of culture, community, and ethnicity can be linked with the multicultural discourse of difference. Claims to the multicultural state for recognition can call on 'societal values' that require tolerance and respect for diversity (such as Vertovec, 2007; Parekh, 2005; Runnymede Trust, 2000) and multicultural 'community' can be used to reference not difference, but connectedness and cohesion, as posited by the Queensland Government Multicultural policy (Multicultural Affairs Queensland, 2004). On pp. 54-55 I argued that 'diversity' and 'cohesion' were not part of a multicultural discourse when used to make claims for redistribution. Here, I will also argue that diversity and cohesion are not part of multicultural discourse when used to make claims for recognition.

There is clearly a difference between 'difference' and 'diversity' that marks a boundary of multicultural discourse, which can be seen in the development of positive and negative subject representations using these narratives. While multiple studies document diversity in workplace situations (for example, see

Fine, 1996), in which ‘cultural’ identities are viewed positively in employment situations that require trans-national exchanges (Singham, 2006), the boundary marked by ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’, and calling upon social cohesion, is also stalked by the *negative* representation of difference as causing segregation and division.²¹ In these cases, ‘difference’ references ‘division’ (Everingham, 2001; Young, 1990, p. 302), whereas ‘diversity’ references ‘cohesion’ (Grillo, 2007). Meer and Modood (2009) trace these representations through British political statements, and Vasta (2007a) traces similar pathways through policy statements of other states. Representations of difference have already been identified as part of a multicultural discourse. These situations show that although ‘diversity’ is discussed as part of multiculturalism, it is operationalised in terms of cohesion and used in a different way to ‘difference’. For example, the studies of workplace diversity are about the benefits or management of diversity in a team, and thus point to the result as being greater cohesion. Conversely, the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Council’s report about volunteering identifies “cultural differences” as contributing barriers to communication and employment (2004, p. 11), in a report that is influenced by narratives of inclusion and exclusion. While Bussemaker argues that diversity is “replacing the concept of ‘equality’-as-sameness in all kinds of academic and political contexts” (Bussemaker, 1998, p. 349), these arguments show that unlike ‘difference’, the term ‘diversity’ may be used to refer to the *differences within sameness*. As Parekh says, using terms of social cohesion, “every modern multicultural society needs to find ways of accommodating diverse demands without losing its cohesiveness and unity” (2005, p. 4). My argument is that difference within a multicultural paradigm is an expected factor, but within a social cohesion or neo-liberal paradigm it may lead to misrecognition of the ethnic individual as causing societal segregation or division. Alternatively, diversity is an expected factor in a social cohesion paradigm.

As with redistribution, recognition built on difference rather than on diversity has long been open to critique from a perspective of social cohesion. This critique suggests that attention to ‘hard’ differences will result in societal fragmentation

²¹Durie (2005) notes that when narratives of culture, ethnicity or community threaten the resources or cultural mores of majority society, such as language or dress, negative articulations of each narrative may appear.

because of group differentiation (Joppke, 2004). It points to the gap between the promise of social cohesion provided by multiculturalism (with the freedom and equality that it seems to offer) and the reality of social life after a couple of decades of policies of multiculturalism. Commentators on multiculturalism point to the comments of the Cattle Report that the race riots in Britain were contributed to by a lack of meaningful interaction between ethnic groups (Joppke, 2004; Meer & Modood, 2009) which suggested that allowing space for ‘differences’ to develop in society lessens the possibilities for positive interaction across diversity. Individuals or community populations represented as ‘different’ are therefore open to the critique that they are at odds with other citizens (Everingham, 2001; Young, 1990). The turn towards social cohesion requires individuals to overcome this exclusion by taking up opportunities for inclusion, namely integrating, assimilating, or otherwise adjusting to majority culture (Humpage, 2006). Thus, as discussed in Meer and Modood (2009) and Joppke (2007), discourses of inclusion theoretically conflict with those of multiculturalism.

A further aspect of claims for recognition articulated through multicultural discourse ties ‘difference’ to illiberalism through the articulation of special rights, already problematized with regard to claims of redistribution. Murray (2006) argues that:

Framing justice and equality through rights-talk may have deleterious effects for its advocates as there is no ‘clear’ or transparent universality as to what rights means and... particular interpretations may be used to further marginalise already stigmatized groups. (p. 269)

Murray draws the distinction between universal rights and special rights and points out that the latter have particularly poor effects for people claiming them. These poor effects are what Dudas (2005) elaborates on as he outlines the politics of resentment that lives alongside ‘special rights’ discourse in America. His argument describes the way that use of a rights discourse has hardened the resentment of those against it, in that they fight not just to protect their own self-interest but also see special rights as a threat to freedom, and therefore fight to

defend a 'liberal nation' (Dudas, 2005). The provision of special rights has caused ongoing controversy, particularly as it can be seen to conflict with ideas that establish 'fairness' as equal access to compete for resources (Dean, 2007). These narratives about rights give rise to arguments about competing rights, perhaps most famously articulated by Okin (1999) as she questioned whether multiculturalism has negative effects for women. This argument pits special rights (the discourse of multiculturalism) against universal rights (the discourse of liberalism), in arguments that still do not have a clear theoretical resolution.²² Difference, provided for by special rights, can therefore also be misrecognised as illiberal, and unfair.

The 'recognition' aspects of multiculturalism reviewed here describe the representations of culture, community, and ethnicity as defined by difference, and as operationalized through exhibiting aspects of visible difference. At the far edges of the discourse, 'difference' is seen to be incommensurable with 'diversity'. At this point 'difference' can theoretically become something that is not celebrated but is regarded as divisive in society (Everingham, 2001; Young, 1990). The parameters of multicultural recognition are thus bound to difference, while diversity can be connected, through social cohesion narratives, to neo-liberalism. Discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism come into direct conflict over difference, as neo-liberalism posits that the market is 'colour-blind' (as with Brown & Chung, 2008) and multiculturalism values visible difference. Lastly, the articulations of special rights can perpetuate misrecognition through further marginalisation, stigmatization, and increased resentment of those to whom the rights are afforded.

This section has developed the discursive aspects of multiculturalism, summarising literature related to the discourse. Multicultural discourse is referenced by redistributive claims drawing on concepts of justice, and recognition claims framed by culture, community, and ethnicity. Both types of

²² Okin's (1999) essay 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?' unleashed a storm of rhetoric regarding rights-talk, raising important questions about what happens when rights conflict. Fraser (2007) has more recently argued that consideration of rights issues that appear at odds can successfully be negotiated with close attention to axes of redistribution and recognition together, rather than considering either axis individually.

claims draw on ‘difference’ as the marker of multiculturalism. These have been differentiated from social cohesion narratives which reference inclusion and diversity.

Conclusion

This brings to an end the discussion of the two discourses informing difference in the sector. This discussion has mapped the discursive territory through which the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is articulated. The connections between each of these discourses have been discussed and points of conflict have been identified. For ease of reference, Table one, below, shows the significant parameters of the two different discourses (with a separate column for social cohesion), mapped to their conceptions of the state, society and the individual.

Table one: Multiculturalism, neo-liberalism and social cohesion: Core tenets

Neo-liberalism	Social cohesion	Multiculturalism
<p><i>Government is:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for ensuring marketplace regulations are followed • Disinclined towards interference in marketplace • Responsible for regulating the marketplace so citizens can operate 	<p><i>Government is:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for ensuring equality of opportunities and outcomes • Responsible for ensuring equality of access to education and social services • Responsible for providing protection from discrimination and harassment • Able to act to protect rights and interests of individuals • Institutionally responsive 	<p><i>Government is:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for ensuring the rights of cultural groups are recognised • Responsible for ensuring protection of minority cultures • Able to legislate for special rights
<p><i>Individuals are:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self interested • Entrepreneurs • Motivated by the marketplace • Competitive • Responsible for the costs and benefits of their individual circumstances 	<p><i>Individuals are:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of family, community and society • Able to trust others • Respectful of law and civil and human rights • Involved in economic and social activities • Involved in political and social life • Responsible for their actions and consequences 	<p><i>Individuals are:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connected to communities • Interested in maintaining difference • Not stigmatised by need • Bearers of culture, ethnicity, religion
<p><i>Society is:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Just when individuals have equitable access to the marketplace 	<p><i>Society is:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse and inclusive • Just when individuals have equitable access to opportunities and service • Partially responsible for meeting needs 	<p><i>Society is:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governed by attending to the rights of plural groups • ‘Just’ when different groups have different rights • Accommodating of cultural, religious or linguistic differences

As the analysis contained in this chapter has shown, the points at which the discourses interact are at borders marked by difference and diversity; special rights and responsibilities; and the construction of neediness. In this chapter, the parameters of multicultural discourse have been shown to be negotiated through difference, while diversity negotiates a territory that is articulated by social cohesion discourses. Articulations of special rights sit close to the core of multiculturalism, but are increasingly linked with the responsibilities that social cohesion and neo-liberalism emphasise. Lastly, the construction of neediness is relevant for considering the different discourses in operation within the Aotearoa New Zealand settlement sector. Where neo-liberalism interprets needs as a failure of the individual, and the social cohesion twist allows needs to be interpreted as a failure of society, a multicultural discourse may position needs as a failure of government to adequately recognise and address cultural dimensions. Within a multicultural framework, needs may be considered an unproblematic factor to be addressed by a justice response.

Table two, below, maps these discourses to the axes of injustice that this thesis addresses – redistribution and recognition. Far from being unproblematic responses to questions of justice, these axes are also discursively defined and have quite different parameters depending on the discursive environment they are being provided in.

Table two: Multiculturalism and neo-liberalism: The discursive response to injustice

	Neo-liberalism: Injustice will not occur because...	Social cohesion: Injustice will be prevented because	Multiculturalism: Injustice can be prevented by...
M A L D I S T R I B U T I O N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The market is a neutral arbitrator • The market is a level playing field • State intervention produces market failure and should be minimised • Competition produces the best outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The market is the neutral arbitrator, but some people need to be supported to participate • Although welfare produces market failure, it should be a short term measure to overcome exclusions • While the state recognises that the market is a level playing field, it also acknowledges that not all participants are equal • All are supported to compete in the marketplace in either voluntary or paid capacity – and thus offer a contribution to society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring distribution is targeted towards groups – particularly cultural groups, but also theoretically able to include other groups • A focus on consultation and meeting the needs of different groups in whatever ways are most appropriate • Plural systems of government
M I S R E C O G N I T I O N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People are able to manage their own risk • The market is colour and gender blind • The market recognises hard work and achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Society is inclusive and some people need to be supported to overcome barriers • While unequal status in society is related to historical and contemporary exclusion, it can be overcome by developing inclusion and connectedness between society • Diversity within society and community is appreciated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valuing difference in society – particularly cultural difference but theoretically able to encompass other • Ensuring structures of government and society are established in ways that are able to respond differently to different groups, with different needs and expressions of demand

The core argument of this chapter has been that neo-liberalism and multiculturalism offer different responses to the key claims of recognition and redistribution that are asked of the state. Neo-liberalism offers to the injustice of misrecognition the assurance that the market-place is ‘colour blind’ and all operate on a level playing field. Maldistribution is similarly left to the marketplace to re-arrange, as the perfectly neutral arbitrator. The critiques of neo-liberalism’s response to injustice are familiar – it is charged with perpetuating injustice through misrecognitions of ‘difference’ as incompetent, as needy, and as irrational, and through maldistribution that stigmatises difference in ability or

motivation to compete in the marketplace. Perhaps in response to these critiques, neo-liberalism has taken a turn towards social cohesion, which provides more nuanced answers to claims of recognition and redistribution. These responses pose inclusion as the answer to misrecognition, and reposition the state and society as partially responsible for redistribution, while emphasising the increased responsibilities of the individual, provided with a measure of state support where necessary. This turn in neo-liberalism has been further critiqued as failing to recognise difference adequately, and as extending governance into the social realm. Finally, multiculturalism provides the third set of responses to claims for recognition and redistribution as it offers the response of valuing difference and resourcing communities to self-organise. It has been critiqued for providing illiberal outcomes and for failing to provide social cohesion.

Lastly, this discussion has shown that redistribution is not just about what resources are distributed, but about how resources are distributed. It is clear that both discourses also offer different responses to this. Neo-liberalism provides a model of contracting out redistribution to community organisations, which then have the responsibility of meeting outcomes. The turn towards social cohesion has extended their accountability for outcomes of societal inclusion. Multiculturalism, however, suggests that government is responsible for providing special rights to different cultural groups through plural systems that allow groups to determine their own best justice.

Thus far, this thesis has mapped the discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism to the claims for justice through recognition and redistribution. These discourses have developed distinctly different responses to the key questions of liberalism, posed broadly as questions of freedom, justice, and equality. However, as well as the differences, the discourses share commonalities and rich potential for the articulation of claims to the state by NGOs. The following chapters provide empirical evidence of these discourses being engaged and interacting in the settlement sector.

Chapter Three: “There are still gaps”

(Claim 22, NGO survey, Appendix B)

Claims for Redistribution from the state

The following two chapters seek to illustrate how social justice, through the axes of redistribution and recognition, is discursively negotiated in the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. Both axes of justice have been described in the previous chapter as constructed through neo-liberal and multicultural discourses, and the parameters of these discursive constructions have been mapped. In what follows, I turn closer attention to the claims-making of NGOs working in the settlement sector. In this and the following chapter, I use this analysis to focus attention on ongoing issues that impact claims-making in the settlement sector, and to highlight the negotiations that NGOs make as they frame their claims for redistribution and recognition within different discourses.

This chapter provides a critical discourse analysis of claims for redistribution that are made to the state by people working in NGOs on behalf of people who are refugees or migrants. It describes what claims were made in interviews with ten participants working in NGOs, in survey responses from thirteen different NGOs, and on NGO websites. Following this, I illustrate how these claims draw on the two different discourses. This chapter extends empirical evidence that the discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism interact, conflicting and collaborating at a micro-level in the settlement sector to produce claims for redistribution.

