Refugee-Driven and Policy-Driven Resettlement: Examining Resettlement Geographies and Service Provision of Refugee Community Organizations

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Abstract

Refugee-driven and policy-driven resettlement:

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Refugee resettlement policy forwards its goal of socioeconomic integration through appropriate geographic placement and service provision. However, refugees and their communities, naturally, very much also determine their own resettlement, via self-placement and refugee-based services. My research examines (a) self-placement or onward migration patterns by refugees and (b) service provision by refugee-run community organizations, and the ways in which those patterns and services intersect with policy. By examining resettlement as refugee-driven, this dissertation complements existing U.S.-based research, the bulk of which primarily draws from the perspective of policy and institutions. This research is nationwide in scope and applies a case study approach, focusing on Bhutanese refugees, one of the new refugee cohorts in the post-911 era of resettlement in the United States. Empirically, I apply both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine data from several sources, and I partnered with refugee organizations for primary data collection, participant recruitment, and analyses. In the

quantitative part of the dissertation, I lay the national landscape of primary arrival placement and onward migration patterns of Bhutanese refugees in maps, and then conduct multivariate analysis of relevant city-level factors, with particular focus on local immigrant policies and labor markets. For the qualitative part, I conducted semi- structured interviews and four focus groups with key members of 40 Bhutanese refugee organizations in 30 cities across the United States. I analyze themes and patterns in the data to formulate a typology of services and to understand scope of service provision, and then theorize how refugees' organizations fit within broader policy systems and institutional networks. Informed by a refugee-driven perspective on resettlement, findings reveal theoretical insights and practical relevance for policy and practice with refugees.

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I feel both full and empty, having learned and connected with all of you over the years. Full, with the joy of critical inquiry, and with you walking alongside me in this path. And also I remain yet empty, as we approach the promise and the challenge of the journey that is now here and lies ahead. With my communities with me as I walk on in this academic path towards purpose and r/evolution, I feel privileged, eager, and hopeful as I seek to transform this fullness into relevance, while remaining hollow in continued growth and pursuit.

Thirty spokes unite at a hub;
  it's the emptiness there that makes the wheel usable.
Shape clay to make a bowl;
  it's the empty space inside that makes the bowl usable.
Cut the doors and windows;
  their emptiness makes the room usable.
Thus,
  the ways a thing exists make it have benefit;
  the ways it doesn't exist make it usable.
- Lao Tzu

INTRODUCTION

U.S. refugee policy has gained increased attention in the post-911 era of refugee resettlement, as the federal government resumed admission of the first large cohorts of refugees in 2009 after a 7-year hiatus following the events of September 11, 2001. That attention to refugees has become all the more heightened recently in both public and policy discourse, prompted by the arrival of mostly Syrian refugees in European nations in summer 2015 and the public reaction in the United States in subsequent months. The "refugee" again took center stage in early 2017, as the then newly elected U.S. President Donald Trump signed the "refugee ban," the now-infamous executive order that aimed to restrict entry of all refugees and immigrants from several Muslim-majority nations. That refugee ban has come under legal challenge as the United States continues to grapple with the unwanted dilemma of refugees and immigrants upon its borders, while solutions to the Syrian refugee "problem" in Europe are not in sight. The renewed public gaze upon the refugee remains.

Refugee Resettlement Policy

The federal resettlement policy in the United States, in its function as an anti-poverty and welfare program for refugees, can be viewed as having two domains: geographic placement and service provision (Nawyn, 2006). First, implemented by the Department of State, the "Reception and Placement" program manages the arrival and appropriate placement and provision of basic needs of refugees during their first 30 days, including provision of housing and basic furniture, education for children, health assessment, and registration to the American systems of social insurance, immigration, and taxation. Second, implemented by the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, service provision provided by nine state-contracted nonprofit organizations during

the initial phase of resettlement entails case management that prioritizes job placement and provision of basic needs and transition assistance.

Resettlement geographies and service provision for refugees, however, have been largely examined in academic scholarship from the perspective of policymakers and institutions. Scholarship has primarily looked inwards and internally, into the goals, processes, and outcomes of policy. However, operating from outside the bounds of institutional contexts and emerging with intentions, motivations, and logics beyond those of the policy domain, refugees and their communities very much also determine their own resettlement, naturally.