Claims for redistribution are those that claim that the resources available within society should be divided in a different way in order to gain a more egalitarian outcome (Fraser, 1997, p. 14). The claims for redistribution presented in this chapter have been categorised into two different types; those that are claims for resources such as funding for specific purposes, and those that are claims for changes in the redistributive process itself. Fraser (2006) identifies four different types of redistributive claims, those that argue for the redistribution of income, those that argue that the division of labour should be reorganised, those that argue

that the processes of redistribution should be democratised, and those that argue for the transforming of basic economic structures. Of these, the first and the third were apparent in this data and the discourse analysis of this chapter is based on them.²³

Firstly presented in this analysis are the claims themselves, separated in the following text into the categories described above. Following this, these claims are analysed to identify their relationship to neoliberal and multicultural discourses in a discussion that first outlines the relationships and then addresses the particular points of conflict or alignment between the discourses. The discourse analysis is guided by the pragmatic concerns raised by Fraser (1991) to pay attention to how NGOs use words to develop justice, and by Critical Discourse Analysis as outlined by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991), paying attention to the choices of words and clauses used by the NGOs, the construction of identity and representation in their narratives, and aspects of style and syntax that draw attention to relations of power or marginality. Lastly, the analysis turns to the potential implications of the contestation between discourses for NGOs and for refugee and migrant subjects. An analysis of the difference between the two types of redistributive claims is provided in this final section of the chapter.

What do NGOs claim for redistribution?

The first category of claims for redistribution included claims for resources in order to provide mental health support, resettlement and social support, English language learning, and support for finding employment. There were varying references to claims for resources in each of the three data sources provided by NGOs. Five interviewees mentioned the need for redistribution of specific resources, including funding for “English language provision” (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010)²⁴ and funding for “mental health support” (Participant B,

²³ Of these two types of distributive claims prevalent in the data, the set of claims which related to the distributive process were significantly more prevalent in interview material (representing 29 of the 38 distributive claims made in interviews), and were less dominant in the survey material (see Appendix A). Claims for redistribution still represented approximately half of all survey claims (19 of 52), although these redistributive claims were geared towards process rather than more resource (11 of 19 were claims about process). Thus claims about the amount and type of resource that should be distributed from government towards refugee and migrant people were the least prevalent.

²⁴ Also referred to by Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010) and Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

Interview, 5 Nov. 2010).²⁵ Further claims for generalised services such as ‘settlement’ were also made by each participant. While claims for resources were not significant in the website data, claims that migrants or refugees needed ‘successful settlement’ were by far the most prevalent of all claims (Appendix A), and these claims do relate to a resource claim. However, a counter-claim was also made that settlement did not need *more* resources, but that the resources should be reallocated *differently*. This counter-claim is for resources rather than process, and is discussed in the next section (p. 75) which examines the use of neo-liberal discourse in claims-making. Claims for the redistribution of specific resources were also apparent in survey responses. For example, to the request ‘Please write a short paragraph (bullet points are ok) about the things you think it is most important to tell government about the communities you work with’, one response was “The provision of better material support by host governments can result in significant health improvements” (Claim 8, NGO survey, Appendix B).

However, more prevalent than these claims for direct resource were claims for how the process of redistribution should occur. According to these claims from NGOs, the process of redistribution would be improved if (a) it could be decided by reference to either needs or rights; (b) it could be coordinated between different parts of government to improve consistency and timeliness of responses; (c) it had outcomes that were realistic and measurable; and (d) it involved the people about whom decisions are being made. Each of these points is discussed further below.

(a) Needs or rights

The first of these redistributive claims makes the argument that the philosophical basis for redistributive decisions is flawed. In the sector, two dominant approaches to redistribution were advocated – a welfare or ‘needs’ based approach and a ‘rights’ based approach. Although these two approaches are not necessarily at odds discursively, survey respondents and interviewees argued that the theories behind distribution are flawed due to either coming from a perspective of ‘needs’, or, ironically, not coming enough from a perspective of needs. The claim here is that the ideological foundations of the distributive process should be reframed, although there were a range of views among interviewees as to what the

²⁵ Also referred to by Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010).

redistribution should be based on. The first of these views is most clearly seen in website material that was not specifically discussed further, and simply displays ‘need’ as an attribute of the migrant or refugee, for which redistribution is required. This claim for redistribution was frequently (162 times) found on NGO websites as part of the description of migrant and refugee clients (Appendix A). For example, in its Strategic Plan, Wellington Refugees as Survivors describes its role as being: “To build the capacity of these community based services to *better meet the needs* of refugee background individuals and families” (WNRAS, 2009; my emphasis). Further, two interviewees referred to ‘needs’ in conversation talking about specific instances of need demonstrated to them.²⁶ This ‘need’ is unproblematised in its use, and will be discussed further in the following section (see p. 77) as it evoked neo-liberal discourse in its development of need.

However, there was another ‘need’, which was further discussed in interviews. In this instance, the term was used in the more distancing sense of “talking about community needs”, as a way of deciding how resources should be allocated, where “it’s not necessarily first and foremost how long people have been here but it is community needs” that should determine the allocation (Participant D, Interview, 8 Nov. 2010). This type of ‘community need’ was pitted against a model of distribution based on length of time in the country – also a ‘needs’ based model – where redistribution is premised on individuals needing less support the longer they have been in the country. Instead of this latter approach, the interviewee is arguing for a community-specific redistribution based on need, a ‘needs’ approach that evoked multiculturalism in its development as a counter-narrative and will be further discussed in a following section also (see p. 79).

‘Needs’, in both instances, were described as a valid but not necessarily successful way of making redistributive claims to the state, a factor that will be discussed in the last section of this chapter. However, need was not consistently seen as unproblematic. Concern was expressed by other interviewees that, in the sector, ‘needs’ had come to represent a deficit and rights were a more appropriate mode

²⁶ Participant A (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010) talked about the need of an individual whose English was limited needing help to understand a letter that had been sent to him; Participant B (Interview, 5 Nov. 2010) talked about individuals need for family reunification.

of determining allocation.²⁷ Some interviewees and survey respondents argued strongly for a rights-based approach, encapsulated in this survey response: “A human rights approach instead of a welfare approach should be the basis for policy development and service delivery” (Claim 34, NGO survey, Appendix B). The human rights approach, although applied universally, was also specifically tied to communities, as one interviewee explained that some communities experienced more rights violations than others and thus redistributive processes needed to take this into account (Participant H, Interview, 4 Nov. 2010). As with the use of ‘need’ above, these articulations of rights drew on multicultural discourse.

The claim that the basis of current government redistribution was flawed was therefore argued from the perspective of both ‘needs’ and ‘rights’, and reveals an ongoing and unresolved tension between NGOs in the sector which will be discussed further in this chapter and again in Chapter Four in relation to the misrecognition that these narratives were seen to produce. However, these claims also reveal that both ‘needs’ and ‘rights’ could be argued from multicultural and/or neo-liberal perspectives, a tension that is discussed further in this chapter.

(b) Whole-of-government

The second claim for change to the distributive process was that redistributive responses from government should be coordinated as a whole-of-government approach. This narrative was found in survey material and interviews.²⁸ The interviews confirmed that it was the different premises of the departments informed the idea that “We need a whole-of-government approach” (Claim 6, NGO survey, Appendix B), which is made as a claim about the process for redistribution. Interviewees uniformly commented that resource distribution for refugee and migrant populations is based on different premises in different government departments. In particular, differences were noted between the premises of the Ministry of Health (based on population size), the Ministry of

²⁷ This claim was made by Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant F (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), and Participant G (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010).

²⁸ Interviewees referred directly to the need for a whole-of-government approach, including Participant A (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant D (Interview, 8 Nov. 2010), Participant G (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), and Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

Social Development (based on need) and the Department of Labour (based on length of time in the country).²⁹ This claim was further developed as two interviewees talked at length about claims they had made and the increased effectiveness of having more than one government department involved in responding to a claim for redistribution.³⁰ Part of the increased effectiveness of ‘coordination’ is that it is seen to mitigate the problem of redistribution occurring far too slowly to resolve an issue when it arises, as the response from government is simply not fast enough.³¹ However, the most significant contribution of the ‘whole-of-government’ approach is that it is seen to provide a forum for ‘different’ voices to contribute. The whole-of-government approach is discussed further in the penultimate section of this chapter, as it provides an example of multicultural and neo-liberal discourses in alignment, and used strategically by NGOs to gain better outcomes.

(c) Measurements

Thirdly, interviewees claimed that redistribution currently requires measurements that are unrealistic, which potentially has implications for what organisations decide to do, in terms of focussing their time and human resources. Government requires an “outcomes focus”, which was described by an interviewee as requiring proof of an improvement in the situation of the client rather than a proof of participation in a programme (Participant C, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). While interviewees generally agreed that, for example, a focus on “tick the boxes” outputs rather than outcomes is flawed (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), and celebrated a ‘new’ government approach to measuring outcomes they argued that a focus on outcomes that are difficult to measure is equally flawed.³²

These flaws were described by one interviewee as making her feel squeezed by the pressure of reporting on outcomes:

²⁹ Differences noted by Participant B (Interview, 5 Nov. 2010), Participant D (Interview, 8 Nov. 2010), and Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010).

³⁰ Participant D (Interview, 8 Nov. 2010) talked about the potential of claims-making to a whole-of-government group; also discussed by Participant H (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

³¹ Discussed by Participant A (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), and Participant G (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010).

³² Discussed at length by Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), also referred to by Participant D (Interview, 8 Nov. 2010), Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), and Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

It does get hard because at the end of the day we're an organisation that has funding from government so at the moment we're having this huge discourse about measuring... so my life is focused on are we going to be able to show that the money that government has given us has been well used? (Participant C, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010)

Another interviewee commented cynically that outcomes are so hard to measure that it appears to be a slowing down process to allow government to halt funding (Participant I, Interview, 4 Nov. 2010). In this case, the influence of measuring for 'outcomes' to increase client wellbeing, described in some literature as an improvement derived from the social cohesion turn towards neo-liberalism (see p. 47), could still act towards neo-liberal ends of reducing government spending.

(d) Procedural inclusion

Lastly, interviewees made the claim that the decision-making process about redistribution should procedurally include migrants and refugees, and should also include NGOs as partners. The narrative that develops this claim of rights is succinctly expressed by ChangeMakers Refugee Forum (2011) as "Nothing about us, without us". This sentiment clearly has strong resonance within the sector, as it was mentioned by five interviewees and also appeared in the surveys (Appendix B) and, to a much lesser extent, on websites (Appendix A). In a conversation about how one would present a claim for resources to government, one interviewee commented, "Really, you would want to be joined by your [migrant and refugee] partners" (Participant C, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), in order to give validity to the claim.

Partnership was a concept used in claims to describe both migrant and refugee partners, but also NGO and government partners. Interviewees talked about partnership between government and NGOs as a process whereby all partners to a decision are involved in making the decision.³³ Partnership is discussed further in

³³ Discussed in this positive sense by Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant H (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010), and Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010). All these participants also noted the potential for a narrative of 'partnership' used by government to not procedurally provide what they considered 'partnership' to be.

the following chapter about recognition, but it also relates to redistributive claims, as decisions about resource distribution should include NGOs, as well as migrants and refugees. This was explained as being because NGOs are able to understand both the government and the ‘community’ sides of the equation, and thus provide what they see as a form of “translation” (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010). This narrative of translation, and the counter-narrative, that the role of the NGO is to ensure that government listen ‘differently’, is further discussed in the next section as they show neo-liberal and multicultural discourses providing conflicting narratives for the positioning of NGOs in this claim.

This section has noted the claims for redistribution that were made in surveys, interviews and on websites. In particular, attention was drawn to the prevalence of process claims over direct resource claims and the differences between NGO claims about process, in particular the differences between claims of needs and those of rights, claims about outcomes, and claims about procedural inclusion. As well as the differences, however, there was considerable agreement among interview participants about the value of ‘outcomes’ as a measurement, the utility of a whole-of-government approach and the importance of procedural inclusion. The next section draws on these claims to consider the presence of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism in their articulation. In this section, claims drawing on neo-liberal discourse are seen to develop narratives of ‘expertise’ and ‘translation’, as demonstrated below. Neo-liberalism is also implicated in the development of one form of ‘need’. Claims drawing on multicultural discourse, however, develop narratives of distribution to cultural groups and distribution proceeding by ‘listening to difference’.

Neo-liberalism and multiculturalism in claims for redistribution

Having described the redistributive claims that are made by NGOs in the previous section, this section illustrates how the discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism provide the foundations for these claims. The differences between the discourses in their construction of redistribution have been addressed in the previous chapter. From the literature, it is clear that multiculturalism is likely to have synchronicity with claims of distribution based on group rights, rather than individual rights (see Kymlicka, 1995), and is likely to favour pluralist approaches

that emphasise distribution based on consultation with groups (Fukuda-Parr, 2004). Multiculturalism is also likely to eschew distribution based solely on population deficit models that do not address cultural difference as a factor contributing to need, favouring targeted rights-based responses to structural inequalities and approaches that build strength in community groups (Kymlicka, 1995; Young, 1990).

Neo-liberal discourses, on the other hand, do not, in their pure form, favour redistribution at all, given that individual competition and market success is a prominent feature of this discourse (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005). Chapter Two (see pp. 39-41) showed that redistributive processes that are favoured over others in a neo-liberal state are likely to be those that focus on competition, those that focus on the 'economic interests' rather than the rights or needs of subjects, and those that are cost-efficient. Favoured redistributive processes are likely to emphasise a minimalist state. Mechanisms may favour redistribution based on population data in an approach that is ideologically motivated towards equitability and transparency, rather than special interests.

Chapter Two has also established that the neo-liberal state tends to favour redistribution to community groups whose responsibility it then is to disperse resources to individuals. Under the influence of social cohesion, the state is inclined to follow a 'whole-of-government' approach, and to require the measurement of outcomes for wellbeing. This discourse positions government as institutionally responsive and able to act to protect the rights and interests of individuals.

This section references these discursive elements of redistribution in an analysis of the claims made by NGOs. Following this, the points at which the discourses conflict or collaborate will be discussed.