Regarding resettlement geographies, after being "placed" by the Reception and Placement program into primary cities of arrival, refugees commonly move or relocate domestically, termed as voluntary or internal migration. This secondary refugee-driven resettlement geography disarrays the state-planned dispersion strategy and is problematic in policy, considered the crucial factor that undermines successful implementation of the resettlement program as a whole (Simpson, 2015; U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). Migrants' voluntary movements are natural and expected, but difficult to predict and track, complicating policy funding appropriations and service provision, and impacting local communities. Official data from the U.S. Department of State provides primary placement patterns of refugees, but no data exists about onward movements of the most recent cohorts of resettled refugees.

Service provision, meanwhile, has been recently examined and critiqued for having an over-emphasis on short-term employment and direct services at the expense of broader, longer term goals of economic and social integration of refugees and their communities (Connolly, 2013; Nawyn, 2006; Trudeau, 2008; U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). Largely neglected in analyses of refugee service provision are the grassroots organizations that emerge out of refugee

communities and are run by refugees themselves. Some scholars have called for critical interrogation of the functions and procedures of these organizations and the role they play as actors in the policy and institutional context in which they operate (Clarke, 2014; Lacroix et al., 2015; Nawyn, 2006; Piacentini, 2012, 2015; Zetter, Griffiths, & Sigona, 2005).

Dissertation

To examine these two policy domains — resettlement geographies and service provision, this dissertation presents as an empirical and theoretical interrogation of "refugee-driven vis-a-vis policy-driven" resettlement. This dissertation is structured in two parts. The first part is a quantitative examination of refugee-driven placement patterns and the second is a qualitative examination of refugee-driven service provision with two separate analyses. More specifically, part one examines refugee-driven resettlement patterns after voluntary internal migration of refugees, compared with initial placement patterns intended by policy; and part two examines refugee-driven service provision by grassroots community organizations, compared with services by publicly funded, state-contracted organizations. I conducted the analyses using both publicly available data gained from various sources (e.g., U.S. Department of State, U.S. Census) and community-based data gained from primary data collection.

Case study. This dissertation takes as a case study the Bhutanese refugee population, one of four new cohorts of refugees that arrived in the post-September 11 era starting in 2008. Approximately 100,000 men, women, and children (mostly Hindu- and Lhotshampa- or Nepali-speaking populations in southern Bhutan) were forced to flee their Himalayan country of Bhutan in the early 1990s, due to political, ethnic, and religious persecution (Rizal, 2004). The ruling Buddhist majority enacted a national policy, "One Nation, One People," that stripped Lhotshampa Bhutanese of their citizenship and rights, and enforced discriminatory laws with

violence (Evans, 2010). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) established seven camps near the Nepal-India border. After approximately two decades in the camps and several failed attempts at repatriation, in 2008, Bhutanese refugees resettled in several countries, including the United States. As of May 2014, more than 75,000 Bhutanese refugees had resettled and dispersed to various cities across the United States (U.S. Department of State Refugee Processing Center, 2017). The Bhutanese group is uniquely appropriate for examining placement and service provision. Regarding placement, no Bhutanese migrant communities existed in the United States prior to their arrival as refugees in 2008, thus eliminating social network as an explanatory mechanism for internal migration. The resettlement of that entire refugee population began in 2008 and was completed in 2016, presenting a timely opportunity for examining complete resettlement for one group. Regarding service provision, meanwhile, Bhutanese refugees had a history of successful organizing for community development while in refugee camps and have since developed a strong network of community-based organizations in nearly every city or state in the United States, thus providing a unique case for examination.