Claims for better, or more, redistribution to the sector, articulated through neo-liberal discourse included narratives citing economic efficiencies and justifying the provision of resources to NGOs in order to conduct resettlement activities. As will be demonstrated below, these narratives had the effect of constructing the

refugee or migrant subject as a failed neo-liberal subject, while simultaneously developing the NGO as a positive subject. A further strand of neo-liberalism present in these claims can be seen in the development of ‘need’ as belonging to a failed neo-liberal subject, the point at which the articulation of migrant or refugee ‘need’ to justify a claim for redistribution develops another marginalising representation.

The first of these dominant neo-liberal narratives implicit in the claims for redistribution expresses the drive towards greater economic efficiency. As one survey respondent wrote: “As a country we can do better in resettlement and achieve better outcomes without spending any more money” (Claim 5, NGO survey, Appendix B). While this claim suggests that resettlement does not require more redistribution, it is still a redistributive claim which suggests that allocating resources differently will result in better outcomes. In this neo-liberal narrative, the protagonist who can do better in resettlement is the host country (referred to as “we”), and thus, by extension, the NGO rather than the refugee or migrant subject, implicitly constructed as ‘them’ in this rendering.

This neo-liberal narrative about the importance of economic efficiency ushers in the claim that resources should be given to NGOs in order to facilitate resettlement. In order to develop this claim, several interviewees articulated a narrative about the failed neo-liberal subject - the refugee - and the positive neo-liberal subject - the NGO.³⁴ These claims framed the NGO as an expert in their field and as requiring resources in order to meet the needs or rights of individuals. One interviewee described their Pākeha-managed organisation as being successful compared to refugee-run organisations, and explained why resources were required by the organisation to support individuals, who “even if they know what they want... would struggle to achieve it”. This interviewee explained that “It’s really not probably until a second generation comes through... [that the] chances of success are higher. The system works but it takes a generation and we try to speed that up as much as we can” (Participant B, Interview, 5 Nov. 2010). This narrative uses the neo-liberal representation of expertise both explicitly, as the

³⁴Participant B (Interview, 5 Nov. 2010), Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant G (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). These interviewees did not refer to the ‘failed neo-liberal subject’ as such, this is my interpretation.

interviewee comments, “they see us as experts” (Participant B, Interview, 5 Nov. 2010), and implicitly, as the interviewee positions him/herself as able to comment on the generational adaption of refugees to “the system”. At the same time, the neo-liberal narrative evokes the refugee as deficient and lacking, and unable to achieve their goals, if they even know what they are. This narrative is used to position the organisation as the best recipients of funding to provide service to individuals. Indeed, one interviewee said:

When they [refugees] come and say we have a problem we want to do something, then we [the organisation] have expertise in knowing what kinds of things have worked around the world, we have credibility with government, because if some of the groups said look this is what we would like to do, well they don’t have professional expertise and they don’t know how to speak government language. (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010)

Part of the narrative of expertise, and another point at which neo-liberal discourses became apparent in the interviews, related to the concept of ‘translation’. The interviewee cited above said “One of the things you have to be able to do is translate what comes from the grassroots” (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010). Here, the interviewee was referring to the process of making a claim for redistribution to meet the needs of refugee people. This interviewee described the NGO as taking the position of ‘translator’ between government and migrant and refugee people, stating: “We are *translating* the perceived and expressed needs of people who arrived as refugees into something that government can translate into policy and into resources” (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010; my emphasis).

Translation is a concept that uses an intermediary to do the work of making meaning out of different language and cultural communications. Seen in this way, translation is a useful tool in a neo-liberal policy framework, as it allows government to ignore difference and to contract to another party (NGOs) for making sense of difference. In critiques of neo-liberal discourse, it is clear that a person who fails to meet a neo-liberal representation requires another to speak for

them (Dowse, 2009). Thus, the idea that the NGO may be a ‘translator’, and hence situated between two groups that otherwise could not speak to each other, indicates a neo-liberal narrative that references contracting. The idea that “We are kind of an interpreter for government” (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), directly references both the successful NGO contractor and the failure of the refugee to be able to contract alone.

Lastly were claims about the ‘need’ or ‘right’ of the refugee or migrant community or individual, with the NGO advancing the claim as a form of advocacy. As referred to in Chapter Two, ‘need’ can be used as a rationale for redistribution in either multicultural or neo-liberal discourse, but has different implications in each discourse. Earlier in this chapter, it was clear that ‘need’ also developed differently in different data sources. The ‘need’ that appeared on NGO websites, however, is revealed through analysis of the examples below to be a neo-liberal one that works to justify resource distribution to NGOs by developing the migrant or refugee subject as requiring an intermediary between the subject and society:

Do you *need* some help settling in? (HMST, n.d.; my emphasis)

We offer a range of English language support for all migrants, refugees and returning kiwis, *needing* advice and referral. (ARMS, n.d.a; my emphasis)

Programmes focus on the *immediate needs* of learners. These are often related to developing the language skills to effectively access everyday life in New Zealand. (Szabo, 2010, p. 3; my emphasis)

Each of these statements claims the ‘need’ as belonging to an individual, an indicator of neo-liberal framing. In the first, the individual is directly hailed as the subject, “you”. In the second statement, the reference to “all migrants, refugees and returning kiwis” in fact also refers to the individual. Although the ‘group’ populations of ‘migrants’ and ‘refugees’ are mentioned, the services of advice, referral and English language support are those offered to individuals rather

communities. The third statement refers to learners as individual subjects. More significantly, however, neo-liberalism is also present in all three examples as the texts develop the idea of migrants and refugees being outside society and as needing a bridge to inclusion. The first example offers help to those who are unable to settle themselves – offering implicitly to bridge the gap to allow a person to become a member of society in Aotearoa New Zealand. The second example carries the same implied message, though less explicitly. The third example is the most explicit, as it explains that the services offered by the organisation, English Language Partners, will enable people to ‘access everyday life in New Zealand’, as if the life that the learner is currently living fails to connect with ‘normal’ parameters of the everyday. It is a ‘need for inclusion’ that again constructs a picture of a failed or deficient neo-liberal subject who requires NGO assistance to facilitate their social inclusion.

Thus far, this section has described the points at which neo-liberal discourse is implicated in building claims for redistribution and the construction of a failed or deficient neo-liberal subject that is implicit in some of these claims. The discussion now turns to the use of multicultural discourse by NGOs for making redistributive claims. Multicultural discourse particularly informed two procedural claims; firstly, that decisions about redistribution should be targeted to particular cultural groups, and secondly, the claim that decisions about redistribution should only be made after listening to ‘different’ voices.

Firstly, claims for redistribution that drew on multicultural discourse included those claiming that resources should be targeted towards particular cultural groups. As noted in a survey response,

We believe migrant issues are better addressed by migrants themselves because they understand their own culture and its intricacies and have had first-hand experience of how to immigrate. In this light, it is worthwhile considering empowering well-settled migrants to assist in their own community. (Claim 24, NGO survey, Appendix B)

This is a claim for redistribution that echoes neo-liberal discourse in positioning the migrant as an ‘expert’, but privileges multicultural discourse. While it uses a neo-liberal positioning of the cultural ‘expert’ with specialised knowledge, the argument is ultimately a multicultural one because multicultural discourse advocates the provision of resources to a community to (at least) empower them to resolve issues within that community themselves. The above narrative refers to migrants as a ‘community’ in one sense, but also refers to the cultures within the population group of ‘migrants’. The idea that redistribution should be based on provision to cultural communities to address their own needs was further explained in one of the interviews: “We’re going down to the level of community, Japanese trying to help another Japanese rather than Filipino helping a Japanese” (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010). This statement is typical of one that locates cultural specificity – of the claimants (Japanese, Filipino) but also of who is best positioned to deliver services. Thus, the narrative flirts with neo-liberalism by referencing cultural expertise, but is based in the multicultural discursive imperatives of requiring special rights for cultural groups.

Related to claims of determining how redistribution should proceed was the demand that “nothing about us, without us” (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum, 2011).³⁵ This was framed by rights-based multicultural discourse in interviews, which explained that claims should be communicated through a preferred approach of partnership – a narrative that differentiated itself from that of the neo-liberal concept of ‘translation’.

NGOs using a multicultural discourse provided a different construction of their role in procedural inclusion than that of ‘translation’. While these interviewees

³⁵ The political climate in Aotearoa New Zealand carries strong views on indigeneity and colonialism, from a bicultural standpoint, and has often accepted the procedural claim that Māori should be part of decision-making bodies. For example, the government funded Family Planning Organisation interprets the ‘Partnership’ principle of the Treaty of Waitangi as meaning “The Treaty guarantees to Māori people a share in the decision-making power in organisations at all levels.” (Māori Development and the Treaty of Waitangi, 2011). The Waitangi Tribunal interprets partnership as requiring Pākehā and Māori partners to act towards each other reasonably and with the utmost good faith (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993). This claim is part of the principle of partnership, one of the key principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, by which the Waitangi Tribunal measures claims. As this, the claim that all people who are affected should be included in the decision-making processes of redistribution connects with a bicultural claim of right but also links to a multicultural claim of right accorded to cultural difference.

acknowledged that having cultural or religious ‘difference’ around the meeting table could cause difficulties in terms of communication, they extended a multicultural narrative to explain how this difference should be addressed.³⁶ Firstly, one interviewee explained that many of the refugee people sitting around the table were not there in a paid capacity and thus had different priorities in terms of time and outcomes from a meeting, a consideration that all parties could acknowledge and adjust to at the outset of an ‘inclusive’ meeting. This interviewee then explained that it is important for refugee and migrant people to state their claims, and for government to hear things in ‘different’ ways. Communication, in this multicultural sense, is less about the language that is spoken than the attitude of the listener. “It is important for communication for people to listen in a different way, and often it’s not comfortable” (Participant F, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). This kind of communication, the interviewee explained further, meant that a person had to have an awareness and acknowledgement of their own culture first to enable them to step outside their own ethnocentric position.

The aspects of this type of communication that are particularly multicultural are those that require people to be culturally attuned, not just in their active ‘talking’, but in their listening as well. Whereas the concept of translation allows a difference-blind government to listen in whatever ways it is accustomed to, this multicultural narrative of claims-making asks that actors participating in the dialogue acknowledge their own culture – an important marker of multicultural discourse – and listen to the different cultural expressions of others.

There are thus two important narratives within which multicultural discourse was used to develop claims for redistribution, and particularly the process of redistribution. These are claims for redistribution targeted to particular cultural groups, and claims for partners in the redistributive process to listen to different voices – a claim which conflicts directly with the neo-liberal framing of the NGO as ‘translator’. This section has also described the involvement of neo-liberalism in the making of claims. The chapter now turns closer attention to the particular

³⁶ Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010) talked about listening to and trying new things, even if they didn’t seem appropriate at first. Participant F (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010) comments are used in text.

points at which the discourses conflict or collaborate to make claims for redistribution.

Discourses in conflict and alignment

Neo-liberal and multicultural discourses of redistribution obviously conflict at several points, but may also potentially align to create social justice. This section uses the claims about the redistributive process outlined in the first section to elaborate the conflicts and alignment between the discourses, and to point to the strategies that NGOs used to negotiate these.

The first conflicts that will be considered are those in which NGOs claimed that the processes of neo-liberal redistribution followed by the state impacted negatively on their organisation, or on refugee or migrant communities in some way. These conflicts spanned three claims:

- a) the conflict between neo-liberal narratives of majority issues-based redistribution vs. multicultural narratives of the special rights or needs of cultural communities;
- b) the conflict between neo-liberal narratives of measurement of services and multicultural narratives of appropriate measurement for small communities with special circumstances; and
- c) the conflict between neo-liberal narratives of economic efficiencies and multicultural narratives of supporting culturally-based organisations.

NGOs used two different strategies in response to these discursive conflicts. In (a) and (b) above, NGOs can be seen to use multicultural narratives to counter neo-liberal narratives. In (c), NGOs can be seen to mimic neo-liberal discourse in order to meet multicultural aims. These strategies are discussed further in this section, which then moves to discuss the points of strategic alignment between these two discourses, found in narratives of partnership and the whole-of-government approach.

Firstly, counter-claims were made against the neo-liberal drive towards efficient redistribution, which is premised on resolving issues of majority groups, and

which one interviewee claimed meant that “DoL is not focused on communities but rather on issues and trends. Thus DoL has a majority focus... which include(s) a lot of generalisations” (Participant D, Interview, 8 Nov. 2010). In this narrative, the interviewee directly contrasted the state’s neo-liberal model of redistribution to resolve majority issues against a ‘difference’ model of redistribution, which the same interviewee described as being “about working with communities around whatever they need to be a strong community.” This latter model of redistribution is a multicultural one, focused on communities defined by culture or ethnicity and meeting multicultural, rather than neo-liberal, needs. The contrasting of the two, and the sense in this narrative that the latter model was the appropriate one to guide policies of redistribution, highlights the use by this interviewee of one discourse (multiculturalism) to counter the other (neo-liberalism) over the premises of redistribution, discrediting the neo-liberal model as including “a lot of generalisations” while privileging the multicultural model.

This countering of neo-liberal discourse was also seen in the claims that the measurement processes in place for NGOs at the moment are too strenuous and inappropriate for small populations of refugees or migrants, who have special circumstances. This is an argument against a (state-favoured) neo-liberal position that places emphasis on standardised measurement of outcomes as important in a contracting environment to protect against self-interest of delivery agents. Against this neo-liberal position, NGOs countered with a multicultural narrative of outcomes needing to relate to specially-defined populations, rather than general populations. Several interviewees told a story of building a new measurement process to report to government, because the outcomes the NGO was originally required to report against simply did not fit with the populations or the work that the NGO did. When asked how this counter-claim was received by government, interviewees responded that the different measurement systems had been accepted, and one interviewee described the positive result as possible because:

It is getting the government to see that we are so *inoffensive* that they can acknowledge that ‘yes, this is a way of dealing with a group that we perceive as being different so yeah, okay, if that keeps you happy’.
(Participant G, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010; my emphasis)

In this quote, the interviewee identifies that government perceive the ‘group’ (migrants and refugees) as being ‘different’ and are prepared to allow for the different measurement. The strategy that this interviewee describes is that of the NGO first establishing the counter-claim but then seemingly melting into the background – being “inoffensive” and thus, perhaps, masking the multicultural intent of providing ‘special rights’ in terms of measurement of outcomes. The possible ‘masking’ of multicultural intent described above is more clearly seen in claims for redistribution of resources to support an organisation’s purpose, as seen below.