Part I. "Refugee-Driven" Resettlement Geographies

The first part of the dissertation examines "refugee-driven" resettlement geography. In Chapter 1, I lay the national landscape of primary arrival placement and internal migration patterns, and then identify city-level factors to understand policy-driven versus refugee-driven resettlement patterns. Analysis hones in on low-wage labor markets and local immigrant policies, as well as region and immigrant population density and pace of growth, as factors relevant for refugees' onward movements in the United States. In this quantitative analysis, I examine national resettlement patterns using official population data in U.S. cities (n=287) of arrival from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement and community-based population data in cities of

onward migration. I visually represent in- and out-patterns of resettlement with maps, using the Geographic Information Systems software ARCGIS. I then use data from the U.S. Census and other publicly available sources to construct city-level indicators for factors previously identified in studies as influencing migrants' domestic movements, supplemented by information specific to the Bhutanese case. I systematically analyze city-level factors and conduct multivariate analyses of the contribution of each factor to the refugee population count in each city after relocation from initial placement, using the statistical package STATA.

Part II. "Refugee-Driven" Service Provision

The second part of the dissertation examines "refugee-driven" service provision, with two chapters that empirically analyze the type and scope of services provided by refugee-run grassroots organizations, and one concluding chapter that conceptually synthesizes empirical findings. In these qualitative and theoretical analyses, data are semi-structured interviews with 40 refugee leaders and key members of Bhutanese refugee organizations in 30 cities across the United States and include four focus groups. Using the interview protocol based on that developed by Anucha et al. (2006), the data I collected provide organizational perspectives and information about service provision, institutional linkages, and others aspects of organizational life. Using the software ATLAS.ti, I draw methodologically from critical and social constructionist perspectives to identify themes and patterns in the data.

Chapter 2 is a study of the types of services provided by refugee community organizations. A classification or "typology of services" is developed as synthesizing framework containing five types of services provided by Refugee Community Organizations (RCOs): (a) case management and crisis management; (b) outreach events; (c) cultural and social events (d) targeted programs; and (e) advocacy and liaison. "Refugeeness" and "social network attributes"

predominate as defining frames for RCOs (Clarke, 2014; Piacentini, 2012, 2015; Zetter, Griffiths, & Sigona, 2005), and the epistemological and analytical approaches used in this study interrogate those dominant frames. This proposed taxonomy advances a more complex understanding of the positioning of RCOs in the institutional field of refugee resettlement — the co-location of both state-contracted organizations and state-detached refugee community organizations within the social welfare domain of resettlement — and thus raise questions about their similarities and differences.

Chapter 3 builds upon findings from Chapter 2, that suggest that RCOs provide a broad range of services in the social welfare domain of immigrants lives, and not only the social and cultural domains. Chapter 3 is an examination of the scope of services of refugee community organizations, honing in on the "who, when, where, and how" of services, vis-à-vis their state-funded counterparts. Findings indicate that Bhutanese RCOs have broader priorities and scope of services than those of resettlement agencies that are restricted by policies and funding. Findings point to issues of organizational legitimacy and capacity in the institutional landscape of resettlement services.

Chapter 4 is a study that theoretically examines how organizations that are grassroots and refugee-led fit alongside their larger, state-funded counterparts and within the broader institutional context of resettlement. The state imposes restrictions to functions and processes of nonprofit organizations (Lipsky, 2010; O'Toole & Meier, 2004; Wolch, 1990), and I argue that institutional responses to those restrictions are different for organizations that are state-contracted versus those that are not. I make the case by drawing upon empirical and conceptual findings in Chapters 2 and 3. The notion of "shadows of the shadow state" is formulated as a theoretical concept that builds upon existing theories about the shadow state.

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CHAPTER 1.
"NEW RESETTLEMENT DESTINATIONS": EXAMINING REFUGEE GEOGRAPHIES AND THE ROLE OF LABOR MARKET AND LOCAL IMMIGRANT POLICIES

Introduction

The global migration of refugees — forcibly displaced from country of origin and then undergoing temporary transit into camps and eventual third-country resettlement into national territory — is commonly considered to have finally come to a close upon resettlement, as refugees regain rights and membership and as they transition from being the charge of the international community to that of the state. Refugee resettlement is considered a "durable solution" to the global refugee "problem." Yet, refugees' journeys continue upon resettlement. Their onward movements and migration patterns within domestic space reveal much not only about the refugee experience, but also about the systems and policies that structure their continued journeys and experiences upon resettlement.