Conflict between the two discourses thus emerged when NGOs related the shortcomings of neo-liberal drives towards economic efficiencies and claimed redistribution. The neo-liberal drive towards economic efficiency, as it impacts on NGOs, is encapsulated on the website of the OCVS. This Office advances a neo-liberal narrative in order to refocus community groups away from their own financial survival and towards society’s ‘outcomes’ in a time of recession:

The tighter economic times and shifts in priorities may bring the ongoing existence of your community organisation into question. At such times, it is important to keep focused on the results and outcomes you are trying to achieve, rather than solely focusing on organisational survival. The reality is that organisations wind down and start up all the time - so perhaps the lifecycle of your organisation is simply at an end. (OCVS, 2010)

This narrative indicates that the state is unsympathetic to the existence of community organisations, leaving them fragile and – in difficult economic times – unsupported. This narrative can be justified as a neo-liberal efficiency, and is also indicative of the turn towards social cohesion in neo-liberalism as it emphasises the outcomes for the whole of society – the idea that the society is of greater importance than the individual organisation, which is replaceable. The narrative that this example provides is in conflict with multicultural discourse, which requires the ongoing funding of potentially financially ‘unsustainable’ organisations to meet the needs and preserve the rights of cultural groups. It is a

clear area of conflict between a discourse (neo-liberalism) that has promoted community groups for their ability to economically provide government defined services and can thus disestablish them for the same reason, as opposed to a discourse (multiculturalism) that considers them as having a social and rights-based intrinsic value.

Against this direction from government, survey respondents and interviewees articulated narratives that ‘mimic’ neo-liberal discourse but position it to generate a multicultural result. Thus, they described their organisations as providing ‘niche’ or vital services, mimicking narratives of enterprise. As one survey respondent wrote, referring here to government meeting the needs of community organisations, “It is important that any government provides more financial support to these types of community organisations because they fulfil a huge gap in the New Zealand economy” (Claim 39, NGO survey, Appendix B). Another survey participant wrote that government should provide “Robust support for ‘Grassroots’ organisations with high demand of services and needs” (Claim 44, NGO survey, Appendix B).

Claims for financial support for organisations were, in the interviews, directly linked to the work that particular NGOs are doing. In the following claim, made during a conversation about the provision of resources to the organisation in order to work with refugee populations, it is framed as a responsibility, or an obligation of government to provide resources to the organisation due to international obligations under the refugee quota system: “The nature of the New Zealand quota composition means that there are certain requirements that come with that. Requirements for government in relation to resourcing” (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010). Mimicry is also present in this claim, which evokes the language of market mechanisms.

Such claims were typically couched in ‘undemanding’ terms in which the respondent invisibilised the recipient of the redistribution by using generalised terms such as ‘community organisations’ or ‘grassroots organisations’, and also positioned redistribution as the rational ‘effect’ of a ‘cause’, thus masking this claim in a narrative overtly drawing on market mechanisms and rationality.

In some examples, the claimant almost appeared disinterested because of the invisibility of the NGO and the migrant or refugee recipient. For example, one survey response was: “The provision of better material support by host governments can result in significant health improvements” (Claim 8, NGO survey, Appendix B). Although it is perhaps obvious in the context of this research and the work of the NGO, this statement doesn’t specify who the resources should go to or who gains in health. Instead, the claim is made in terms of a cause and effect mechanism which suggests that *if* government provides redistribution (cause), *then* there will be health improvements (effect). ‘Host governments’ are responsible, in this mechanism, for the decisions about and the effects of redistribution. The statement is softened by the use of terms such as ‘better’ material support and health ‘improvements’, against which there is no standard for measurement of appropriate support, or being healthy. The final ‘qualifier’ in this statement is the modal auxiliary ‘can’, which expresses a theoretical possibility for the cause and effect to hang on. The soft ‘can’, as opposed to imperatives such as ‘will’ or ‘does’, makes this claim less ‘demanding’. These aspects of style are what van Dijk (1991) points to as choices that actors make between different textual structures, which highlight the use of particular discourses. Thus, this can be seen to be a clear use of neo-liberal discourse.

The invisibilisation of the recipient has several advantages when making claims to a neo-liberal state. Firstly, it ostensibly allows for a claim to be made to which the state can respond to in a ‘difference-blind’ manner. The state can therefore make responses to a claim that does not have an explicit recipient in a manner that avoids implying or giving the impression of prejudice on the states behalf, or market failure. Secondly, the invisibilisation of the recipient in these claims means the claimant is not asking for something from the state in their own interests, but rather in the interests of wider society or even the state, in terms of ensuring it fulfils international obligations and lives up to ascribed principles.

The style of positioning of redistribution as a rational cause and effect of the marketplace in these claims mimics neo-liberal discourse. The first claim (presented on p. 84) argues that *because* NGOs fill a huge gap in society (cause),

then it is important to provide financial support (effect). The second claim (see p. 84) implies that it is *because* of the high demand for services (cause) that robust support is needed (effect). This positioning is most obvious in the quotation above (see p.84) that refers to the requirements on government, which effectively states that *because* the state accepts refugees (cause), *then* government must adequately resource them (effect). However, the effect of these claims, considered as a whole, is to serve multicultural aims. The first two claims are for redistribution of resources to community organisations which work to support refugee, migrant, and ethnic communities become self-supporting. The third claim is for redistribution to meet the needs of quota refugees. Mimicking neo-liberal discourse and harnessing the turn to social cohesion, these claims retain a multicultural aim of rectifying structural injustice through recognising and redistributing resources based on cultural difference, a necessary feature of work in the settlement sector and discussed in all the interviews.

The previous three examples of conflict between the discourses have focused on the conflict between neo-liberal and multicultural discourses which show NGOs positioning themselves in various ways in response to a government discourse. These included using one discourse to counter another, and possibly couching the outcomes favoured by one discourse in the language of the other. These are all points at which redistributive claims were advanced using narratives that illustrate the conflict between the two discourses and the strategies used by NGOs in the face of this conflict. However, there were also instances where redistributive claims were advanced in ways that garnered support from both neo-liberal and multicultural discourses. These examples of discourses aligning, discussed below, included the claim for a whole-of-government approach, and the narrative of partnership.

As discussed above, a neo-liberal state favours distribution through majority population models, rather than special interests. However, in Aotearoa New Zealand some government departments – MSD is a clear example - are mandated to provide for ‘special’ populations. The difficulty that this presents for NGOs was described by one interviewee in the following way:

We've got two camps, you're either predominantly DoL funded or you're in the good books of MSD ... and if you're not in their good books you have to more stringently keep to the language of DoL because you haven't got the way of using Settling In languaging because you're not funded by them. (Participant D, Interview, 8 Nov. 2010)

Seeking to intervene in this environment, in which “there is no way we're leading the dance” (Participant D, Interview, 8 Nov. 2010), NGOs made the claim that “We need a whole-of-government approach” (Claim 6, NGO survey, Appendix B). While the social cohesion turn to neo-liberalism is clearly implicated in a whole-of-government approach (Larner & Butler, 2005), the reason that interviewees gave for making this claim was that this approach pits the two discourses against each other at a governmental level, and favours the development of claims-resolutions that are enhanced by multicultural discourses, as opposed to claims-resolutions that draw purely on neo-liberalism. Without a whole-of-government approach, as two interviewees described, smaller population groups such as those that make up refugee communities are simply not seen as a priority for some government departments.³⁷ Indeed, one interviewee recalled an instance when his/her organisation approached their regional DHB for funding and were told that the population group they were working with was not a priority (Participant B, Interview, 5 Nov. 2010). However, an interdepartmental group approach has the potential to pit this neo-liberal model of redistribution based on population size against a multicultural model of redistribution based on special needs, without this argument having to be carried by the NGO. That is to say, interviewees believed that in a ‘whole-of-government approach’, actors from government departments such as MSD could effectively advocate for multicultural outcomes. The narrative of neo-liberalism that allows for the whole-of-government approach is therefore compatible with narratives of multiculturalism which understand government and society as plural and made up of competing sectors. The two discourses together provide the inter-discursive space in which NGOs and government can become partners in settlement.

³⁷ As described by Participant B (Interview, 5 Nov. 2010) and Participant D (Interview, 8 Nov. 2010).

The other significant point at which the discourses were aligned in the making of claims for redistribution was over the narrative of partnership. Under the turn towards social cohesion that neo-liberalism has made, partnership is an important narrative that has, perhaps, redefined contracting. While partnership does not play an important part in multicultural discourse in a theoretical sense, NGOs making claims for redistribution used the neo-liberal concept of partnership to make claims for redistribution to special groups and through plural systems – a multicultural claim. Once in this partnership model, therefore, one interviewee described their ability to ensure that government did their part for the small cultural population groups the organisation was working with as a matter of “making sure that all partners pull their weight” (Participant B, Interview, 5 Nov. 2010).

Another sense in which this neo-liberal/social cohesion ‘partnership’ narrative was aligned with a discourse of multiculturalism was when NGOs made redistributive claims alongside their refugee or migrant ‘partners’. These claims were described as having more validity when people of different cultures and backgrounds were able to make the claims together as ‘partners’. This sentiment was echoed in the idea that NGOs also came together to make claims, in a multicultural sense, in that each organisation carried its own culture, but partnered with other organisations to provide safety in numbers in a dangerous neo-liberal environment – “we move in packs”, said one interviewee wryly (Participant I, Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

These narratives show the use of the powerful concept of partnership collaborating with multiculturalism. While there was also concern expressed about whether ‘partnership’ really existed in the sector, and whether partnership could actually exist given the power imbalances in the sector,³⁸ the narratives generally coalesced to give strength to claims for redistribution made by NGOs, a process which I suggest indicates the strategic deployment of these two discourses by the actors within NGOs.

³⁸ Participant B (Interview, 5 Nov. 2010) argued that the organisation provided expertise, not partnership. Conversely, Participant F (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010) argued that partnership was difficult to establish because of the under-resourcing of refugee and migrant ‘partners’.

Discussion and implications

Thus far, this chapter has described the claims for redistribution that are made by NGOs working in the settlement sector. It has examined and categorised these claims, noting that there are two types of claims, including those that are a direct claim for resources, and those that claim that the processes of redistribution and decision-making about redistribution should be different. Following this, the chapter considered the discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism interacting in these claims, and established that NGOs use the discourses in multiple ways; to counter, to mimic and to collaborate in the production of claims to the state for redistribution.

However, the analysis of conflict between the discourses highlighted multiple points at which NGOs struggled to make claims for redistribution within a neo-liberal state discourse, which particularly conflicts with claims for resources. It was earlier noted that the majority of claims that NGOs made for redistribution were not claims for resources, but claims about the process of redistribution. The spread of claims showed a distinct foregrounding of claims about process and a backgrounding of claims for resources, both in the number of claims made and in the manner in which claims were made. Claims for resources within a neo-liberal policy framework are problematic because they are inherently competitive and potentially confrontational in an environment where there are limited resources and every claim for resources directly competes with other such claims. The presence of these counter-claims, and the competitive difficulties inherent in making resource claims within a neo-liberal state, could account for the low incidence of these claims in comparison to the distributive process claims.

The greater number of claims about the redistributive process may also be explained by the overlaps between the discourses at two points of process – the ‘whole-of-government’ approach and ‘partnership’. These overlaps meant the narratives that were articulated satisfied both multicultural and neo-liberal imperatives. If this is the case, the frequent use of these narratives to make claims about the redistributive process may point to the strategic use of discourse by NGOs to make effective claims.

The analysis also showed that while the use of neo-liberal discourse potentially provided more redistribution for NGOs, it also created a negative alignment to the state for refugee and migrant subjects. For example, in each of the statements of need provided on p. 77, the individual is positioned in a less powerful position than the service provider, and as requiring mediation in order to make the connection to the state in the manner required. In each, the individual is positioned as having needs rather than having resources, in a negative alignment with the state. Furthermore, the statements on p. 77 build a negative relationship to the state in terms of social cohesion. This is most explicit in statement three, which refers to the relationship as being one of ‘effective access’ to society, as negotiated by the NGO. The social cohesion turn to neo-liberalism is, of course, closely aligned to providing access to society for subjects unable to manage their own inclusion.

Further negative alignment to the state for the refugee or migrant subject was evidenced in the use of the term ‘translation’ as a process by which claims of redistribution are made by NGOs on behalf of migrants and refugees to the state. This role, established as neo-liberal in nature, allows NGOs to position themselves as the most effective receiver of financial resources in order to develop the funding into a resource of health, language or to meet other needs for refugee or migrant populations.

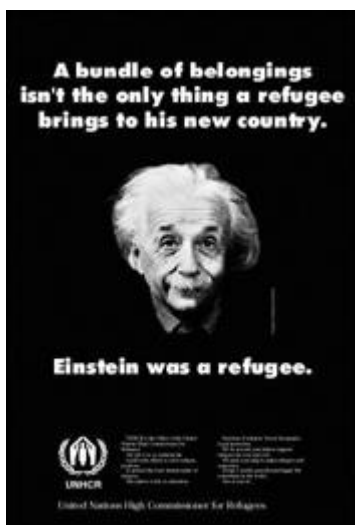
Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the claims that are made by NGOs for redistribution – claims which relate to what resources should be redistributed, how redistribution processes and decisions should proceed, and the appropriate measurement of redistribution. I have established that both neo-liberal and multicultural discourses are involved in this struggle over redistribution. Aside from outlining these points of conflict and alignment between these discourses, however, at this point in the thesis it is useful to return to the dynamics between recognition and redistribution, which are the two axes along which claims are predominantly made, and which Fraser (1997) postulates are the most important axes to address in order to develop outcomes for justice.

This analysis shows that an attention to both redistribution and recognition axes is not enough – it is important also to consider what discourses the axes are operating through in order to gain a clearer perspective on what the discourses are producing in terms of alignments with the state, and what is likely, in the longer term, to produce more positive alignments to the state for refugee and migrant citizens. This analysis suggests that social justice in the settlement sector requires ongoing attention to multicultural discourses that can be made to work in strategic alignment with, or used to counter neo-liberal discourses that produce negative subject positions for marginalised subjects. This analysis also shows that close attention to the narratives of neo-liberalism, particularly as it is enhanced by social cohesion discourses, can provide better redistribution in terms of multicultural outcomes for refugee and migrant subjects.

In defining the way that representations of both migrants and refugees, and NGOs, are used within discourse to develop claims for redistribution, this chapter has already touched on claims for recognition. The next chapter looks closely at these claims when they are made by NGOs in the settlement sector, and considers the ways in which the discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism contribute to them.

Chapter Four: “Einstein was a refugee”



(UNHCR, n.d., Poster)

NGOs working in the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate claims to the state in order to improve the services offered to refugees and migrants, and in order to improve the status of these populations in society. The previous chapter explored the first axis of these claims, those for and about redistribution. This chapter explores the second axis of claims, those for recognition. As the title of this chapter offers an example of, claims for recognition in the settlement sector aim to ‘revalue’ refugee and migrant subjects. This chapter uses the theory of discursively constructed claims for recognition that was elaborated in Chapter Two in the analysis of empirical research conducted with people working in community organisations.

Claims for recognition from the state: an overview

NGOs are closely involved in the process of claims-making for migrant and refugee people. Chapter One described the way in which, for people who have arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand as migrants or refugees, claims for recognition and redistribution are negotiated by government and NGOs. As detailed in Chapter One, NGOs inhabit a position where they are able to wield some power to make representations of refugee and migrant subjects as part of claims for redistribution. Survey data from participating organisations also indicated that

subject representations were not simply made as part of claims-making for redistribution, but constituted a claim in themselves. When asked what they wanted to tell government about the populations they worked with (Appendix B), all but one survey respondent developed claims for recognition that referred to how refugee and migrant subjects should be represented, as well as making claims for redistribution. However, the claims about subject representation came first in their responses, and were repeated more than once in almost all surveys. This analysis therefore treats statements from NGOs that represent refugee and migrant subjects as at least partially normative, and thus a claim. As one interviewee said about the positive representations that are made, “I think it’s aspirational, I mean when I talk like that... it’s how I would like the situation to be” (Participant G, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). Thus, as an aspirational narrative, a normative narrative and as a realised narrative, these representations exist as a claim to the state for a certain type of recognition of the refugee and migrant subject.

As discussed in Chapter Two, claims for recognition are claims that aim to revalue the way that a person or a group of people are misrepresented in society. Instances of misrecognition are different depending on what discourse is being used, and include misrecognition perpetuated by neo-liberal discourse which describes individuals as needy, at risk and damaged (Dowse, 2009; Fisher, 2008; Fraser, 1989), or embodying difference that is negative for society (Humpage & Fleras, 2001), as well as misrecognition perpetuated by a multicultural discourse that suggests some subjects are culturally incompetent or do not retain cultural or community ‘difference’ (pp. 56-61).

As previously noted, neo-liberalism and multiculturalism are discourses that do not often ‘speak’ to each other. Literature that deals with neo-liberal representations, such as presented by Moore (2008) and Dowse (2008), is infrequently related specifically to multiple ethnic groups, and therefore finds multiculturalism outside of its scope. When literature like this does discuss these subjects, such as Dumbrill (2009), it has focused on how neo-liberal representations affect subjects in certain sectors, rather than considering alternative discourses, such as multiculturalism, that might also be seen operating in the sector. The literature about multiculturalism links with neo-liberalism at

points within the social cohesion critique, such as whether or not multiculturalism achieves outcomes of social cohesion and inclusion (as in the Runnymede Trust, 2000 or Parekh, 2005), but it does not focus on representations in the way that critiques of neo-liberal discourses do. However, in the data that I have gathered, there are examples of these discourses being entwined. The following analysis therefore traverses these claims to discover points of conflict and alignment in the ways that NGOs employ the discourses for recognition.

This chapter identifies the dominant claim for recognition of refugee and migrant subjects as a claim that the subject is a ‘contributor’. Contribution is referred to both in terms of economic contribution and in terms of societal contribution, articulated as connection. This representation was strongly evident in the data and appears to bear significant resemblance to the discourse of neo-liberalism affected by the turn towards social cohesion, which emphasises contribution (Spoonley et al., 2005), while also using multiculturalism as a supporting discourse in its development. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two suggested that neo-liberalism provided representations of rationality, entrepreneurship, and economic self-sufficiency, all of which align in a powerful relationship with the neo-liberal state. These representations are apparent as part of the claim for recognising refugee and migrant subjects as contributors. Neo-liberal discourses, under the social cohesion turn, were also linked with subject representations of connection and social responsibility, both of which appear in the narratives of contribution. Likewise, the literature reviewed in Chapter Two suggested that multiculturalism provided representations of difference enacted through culture and ethnicity. These multicultural representations are less apparent as claims for recognition on their own, although they are there, and in places, all these representations come together to build a positive picture of contribution by the migrant or refugee subject.

Not all the data showed a strongly positive representation of contribution, however. Some of the conflicts between discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism centred on the NGO articulating a ‘real’ position of disadvantage for the subject marked by difference, which, when placed in juxtaposition to a neo-liberal state, enhances the potential misrecognition of the subject. These positions

of disadvantage included states of mental unwellness and states of poverty, the first of which was articulated as ‘damaged’ and the second as ‘needy’. This chapter particularly explores this conflict between discourses and the impact these representations have on the alignment to the state that they offer for migrant and refugee subjects.

What do NGOs claim for recognition?

In the following narratives, NGOs can be seen to make claims for refugee and migrant subjects to be recognized as contributors to Aotearoa New Zealand. The representation of ‘contributor’ carries both values of economic contribution but also of social connection. A dominant representation of ‘contribution’ is that of the migrant or refugee person who *adds value* to society. This representation refers to a subject whose value is operationalised through a variety of citizenship contributions, including employment, volunteering, or social engagement. Contribution in these terms is encapsulated on the Refugee Services website, which states: “Former refugees can now be found in every walk of life, making a wonderful contribution to the social, cultural and economic fabric of our increasingly multicultural society” (RS, n.d.b). Here, contribution refers to the value of the refugee or migrant in social and economic terms, while also referencing cultural contribution. This was also found in claims for recognition stated in survey responses, such as the claim that “Those from other cultural backgrounds often have wide ranging skills and knowledge to offer New Zealand - that needs to be recognised” (Claim 17, NGO survey, Appendix B).

These claims for recognition develop the representation of the migrant or refugee ‘cultural contributor’ as adding value to society and the economy, and eagerly desiring, as this following quote suggests, to be recognised for it: “We want to show the whole New Zealand society that we bring value and...also contribute to New Zealand” (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010). This interviewee was expressing the goals of a migrant-run organisation, after being asked about the work of the organisation. All three examples reference society as gaining value from the contribution of people from other cultural backgrounds.

The claim that refugee and migrant subjects contribute was widely referred to in the interviews as participants discussed the value of having migrants and refugees engaged in their organisations as employees, volunteers, and board members, saying that they brought in “new ways of doing things” (Participant C, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010) or provided an exchange of learning with other members of the organisation (Participant I, Interview, 4 Nov. 2010). This contribution to the organisation was framed in terms of diversity and innovation and represents the migrant or refugee individual as providing utility to the organisation.³⁹

While the emphasis on skills and utility supports the concept of economic contribution, this was not the only motivation for contribution. Connecting Cultures, the newsletter of English Language Partners, often contains a story about successful migrant employment. In the summer 2010 edition, the story was about the relationship between a person from a refugee background (Re Ber) and the English language volunteer tutor (Maria) that worked with her. The narrative states:

“Re Ber would often say: ‘I need to get a job. I want to be off the benefit and I want to thank the government for all their help since we arrived here’,” says Maria. “This really blew me away. She didn’t want a job so she could be better off, she wanted simply to be *contributing* to society and giving a little back.” (Thompson, 2010, p. 14; my emphasis)

Being an employed person and therefore an ‘economic contributor’ is a representation that is referred to in other examples. Even though these are Maria’s words and not Re Ber’s, this particular example provides a story in which the motivating factors for seeking employment are not self-interest but those of giving and thanking – values that describe social interaction and inclusion.

A further positive but slightly different aspect of the ‘contributor’ representation is that of connection. The claim for subjects to be recognised as providing ‘connection’ was foreshadowed in the website material of NGOs prior to it being

³⁹ Positive utility contributions to the organisation were noted by Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant F (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant G (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), and Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

talked about in interviews, but was not present in survey results. As detailed in the annual report of Christchurch Resettlement Service, the contribution of refugee and migrant staff members is partly one of connection, in which the organisation is “Proud that we are able to employ people from the communities we serve, for essential cultural and linguistic support” (CRS, 2009). The implication of connectivity in this statement resides in the description of people without whom the organisation would not be able to effectively serve communities. A similar narrative was used by Refugees as Survivors New Zealand: “The centre is continuing to train interpreters to become Cultural Brokers, empowering them to work with people from their own culture in a holistic culturally appropriate way” (RASNZ, n.d.). These examples describe the connection to ‘culture’ and different communities provided for the NGO by employing people from different cultures, and from communities that the NGO is working with. The contribution that these employees are making is one of effective connection.

Several interviewees noted and talked about particular refugee or migrant individuals who either contributed connection for the organisation or were themselves ‘connected’ individuals. The migrant or refugee subject who contributes connection was talked about in interviews most frequently in the sense of providing connection between organisations and communities, as was described of one individual in an organisation who “Can be a bit of a middle person because s/he can talk [out] to the communities... and then back through into our own structures” (Participant G, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). However, people like this were also considered to provide connection between ethnic communities and government, seen as developing strength in the organisation and legitimacy with community/clients and with government.⁴⁰ Seven of the interviewees talked about their organisation’s efforts to be connected to the communities they work with, either through employing or contracting refugee and migrant individuals, or by working at a community level to build those connections themselves. Claims for the recognition of refugee and migrant

⁴⁰ These narratives were provided by Participant A (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant D (Interview, 8 Nov. 2010), Participant F (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant G (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), and Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010), and each story related directly to individuals or a role in the organisation.

subjects as contributors, therefore, are developed by NGOs through their representations of these subjects as contributing economically through skills and knowledge, and socially through connection and inclusion.

Much less prevalent than the claims for refugee and migrant subjects to be recognised as contributors, but present nonetheless, were claims for subjects to be recognised as cultural or ethnic, and therefore different. “If we try to understand the Japanese culture as Japanese” one interviewee informed me, describing the work of the organisation, “or Korean culture as Korean, then you will find that these groups of migrants are totally different from one another” (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), and consequently distinct from other cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand. This category of claims for recognition represented the subject as different and as cultural. While this was not a strong strand in the data, as culture and difference were more frequently linked with contribution, it still existed as a claim that cultural difference ought to be recognised and valued more highly in society in its own right.

However, not all the representations that were made of refugee and migrant subjects in the interviews were aimed at making a claim for recognition to improve the status of these subjects within society. Instead, some claims were developed through negative representations. As heralded in Chapter Three, these representations included those that referred to subjects as damaged or needy, and those that referred to subjects involved in leading cultural organisations as ‘gatekeepers’ and therefore difficult to work with. Firstly, several interviewees attributed what they saw as accurate representations of refugee subjects as sometimes being non-contributors to the ‘damage’ sustained by these people, which potentially limited their contribution to society. When discussing the potential ‘deficit’ of talking about need, one interviewee explained that:

These people are very damaged, there is no nice way of putting it, and they do recover, not all are so damaged... they make huge progress, but to pretend that they’re not starting from this very difficult place or they don’t have huge barriers is not doing anybody a service. (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010)

Secondly, a negative representation was attached to the value of ‘connection’ as part of non-contribution. This representation was discussed in interviews and interviewees were directly asked about it. This representation is of an individual who fails to, or refuses to provide connection between NGOs, government, and refugee or migrant communities. Describing the roll-out of a project, one interviewee remarked: “There’s been some gate-keeping, there’s been some blocking, and it hasn’t been useful” (Participant B, Interview, 5 Nov. 2010). Thus a narrative describing how government “might make contact with a community leader and think they’ve made contact with the community” (Participant H, Interview, 4 Nov. 2010) while the community leader isolates the community from real interaction, works to build a representation of non-contribution commonly referred to as ‘gate-keeping’.

These three negative representations – damage, neediness, and gate-keeping all share common features. Interviewees were generally reluctant to address them and only did so in conversation, so they are not apparent in website and survey materials. Further, they are all discursively linked to a notion of having a ‘realistic’ assessment of migrant or refugee individuals or groups. Interviewees discussed the difficulty in making claims for redistribution in which they had to articulate who the resource was for and why it was needed, but simultaneously risked the consequent misrecognition of damage, need or non-connection.⁴¹

The claims for recognition that NGOs make, therefore, include claims that refugees and migrants should be revalued in society as contributors, able to contribute economically and socially. While claims for refugee and migrant subjects to be recognised as ‘different’ or ‘ethnic’ or ‘cultural’ also exist, these claims are largely linked with contribution. Claims of contribution, however, co-exist with representations that position the same subjects as damaged, needy, or difficult, representations which NGOs argue are necessary in order to be realistic about what redistribution is required.

⁴¹ Participant A (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010) and Participant B (Interview, 5 Nov. 2010)

Neo-liberalism and multiculturalism in claims for recognition

Chapter Two provided an analysis of the ways in which claims for recognition align with multicultural and neo-liberal discourses. Claims for recognition within a neo-liberal framework are those built on individualism and emphasise the self-sufficiency of the individual and the subject's responsibility to compete rationally in a marketplace and to maximise their own self-interest. This individual is recognised as one who is competent to contract, is an efficient maximiser of their own utility, and is motivated towards employment. Within critiques of neo-liberal discourse, an individual is 'misrecognised' as needy, and as a failed subject when they are unable to manage their own risk and speak or contract with government for themselves. Under the turn towards social cohesion within neo-liberalism, the discourse emphasises the recognition of the individual as socially connected and interested in contributing to community, and as part of a wider national community. However, there is a danger that this turn to social cohesion means the individual can also be misrecognised as 'excluded', a 'non-contributor', or 'disconnected'.

Multiculturalism, on the other hand, has also discursively produced recognition and misrecognition. Under a multicultural discourse, the individual is recognised as belonging to community and as being realised through their community connections. This individual is recognised and given status in society via affirmations of difference, particularly cultural difference, and is interested in maintaining this difference. In this discourse, the individual suffers misrecognition through racism, and is also misrecognised as isolated, or not belonging to a cultural community.

This section addresses these discursive aspects of recognition within the narratives of refugee and migrant subjects provided by NGOs. Neo-liberal aspects of the representations are discussed first, followed by multicultural aspects. These aspects are discussed briefly, because the data showed more instances of the discourses in interaction than alone. A discussion of the points at which the discourses conflict or collaborate follows, and the chapter ends with a discussion of the potential impact of claims for recognition on migrant and refugee subjects.

The first component of the claim that refugee and migrant subjects should be recognised as contributors to society that reflects a neo-liberal discourse relating to the way that contribution is explicitly framed in economic terms, as the following survey response shows: “Refugees bring knowledge, experience and many different skills to New Zealand. They have much to contribute” (Claim 33, NGO survey, Appendix B). In terms of being a claim of recognition, this statement moves from ‘recognition’ being the important factor, to being recognised in a particular neo-liberal way as the key to contribution. This neo-liberal discursive construction of the representation references the utility of the individual to Aotearoa New Zealand, and refers to ‘knowledge’, ‘experience’ and ‘different skills’ as though they were assets that the refugee subject had gathered together to make a successful migration journey.

The importance of representing a subject using the neo-liberal discursive construction of contribution was further developed in the interviews. One participant explained it as the appropriate discourse to use when making proposals to government, saying “I think you should start your proposal like this ‘The Japanese community are known in the world as hard working, innovative so on and so on’” (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010). This example describes neo-liberal definitions of a successful individual (hard working and innovative) and also references the globalised nature of the Japanese worker. The narrative goes on to refer to the utility of the Japanese worker; in particular, the under-utilisation of their skills in Aotearoa New Zealand. The use of this positive neo-liberal discourse to describe the refugee or migrant subject was very prevalent in three of the interviews.⁴²

Neo-liberal discourse is also implicated in the negative representation of ‘damage’ articulated by interviewees. The representation of (particularly) refugees as ‘damaged’ links directly to critiques of representations derived from neo-liberalism. As with Fisher’s (2008) discussion of the representations made of disabled people as ‘damaged’, which limit their capacity for making claims on the state independently and authorise others to speak on their behalf, in this

⁴² Participant A (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant C (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant I (Interview, 4 Nov. 2010).

formulation, people are represented as ‘damaged’ rather than ‘different’ because their ‘damage’ refers to not being able to manage their own risk, and thus their inability to operate as an ideal neo-liberal individual who is able to rationally choose strategies of calculated risk (Harvey, 2005; Clarke, 2005). Thus, it is a neo-liberal discourse implicated in the attribution of ‘damage’ to refugee subjects. In the data provided by the survey, this ‘damage’ was directly referenced to neo-liberal failure. One survey respondent wrote: “Many people who arrived as refugees are still struggling with resettlement and high unemployment despite many individual success stories” (Claim 4, NGO survey, Appendix B). This response constructs unemployment and the struggle of resettlement as a failure belonging to the individual refugee, rather than belonging to society. While this may not have been the intention of the respondent, the making of this statement to a neo-liberal state heightens the association that already links ‘refugees’ with these struggles, rather than explaining resettlement struggles and unemployment as a failure of society. At the same time, the respondent discounts ‘success’ stories, and thus emphasises the failure in neo-liberal terms for the refugee subject.

These examples have thus far referred to the neo-liberal aspects of the narratives provided. However, the other discourse circulating within the settlement sector, multiculturalism, was also used to develop claims for recognition. These claims, such as the example by Refugee Services, provided on p. 95, referenced difference and community and emphasised the cultural identities of refugee and migrant subjects. Three interviewees talked about refugees and migrants in terms of difference and culture without linking a narrative of contribution to this. Where difference, ethnicity or culture were linked to contribution, as they frequently were, the narratives worked in alignment with neo-liberal discourses. This chapter now turns to examining these points of both conflict and alignment between the discourses.

Discourses in conflict and alignment

Claims that refugees and migrants should be recognised as contributors are directly used to rebut other social narratives, as will be discussed below. As one interviewee said, “There is still fear and ignorance of difference” (Participant G,

Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), making it important for NGOs to make counter-claims for recognition, and the positive revaluing of difference. The discursive conflict, apparent between NGOs as well as between NGOs and society, is about what kind of recognition these claims are for. Are they claims for recognition as a skilled contributor, or are they claims for recognition as different and ethnic?

Most of the examples of claims for recognition made by NGOs for refugee and migrant subjects were either articulated in order to counter another discourse, or provide an example of the two discourses collaborating together. The conflicts between multiculturalism and neo-liberalism were clearly defined, and understood as such, by some interviewees. These conflicts occurred particularly at points where the discourses pitted the representation of the contributor against the non-contributor, or against an 'ethnic' representation, and where they pitted need against neediness. The first of these discursive conflicts (skilled contributor vs. ethnic non-contributor) uses classic neo-liberalism, as well as the social cohesion turn, to counter multicultural misrecognition. The second conflict counters neo-liberal misrecognition with multicultural 'common sense'.

The 'fear' and 'ignorance' of difference, referred to above, is sometimes widely articulated and it affirms a representation of migrants or refugees as non-contributors. Also heard in societal discourse are narratives such as those of Winston Peters, leader of the New Zealand First party, who consistently articulates a position that "There have been huge costs associated with the influx of immigrants over the past two decades. The costs are linked to infrastructure, education, health and social services" (New Zealand First Party, 2008, para. 6). The particularly vitriolic example below, taken from an internet message board, might seem unusual were it not for the fact that multiple message board participants agreed in substance with these comments, which were directly anti-refugee:

We had to fight the w@mkers [sic] at immigration to allow us to get SKILLED WORKERS into NZ where we could give them a full time job and they paid their own way 100% and here we let these people straight in and they expect us to support them 100% ??? What a mug country we

are. Most of the time these refugees have nothing to offer us, no skills, they don't even speak English. \$\$\$\$ drain IMO (Unknown, n.d., para. 6)

The above message board comments, and the comments of Mr Peters, draw on classic neo-liberal discourses as well as negative aspects of social cohesion and multicultural discourses to perpetuate misrecognition. The classic neo-liberal discourse is easy to see, as it relates to the expense of the migrant to the country. The articulation of multicultural misrecognition is nestled into the comment “they don’t even speak English”, which suggests their difference is problematic.

When contribution is measured in neo-liberal terms, such as whether refugees are or are not economic contributors, the counter-representation that NGOs build of the skilled contributor to the economy becomes an instance of neo-liberal discourse being used to counter a misrecognition that draws on both neo-liberal and multicultural discourse. In response to such misrecognition, of course, NGOs can counter with narratives such as that taken earlier from the Refugee Services website (referred to on p. 95), which build contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand in neo-liberal, social cohesion and multicultural terms, referencing both discourses to the “wonderful contribution” (Refugee Services, 2010) that refugees make. However, the addition of multicultural discourse into this counter-narrative was not frequently found in the data. In describing the difficulty of expressing multicultural ‘difference’, particularly in response to a neo-liberal discourse that considers this to be non-contribution, one interviewee recognised that the sector has moved to a discursive position which is “about recognising the value and contribution of people rather than just recognising difference” (Participant G, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). The conflict between the two discourses at this point indicates that multiculturalism is not seen to affirm the idea of contribution and easily creates misrecognition, as in the above examples.

The above comment may herald a move away from a multicultural discourse for recognition, which is also seen in official narratives. Mervyn Singham, Director of the OEA, writes “As an ethnic minority person, I do not want people to be nice to me, help me settle better and retain my mother tongue to prevent me from becoming a problem to the community” (Singham, 2006, p. 36). The idea the

Singham is critiquing here is that social cohesion (not being a ‘problem’) can be achieved through ‘multicultural’ actions. Being ‘nice’ to people from an ethnic minority because they are different, helping with settlement, and ensuring resources for mother-tongue language learning are all multicultural actions and invoke multicultural discourse. Instead, Singham argues that social cohesion should be achieved through the neo-liberal discourse of valuing contribution to society: “I want to be valued and included because my contributions as a migrant New Zealander are recognised and respected. This preserves my dignity” (Singham, 2006, p. 36). Thus, claims for recognition as a neo-liberal contributor are created to counter misrecognition of multicultural non-contributors as just ‘ethnic’ or ‘cultural’.

The second conflict addressed in this section is between need and the negative neo-liberal subject position of ‘needy’. Neediness is a representation that is vigorously critiqued in literature dealing with neo-liberal representations. It has also been critiqued locally, within this sector, by ChangeMakers Refugee Forum (Rother, 2008). The critique argues that talking about ‘need’ when making claims to the state develops a representation of the individual or community as lacking something in order to be fully functioning. To this point Singham also speaks, warning “We must be careful that we do not contribute to entrenching perceptions that ethnic minority people are needy, vulnerable and victimised” (Singham, 2006, p. 36).

The discussions of ‘need’ and ‘deficit’ show the discourses in conflict over whether ‘need’ represents a deficit or not, and in what ways need might refer to a deficit, if it indeed does. Interviewees struggled to reconcile the problem of representing a client as ‘needy’ with what they perceived as the requirement to elaborate a real need in order to provide effective solutions for clients. One interviewee told the following story to highlight this dilemma:

When you say “Oh there’s this new migrant came in and he’s an IT person and he needs a job” then... they say “well, he’s a skilled person, he should know how to find a job so why should we give you money to help him find a job?” but...just remove the IT, remove the skill, just say “recently

moved migrant with small children, family living in small, cramped, poor situation”, just mention all [that] stuff, they [funders] say “ok, poor, poor migrant, ok what can I do to help?” (Participant A, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010)

Thus, ‘need’ is actioned to build a picture of a non-contributor in neo-liberal terms, and is used strategically by NGOs in order to make a claim for redistribution. At this point, however, the claim for redistribution is articulated in such a way as to also develop a point of neo-liberal misrecognition for the refugee or migrant subject.

Some interviewees discussed the difficulty inherent in articulating claims of need and consequently creating representations of neediness, linking ‘need’ to a deficit perspective.⁴³ Interviewees noted the ease for the receiving community of slipping into deficit discourses, and warned particularly of the tendency within the receiving community to see refugees as a needy group, so much so that one said she never talks about “oh, those poor people” because it is a convenient and easy discourse, and deeply problematic (Participant G, Interview, 15 Nov. 2010). On the other hand, others noted that “We have to be practical” (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010) and realistic about what the real problems are. This counter-narrative was a multicultural one, in which structural and historical injustice was articulated by the interviewee to counter the perceived problematic aspects of speaking of ‘deficit’:

There was the example recently of the research project with women at risk which took place... and the women at risk said we don’t like being labelled women at risk, but in order to get the funding to do it, if they weren’t women at risk... and I have to say that also there’s a reality to this kind of thing... look, they’re brought in by the UN [United Nations] under the category of women at risk (Participant E, Interview, 2 Nov. 2010)

⁴³ Participant E (Interview, 2 Nov. 2010), Participant F (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010), Participant G, (Interview, 15 Nov. 2010).

The comment above refers to the women having been subject to injustices that are both structural (related to gender) and historical (related to their journey of migration, which has included fleeing their country of origin). It is a counter-narrative that implies that these injustices do not create stigma, or deficit, of their own accord, and thus one must be realistic about 'labels' and not give in to the potential 'stigma' or deficit, particularly if doing so would jeopardise resources.

Thus far, the discussion has described instances of conflict between the two discourses. However, there were also instances of alignment, particularly over 'connection' and 'value to society'. 'Connection' was framed by a predominantly neo-liberal discourse, but drew on multiculturalism in a supporting sense to develop narratives of cultural connection, or connection despite cultural difference. Likewise, 'value to society' often referenced difference as a positively contributing aspect within a society, rather than a detracting one.

'Connection' is a contribution that is prized in neo-liberal society, and news reports after the Christchurch earthquake used this narrative to create a picture of social cohesion and engagement through voluntary occupation:

Many refugees are staying to help in their communities. The Canterbury Refugee Council chaired by Ahmed Tani has organised more than 50 people from refugee communities to bring spades, shovels and brooms to help clean up around homes and streets. (Refugees as Survivors, 2011b)

This narrative uses two discourses. The reference to 'refugee communities' and a refugee organisation (the Canterbury Refugee Council) reference a multicultural discourse, while the narrative also refers to neo-liberal aspects of work, and in particular neo-liberalism influenced by the turn to social cohesion, in a story of refugees integrated into and supporting a neighbourhood. As illustrated in this example, and in earlier examples on p. 97, while the statements of connection that NGOs make often draw on neo-liberal discourse with its maximisation of individual utility to benefit the economy or society, they also draw on a multicultural discourse of 'cultural skills' and community. The discourses can be seen to collaborate to build a representation of contribution through connection in

terms of social cohesion, and in terms of multiculturalism. In this, they work together to further develop the representation of contribution through connection. Thus, connection is another important part of the ‘contributor’ representation that has considerable resonance with multicultural discourses as well as neo-liberal ones.

Connection was one representation where the discourses collaborated. The other representation was in the value to society that a refugee or migrant person could contribute. In the first example from the Refugee Services website: “Former refugees can now be found in every walk of life, making a wonderful contribution to the social, cultural and economic fabric of our increasingly multicultural society” (Refugee Services, n.d.), multicultural discourse locates refugee communities in our “increasingly multicultural society”, yet neo-liberal discourse is referenced “in every walk of life” – where ‘walk of life’ commonly means professional career path.⁴⁴ The example also referred to social, cultural and economic contributions, neatly tying together these discourses, whereas a purely multicultural discourse would be framed as a cultural contribution to plural society, rather than a professional contribution. Similarly, in the interviews where subjects were represented as bringing in ‘new ways of doing things’, the statement places the value on difference – a multicultural value – in the workplace, which is a neo-liberal site. People from ‘other cultural backgrounds’ are invoked through a multicultural discourse that recognises difference. It is important to note, however, that this multiculturalism doesn’t emphasise either the rights that the discourse associates with difference, or the difficult aspects of difference. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, both are present in the statement and neither discourse negates the other.

This alignment between the discourses is also seen in official narratives. In a 2010 speech, Dr Jonathon Coleman, Minister of Immigration, made the comment that “Economic and social goals are mutually supportive. Immigration brings new people into the workforce and communities, with social impacts on both migrants

⁴⁴ ‘Walk of life’ is interpreted as professional career path, trade or occupation in multiple web definitions, including The Free Dictionary and the Cambridge Dictionary (Farlex, n.d.; Cambridge University Press, n.d.).

and host communities. Positive social outcomes result in positive economic outcomes, and vice versa” (Coleman, 2010 para. 31).

This statement illustrates a representation of ‘contribution’ that draws on both the *value* of new people and the *connection* between migrant and host communities, within a neo-liberal framework of economic and social goals. Dr Coleman’s comment suggests that social recognition of ‘new people’ will directly positively impact economic outcomes. This statement is strongly neo-liberal, but it also retains a background of multicultural discourse, with the idea of ‘new’ impacting society because it is different.

In many of the above statements it appears reasonable and almost self-evident that multicultural discourses interact with neo-liberal discourses without tension. Difference is linked with innovation and given an economic rationale. At the same time, the multicultural imperative of valuing culture is utilised to meet neo-liberal ends of social cohesion and connectedness through occupational engagement. Work is promoted as a means to achieve social harmony; diversity and difference both add value to Aotearoa New Zealand; and paid and unpaid migrant and refugee employment contributes to social cohesion. These statements are highlighted to show the connecting of one discourse with another in a way that garners support from both discourses to build positive representations of migrant and refugee subjects.

Discussion and implications

Thus far, this chapter has described claims for recognition that are made by people working in NGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand. It has traced the discursive origin and development of these claims and highlighted the points at which they align and conflict. Now, this chapter moves to a discussion of the impact of this discursive positioning of claims for recognition, both in terms of the theoretical implications for the strategic use of discourse, and in terms of the impact such use has on migrant and refugee subjects. It is clear that the discursive positioning of claims for recognition allow NGOs to make a strategic alignment between discourses in order to develop stronger and more positive representations of refugee and migrant subjects. However, it is also clear that a narrative of

‘common sense’ articulated to a neo-liberal state is likely to produce points of misrecognition for refugee and migrant subjects.

Using both discourses together to develop a positive representation is a strategy that is frequently used by NGOs, and suggests a more powerful way of making a claim for recognition than using one discourse, since using just a multicultural representation did not appear to be favoured in this analysis. For claims of recognition, the positive representation of ‘contributor’ presents a position where migrant and refugee subjects can be recognised in a strong alignment to the state. The claim to be recognised as a contributor is developed through both neo-liberal and multicultural discourses, and contains a strong emphasis on social cohesion.

Furthermore, the conflict between these two discourses can also be seen to provide the opportunity for an individual who is represented as failed in one discourse to be represented as successful in the other. For example, the ARMS website advises new migrants:

When you first arrive, you may need to take a job at a grade lower than your qualifications or a different job from one you had before. You can use this experience to learn about the 'Kiwi' workplace, learn how to treat your colleagues and managers and find out what the Auckland job market is like. (ARMS, n.d.b)

The classic neo-liberal ‘failure’ implicit in this text, that a person is unable to contribute to the workplace in the manner with which they may have been accustomed, is mitigated by the ‘success’ of learning about social values and experiences, of acknowledging their difference, and learning about others. Even though this success takes place in a neo-liberal site of engagement, the workplace, it implies social cohesion and inclusion. It references the difference of the migrant and the importance of learning about others’ difference. Instead of taking a job at a lower level and being considered a neo-liberal failure, the migrant is represented as being a multicultural/social cohesion ‘success’. This example shows the potential value of multicultural and social cohesion narratives being

used in collaboration to counter a ‘classic’ neo-liberal narrative that would indicate failure.

Lastly, however, the ‘common sense’ that NGOs articulated was seen to produce points of misrecognition for refugee and migrant subjects. One of the strongest points of contention within interviewees narratives was the contradiction that interviewees experienced in their attempts to create positive representations of refugee and migrant people while also articulating the more successful redistributive claim about ‘need’ to the state, which could consequently be a point of misrecognition. In this dilemma, being ‘realistic’ can negatively impact the status of refugee and migrant people, resulting in misrecognition. Recognising the potential for this to happen requires an evaluation of the situation in which the ‘damage’ or ‘need’ is articulated, as within a neo-liberal context, literature has shown that these claims do produce misrecognition.

The impact of this potential misrecognition is evident in the political idea that immigration should be managed to avoid ‘needy’ migrants. When David Cunliffe stated: “Smart, strategic immigration will increasingly make a vital contribution to our economic transformation by focusing on the key drivers of productivity: not only skills, but also capital, technology, and international connections” (Cunliffe, 2007), he was discussing the type of ‘smart strategic’ immigration required to identify ‘contributors’ and avoid people who ‘need’ rather than contribute – people without capital, or technology, or useful international connections. His comment positions the policy response to the ‘need’ of migrants within a neo-liberal framework that talks again about international connections and skills. This narrative has already been seen foreshadowed in the statements from Dr Coleman and Mervyn Singham, which reference a particular type of contributing immigrant and are thus found across the political divide.

Conclusion

This analysis has discussed the claims for recognition that NGOs in the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand make for refugee and migrant subjects. It has analysed them from the perspective of the social and political discourses of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism and has identified both the points of conflict and

alignment between the discourses. In so doing, this chapter has confirmed that both multicultural and neo-liberal discourses are operating in the settlement sector to build claims for recognition. It has thus confirmed that claims of recognition are discursively created and that the discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism interact with each other in the sector, both influencing the constructions that are made of refugee and migrant subjects.

In effect, this chapter has described the foregrounding of neo-liberal discourses in NGO claims for recognition that are made to the state, as well as the backgrounding of multicultural discourses, and has also discussed some of the motivations and strategic reasons for this. Further, this chapter has described the dominant claim for recognition on the state as the claim that refugee and migrant subjects should be recognised as contributors, because of the value they bring socially and economically, and the connection they provide to an international market and to communities within Aotearoa New Zealand. Finally, this chapter has described in detail the quandary faced by NGOs when making a claim of redistribution to the state that concurrently provides misrecognition of the refugee or migrant subject. This quandary raises the question of how should NGOs make claims to meet need without devaluing the status of refugee and migrant people in Aotearoa New Zealand? In the Conclusion, I suggest some practical strategies to address this dilemma, recognising that NGOs continue to walk a discursive tightrope through the settlement sector.

Conclusion: Securing better social justice

This thesis has presented an interrogation of claims to the state from NGOs working in the settlement sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. The investigation has addressed the narratives NGOs use as they make claims for redistribution and recognition for migrant and refugee clients and explored what those narratives mean for these subjects, and for social justice. At the first level, the analysis has investigated the claims-talk narratives themselves, identifying what NGOs say in making claims to the state for better justice, and revealing the discourses that are drawn on in making these claims. At a second level, the analysis has identified how the discourses respond to questions of social justice. Lastly, this thesis has investigated how NGOs negotiate the discourses and has hypothesised about the points at which these negotiations fail or succeed in building social justice.

Fraser's (1997) analysis of social justice outlines the parameters of social justice in society, framed by the key concerns of redistribution and recognition that are addressed in this thesis. Recognising that redistribution and recognition are related responses to questions of social justice that are discursively informed, I have sought to chart the discursive parameters of these concerns in the local context. In order to do this, I identified the two key discourses circulating in the settlement sector as those of neo-liberalism and multiculturalism.

The mapping of the parameters of neo-liberal redistribution generated some interesting points for reflection. While neo-liberalism as an ideology is fundamentally opposed to redistribution, as the dominant state discourse NGOs must necessarily engage with it. My analysis of the parameters of neo-liberalism showed that the discourse encourages the contracting out of resources to non-state actors in order to provide welfare outcomes. Further, neo-liberal redistribution includes a focus on accountability and measurement, reflects a drive towards providing more for less, and stigmatises those claiming redistribution based on need. Neo-liberal recognition, on the other hand, develops the 'ideal' individual as a self-supporting, rational competitor in the marketplace. The critique of neo-

liberalism is very well established in the literature. The analysis of the discourses in this thesis, in relation to questions of social justice, exposed neo-liberalisms somewhat naive assumptions that, firstly, maldistribution will not occur because the market is neutral, and secondly, misrecognition will be avoided because the market is colour and gender blind. However naive these assumptions seem from the perspective of scholars and practitioners critical of neo-liberalism, in the context of this study the data provided instances of positive deployment of these narratives in active use in the settlement sector. The notion that if migrant and refugee people just work hard, and engage in the market place to become self-supporting, then they will secure social justice, is one that clearly still has relevance in the sector.

The parameters of multicultural discourse were considerably more difficult to establish. Both the discussion of multiculturalism and the critique of it have focused on the effectiveness of policy responses related to the discourse, rather than the parameters of the discourse. From these discussions, however, led by political theorists such as Christian Joppke, Will Kymlicka and Iris Marion Young, the parameters of recognition were defined as being about difference, operationalised through narratives of community, culture and ethnicity. The narratives of redistribution framed in terms of multicultural discourse argued for redistribution to meet the special rights of cultural minority populations, and also conceptualised need based on difference and structural historical injustice as an acceptable, and in fact necessary, justification for redistribution.

So what was it that NGOs said? As outlined in Chapter Three, claims for redistribution can be categorised into claims for resources related to direct activities, and claims for the process of redistribution to change. The second of these categories generated significantly more claims, which were frequently framed by implicit or explicit criticism of how redistribution currently occurs. In regards to claims for recognition, the actual claims that NGOs made depicted the successful migrant and refugee subject as a contributor to society, a claim that has obvious resonance with the discourse of neo-liberalism influenced by social cohesion. There was a marked lack of claims that represented the refugee or migrant subject as different, or as belonging to culture or community, perhaps

because this multicultural framing was identified as conflicting with the neo-liberal framing of the migrant and refugee subject as a contributor. Thus, where the migrant or refugee subject was framed positively, these narratives identified contribution and diversity. However, where the migrant and refugee subject was framed negatively, these narratives referenced difference, damage and neediness.

What are the implications of the analysis – both theoretical and empirical – offered in this thesis? Two implications arise from considering social justice discursively. The first is a pragmatic one. If social justice is such that it is developed and addressed differently in different discourses, then wider appreciation of its discursive nature might clarify the conflict faced by NGO actors competing for redistribution, who often have quite different ideas from each other, and from the state, regarding what particular steps need to be taken to address social injustice. If, instead of addressing an end point of ‘justice’ versus ‘injustice’, we are able to consider the work we do in light of a shared desire to achieve ‘better’ social justice, this provides a functional framework for collaborative action. Instead of an actor viewing any action that doesn’t produce their ideal of ‘justice’ as ‘injustice’, we could consider alternative interventions in the light of how they might further different justice outcomes. There is no end point of justice ‘achieved’ in a discursive framework, just a gradual progression towards ‘better’ social justice constantly negotiated and re-negotiated from different discursive positions. While some might argue that this discursive framing of justice could potentially render attempts to identify ‘injustice’ meaningless, and impossible to rectify, Nancy Fraser’s (2007) recent analyses of justice have laid the foundation for this approach, as she argues that ‘justice’ should attend to the principle of ‘participation’ – a principle through which ‘better’ social justice could be measured. Parity of participation requires ensuring that economic and cultural systems are such that they allow all people to participate in society, rather than privileging some. Such a radical overhaul of different systems will necessarily require the traversing of different discourses, and the understanding that better justice will be framed differently in each discourse, but can still be measured by the degree of participation that it ensures.

This leads to the second implication that stems from considering the discursive aspects of social justice. Although it is a discourse that is generally seen as anathema in social justice literature, there is clearly benefit for migrant and refugee subjects to be recouped from articulations of neo-liberalism. While participants were not unattuned to the critiques of neo-liberalism, one participant responded to this research by arguing that neo-liberalism had indeed forced her organisation to look beyond how it had been negotiating ‘settlement’ to reconsider engagement with the marketplace for newcomers. This change towards neo-liberalism, she considered, actually increased the wellbeing of the people she was working with (Participant F, Personal communication, 5 Oct. 2011). Similar narratives have already been pointed to in this analysis, as participants argued that migrants and refugees should be represented as contributing economically to Aotearoa New Zealand, and should be valued and respected for such contributions. While multicultural discourse provides the perspective that wellbeing comes from cultural and community connection, it is clear that economic engagement is also an important factor in the wellbeing of migrants and refugees and present in narratives that refer to diversity, while undeveloped in multicultural narratives that focus on difference. Neo-liberalism, therefore, can be seen as providing narratives that NGOs, and migrants and refugees, can use to describe the importance of economic engagement to their wellbeing.

The analysis in Chapters Three and Four also described two points at which NGOs faced unresolved conflicts in their use of the discourses of multiculturalism and neo-liberalism. These were the construction of need, and the discursive framing of ‘translation’. Resolutions for both these unresolved conflicts are illuminated by considering social justice discursively.

The identification of ‘need’ in some NGO claims upon the state was critiqued by other NGOs as creating misrecognition, even when ‘need’ is used as a justification for resource distribution. While framings of need appeared, on the surface at least, to be straightforward and unproblematic, both the theoretical and empirical chapters (Chapters Two, Three and Four) showed the potential for references to ‘need’ to implicitly construct ethnic individuals as failed neo-liberal subjects. The dilemma that NGOs are caught in, at this point, was articulated by

one participant in response to a draft of this thesis – that ‘need’ is what government requires NGOs to show of refugees and migrants in order to obtain resources (Participant B, email, 1 Sept 2011). This use of ‘need’, imposed upon NGOs by government, can be seen in the table below, compiled by the DoL and relating to the Auckland Regional Settlement Strategy.

Settlement Support Continuum (DoL, 2007a)

Lower/Minimum Level of Need	Intermediate Level Need	Higher/Maximum Level of Need
Information on how to access services	Information and advice on settlement services, and support to access them	‘Hands on’ support and advocacy to understand, access and utilise a wide range of settlement services
Similar political / govt / social infrastructures English language	Different political / govt / social infrastructures Diverse language & cultural backgrounds	Refugees with high and complex needs as a result of their refugee-related, and vastly different, pre-migration, experiences
FINDS OWN WAY AROUND SYSTEMS	REQUIRE SUPPORT TO UNDERSTAND AND ACCESS SUPPORT SERVICES	INTENSIVE SUPPORT REQUIRED OVER THE LONG-TERM TO SETTLE

This continuum provides a snapshot of neo-liberal ‘need’ narratives in action for refugee and migrant subjects, as increased cultural and linguistic difference is linked to greater levels of need and support. The less ‘needy’, or rather, more successful neo-liberal subject, appears on the left of this continuum, able to find their own way around the systems of Aotearoa New Zealand. The needy, failed subject is found at the other end of the continuum, requiring intensive resources and support. The difficulty that this continuum (and the state perspective it illustrates) presents for NGOs is that it creates a conflict between NGOs maintaining the integrity of a discourse that respects difference, while articulating a ‘reality’, but also a potential deficit. Where the “refugee-related, and vastly different, pre-migration, experiences” referred to on the right of the continuum might be considered in a multicultural discourse to be experiences that carry intrinsic value, the neo-liberal narrative presented here considers them experiences that carry intrinsic cost. In order to gain redistribution to meet the

needs of the refugees on the right of the continuum, NGOs must also accept the narrative that positions them as failed neo-liberal subjects. Though NGOs may consider the receipt of these resources to meet need as problematic because of the misrecognition implicit in their provision, ‘tainted’ resources, in this sense, may be better than none at all.

The construction of ‘need’ is an unresolved issue and a point of ongoing reflection for people engaged in this sector. While it is a valid justification for redistribution in multicultural discourses, the dominant discourse of the state is that of neo-liberalism, and thus ‘need’ becomes problematised once the claim is delivered to the state. An effective NGO response to this dilemma, given the conflict between these two discourses, might be to acknowledge the negative potential in neo-liberal discourse and work on establishing need in response to very particular redistributive requirements, that can be geographically and temporally located, while concurrently establishing a counter-discourse highlighting migrant and refugees’ successful contribution. This response may ensure that both redistribution and recognition axes are attended to for justice, and that participatory parity is an end result of talking about need.

This research has also raised critical questions about the discursive framing of ‘translation’. While the concept of ‘translation’ was identified as belonging to a neo-liberal discourse and thus fraught with potential misrecognition of the refugee or migrant subject as deficient, it was also seen by some as a necessary and valid part of NGO claims-making. Translation was contrasted with the multicultural concept of ‘listening differently’, framed as an action that both NGOs and government need to do as claims are made by migrants and refugees. The narratives about translation versus listening to ‘difference’ related to the discursive positioning of the refugee or migrant subject as ‘failed’ or ‘damaged’ and thus as requiring translation in a neo-liberal discourse, as opposed to a competing multicultural discursive positioning of the subject as competent and thus requiring careful listening to. These narratives are therefore also linked to the positioning of the NGO as a competent ‘interpreter’ in a neo-liberal discourse, or as a ‘partner’ – a positioning that reflects a neo-liberal narrative turned towards a multicultural end. These concepts were opposed to each other, particularly at

the points between ‘translation’ and ‘difference-listening’ – both of which cannot happen at the same time, because they relate to *who* the state is listening to – NGOs, or migrants and refugees themselves. If better social justice, as Nancy Fraser (2007) argues, is attended to by keeping an eye on ‘participation’ as a measure of effectiveness, NGOs must ask – which of these concepts provides better participation?

It is a question that does not have as clear-cut an answer as one might suppose. Participants argued strongly that government officials did not see it as their role to ‘listen differently’; one respondent to this thesis illustrated this with the story of a government official becoming (quietly) incensed at being faced with a refugee ‘rights’ narrative in a public setting (Participant F, Personal communication, 5 Oct. 11). In these circumstances, it is possible that improved ‘participation’ may at times be best served by ‘translation’ and at other times by ‘difference-listening’. As premised in the discussion about ‘need’, in which better redistribution might be attended to by discursive framings that provide misrecognition; better participation may at times be served by ‘translation’, which can also be a point of misrecognition. As the strategic use of discourse by NGOs in this sector shows, however, these organisations are not unaware of the negative implications of these discursive framings, and use a variety of strategies in order to negotiate the discourses.

As this discussion suggests, several points of conflict or alignment between multicultural and neo-liberal discourses were identified in this study, which demonstrated also the practices that NGOs used in engaging both discourses in order to negotiate better social justice outcomes. Where the discourses conflicted, NGOs used two different strategies to make claims. These were the direct countering of the narratives of one discourse with the other, and the mimicking of one discourse by another. The first practice relates to the historical role of NGOs in advocating and arguing for better outcomes against state or societal discourse. The second has been identified from Bhabha’s work (1984, as cited in Mohan, 2006) as one of the strategies that the colonial subject can engage in as a resistance activity against the coloniser, and thus can be used to describe NGO activity in relation to the state (Mohan, 2006). However, the data also

uncovered instances of NGOs consciously and strategically aligning the discourses. One of the most prominent of these instances related to the whole-of-government approach, in which the two discourses were aligned to produce better outcomes – drawing on the impetus in neo-liberalism toward greater efficiency, as produced by a whole-of-government approach, and the impetus in multiculturalism for having different parts of government involved in decision-making in order to provide better outcomes for small communities. The other prominent alignment related to partnering, which drew on social cohesion imperatives to contract in an effective way, supported by multicultural imperatives to empower different participants. In these instances, NGOs were using the discourses strategically to produce outcomes that favoured their goals and to strengthen the position of migrant and refugee subjects. This last response to the discourses, that of strategic alignment, suggests that NGOs are neither governed by discourse nor govern it completely, but negotiate around and through it.

In all the discursive negotiations that this thesis has pointed to, there is the potential for both failure and success when NGOs attempt to create better social justice within the settlement sector. The terms ‘maldistribution’ and ‘misrecognition’ are theoretical terms that may mask the injustice that migrants and refugees are faced with – the potential poverty, poor health, unemployment, racism, and stigmatisation that are the real implications of failing to gain improved outcomes. These negative consequences mean that the opportunities for securing better social justice are worth looking for, and finding, in every discourse.

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Appendix A: Results of website data word search

These words or phrases appeared in the data collected from the websites of the seven largest NGOs working in settlement sector. This Microsoft Word search was conducted to gain an understanding of the different narratives in use, the claims that organisations were making in a public forum, and the representations that were made of migrant and refugee people.

NGO verbs – Claims about what NGOs do

Verb	Word count
Provide	135
Support	102
Help	38
Engage	17
Facilitate	13
Develop	13
Enhance	9
Empower	7
Advocate	4
Foster	3
Coordinate	1

NGO representations – claims about who migrants and refugees are:

Description	Word count
With international experience	93
With issues of concern	35
With skills	22
With rights	8
With ideas	5
With languages	4
With personal barriers	4
With work ethics	3
With perspectives	1
Needing successful settlement	131
Needing strength	16
Needing work experience	8
Needing empowerment	7
Cultural	91
Communities	77
New settlers	53
Diverse	17

Appendix B: Survey responses

Claims-Making – collated responses from question two of the survey

Please write a short paragraph (bullet points are ok) about the things you think it is most important to tell government about the communities you work with.

1	The diverse communities we work with represent some of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged people in modern New Zealand society today.
2	The quota composition of high medical and protection cases has many implications for the level of need people arrive with.
3	The people in the former refugee communities are remarkable human beings with extraordinary qualities of courage, resilience, intelligence and wisdom.
4	Many people who arrived as refugees are still struggling with resettlement and high unemployment despite many individual success stories.
5	As a country, we can do better in resettlement and achieve better outcomes without spending any more money.
6	We need a whole-of-government approach and a commitment to evaluation of outcomes for the first time in the sector.
7	The concept of successful practical support in resettlement is intertwined with good mental health for former refugees.
8	The provision of better material support by host governments can result in significant health improvements.
9	Human rights are the basis for policy development and services. This is not a desirable option but a requirement.
10	For refugees, the focus should be on strengths, not weaknesses.
11	People from refugee backgrounds bring with them knowledge and many useful skills.
12	All government departments where staff are in face-to-face contact with previous refugee customers/clients, need to be aware that the newcomer in front of them does not have, nor is going to learn in a day, enough English to communicate easily and take action on the issue at hand.
13	Even though professional interpreters may be used, the client often does not have the logical thought processes to understand and follow-up necessary bureaucratic points.
14	New Zealand Transport Agency needs to set going a more user-friendly service, through its AA offices, when refugees applying for Learner Driver Licences first approach the counter staff on duty.
15	The actual procedures for validating residence status are lengthy and involve written approaches to Immigration NZ for details on the exact steps to take to acquire a learner licence.

16	A clear explanatory brochure should be prepared by New Zealand Transport Agency, specifically geared to refugee clients, offering them a positive, welcoming experience and detailing exactly the steps to take, when applying for their first (important to them) driver licence.
17	Those from other cultural backgrounds often have wide ranging skills and knowledge to offer New Zealand- that needs to be recognised.
18	Comments from clients show that learning English increases their confidence and reduces social isolation, thus taking pressure off family relationships.
19	Adults with little education in their own language will take longer than 6 months to learn enough English to find a job.
20	People from migrant and refugee backgrounds are not the same.
21	Most people I meet have a strong work ethic and want to contribute to NZ society.
22	While we appreciate the efforts of New Zealand government to assist migrants in their settlement, there are still gaps and evidence of lack of understanding of the migrant's perspective.
23	There are 286 ethnicities of migrants in New Zealand and for the government to believe that one solution fits all may or may not work.
24	In [our organisation] we believe migrant issues are better addressed by migrants themselves because they understand their own culture and its intricacies and have had first-hand experience of how to immigrate.
25	In this light, it is worthwhile considering empowering well-settled migrants to assist their own community and in [our organisation] we are already doing this through our Common Office and Resource Service.
26	Migrant and refugee sector are tired of being research materials. There's enough research, white paper and documentation out there enough about the issue/sector to open one library. It's about time the research is done by migrants themselves so they can contribute their own ideas on how best they can be helped in their settlement in New Zealand. Refer to Decolonisation Methodologies by Linda Smith.
27	NZIS staff overseas should be trained and educated in evaluating the NZ employability as well as the survival quotient of migrants being allowed into the country.
28	New Zealand recruitment practices and how they [make decisions about the] selection of staff and workers are not necessarily the same [as the] migrant's home country.
29	Nothing about us should be without us.
30	People with refugee backgrounds should be involved in all stages when new policies and services are being developed.
31	Refugee involvement should be meaningful and respectful of them as the people who will be most affected by those policies and services in the future.
32	The focus should be on strengths not weaknesses.
33	Refugees bring knowledge, experience and many different skills to New Zealand. They have much to contribute.
34	A human rights approach instead of a welfare approach should be the basis for policy development and service delivery.

35	Refugee-background people have rights just like other organisations and [the organisation] is working to ensure the realisation of those rights.
36	There are over 90,000 not-for-profit organisations across New Zealand and these organisations provide an invaluable and much needed service to communities with very little resource or finance.
37	Many of these organisations are reliant on voluntary support from their communities, as well as funding from various sources including the government to survive and sustain their core activities.
38	As they are all not-for-profit sector organisations, their revenue (although minimal) is invested back into their activities and services which are based on the needs and requirements of communities.
39	It is important that any government provides more financial support to these types of community organisations because they fulfil a huge gap in the NZ economy.
40	These organisations also work closely with people of all sectors of the community with a primary aim of providing support, assistance and guidance, whereas other organisations (private and public) are focused more on monitoring, generating profits and economic advancement.
41	The government now and in the future needs to strive to achieve a balance between these two [community/private] groups.
42	[the organisation] represents ethnic women's voices: voices in different languages but with common goal - love, safety, inclusive and harmonious community.
43	Regular communication with NGO - physically visit / increase communication / build strong relationships / access to resources.
44	Robust support for "Grassroots" organisations with high demand of services and needs.
45	Capacity building support.
46	Funding resources from government.
47	Improvements are needed for competent cross cultural practice eg, language.
48	[There are] gaps in services for the client groups.
49	Ways to open up dialogue directly with the communities.
50	The challenges facing those communities in accessing the services or in the services not meeting the needs.
51	Reminders about the rights of the communities.
52	Emerging trends in service provision & engagement process.

Appendix C: Interview guide

Themes explored for individual interviews and potential questions within the interview

Introductory Questions

- a. Please describe your organisation and your role within the organisation
 - b. Who is your client group?
 - c. What communities do you represent?
2. In what ways does your organisation rely on government for your work?
 - a. Funding?
 - b. Advocacy?
 - c. Service provision?

Design of project/programmes

3. What kind of programmes are easier to get funding/support from government for? Why?
4. Can you think of any programmes you tried to establish that were turned down? Why?
5. How do you decide what kind of programmes to run?

Experiences of government departments

6. Do all government departments have the same ethos?
7. Do you apply for programme funding from other agencies – compare with government.
8. Have you noticed any changes in the way that you speak or write about communities in government interactions or funding applications with a National government as opposed to the Labour one? What are the changes? What impact do you think this has?
9. Do you have any strategic approach when representing or describing the communities you work with? What works? What doesn't?
10. What do you think the mindset of government is towards refugees and migrants? Has this changed? Are they a priority group?