In the United States, up to approximately 100,000 refugees annually is approved by current refugee legislation to be admitted and "received and placed" through the Reception and Placement program of the federal Department of State, and dispersed into hundreds of cities across the country. Dispersion as a strategy is implemented to avoid "over-concentration" or inundating any one specific community with a large influx of newcomers in a short period of time (Forbes, 1985, pp. 1,3; Kelly, 1986, p. 7; Weine et al., 2011, p. 2). U.S. policy seeks to place refugees in communities with appropriate resources and capacity for reception, that is, with caseworkers to provide services (U.S. ORR Report to the Congress 2010; U.S. Refugee Act of 1980). Appropriate placement is considered critical to successful resettlement and is one of the Guiding Principles for new initiatives and programs outlined in the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement's 2010 Report to the Congress.

Once placed in cities, however, refugees often relocate (Forbes, 1985; Kelly, 1986; Van Arsdale, 1990, p. 6; Weine et al., 2011). Secondary migration (or internal migration), denoting refugees' onward movement from the state, where they were first placed by resettlement agencies, has historically been a concern and challenge to policymakers, service providers, and refugee and receiving communities (Forbes, 1985; Kelly, 1986; Mortland & Ledgerwood, 1987), and continues to be so currently (Brick et al., 2010, p. 19; Ott, 2011; U.S. ORR Report to the Congress, 2010, 11). Refugees' domestic movements, although recognized as a natural and expected phenomenon, is considered an unpredictable deviation from the dispersion strategy intended and directed by federal policy. This poses problems for the complex administrative task of every year resettling and providing services for thousands of refugees in hundreds of locations across the country. Secondary migration of refugees has been specifically identified as a main factor contributing to challenges in implementation of refugee policy; and policymakers and practitioners alike call for increased attention to this issue (Brick et al, 2010; Ott, 2011; U.S. ORR Report to the Congress, 2010, p. 1).

Despite this issue, resettlement patterns, particularly those of the most recent refugee groups in the post-September 11 era of resettlement who arrived in the United States starting around 2008 remain largely unexamined (Connor, 2010, p. 377; Ott, 2011). There is some research on resettlement patterns of refugees of the post-World War II era (Desbarats, 1985; Forbes, 1985), but such studies waned around the 1990s. Research on resettlement patterns of previous cohorts provides foundational knowledge, but has not been applied to more current moments and has not fully interrogated how broader social, political, and economic systems may shape those patterns.

More specifically, resettlement patterns of refugees have not been considered against the rich scholarship on migration patterns of immigrants more broadly, particularly those from Mexico and South and Central America after the 1990s, that draw upon critical and political economy perspectives. That scholarship reveals the emergence of "new immigrant destinations," those locations in rural areas in the Midwest and southern regions of the United States that have traditionally not been immigrant gateways but are seeing an influx of immigrants in recent years (Marrow, 2011; Zuniga & Hernandez, 2005). Highlighted in this scholarship are the migrant as laborer and economic factors that not only shape migration patterns, but also indirectly forge complex and tense interactions between foreign-born newcomers and their new U.S.-born neighbors (Ellis, Wright, & Parks, 2007; Kandel & Parrado, 2005; Marrow, 2011). Scholars have also examined local immigration policies as markers of either anti- or pro-immigrant sentiments that have emerged recently in response to changing demographics (Ellis, 2006; Newman, Johnston, Strickland, & Citrin, 2012; Varsanyi, 2008a; Walker & Leitner, 2011). Simultaneous to economic factors pulling immigrants into "new immigrant destinations" to fill low-wage labor needs, restrictive policies that reflect anti-immigrant sentiment seek to push them out, illustrating that fundamental contradiction inherent in existing capitalist systems that allow the mobility of capital but not that of labor (Sassen, 1988).

Resettled refugees as a distinct subset of immigrants are largely neglected within that scholarship, however. This gap is problematic, especially because labor, and specifically low-wage labor, and local immigrant policies reflect the economic and social factors that are crucial in shaping resettlement experience and thus outcomes for resettled refugees. Refugees share the immigrant journey broadly speaking, but the refugee experience is also different in some ways. Resettled refugees are state-sponsored migrants, their arrival and adjustment facilitated by

publicly funded resettlement programs, unlike their immigrant counterparts who are considered to come at their own accord and are not eligible for social services. The state assumes responsibility for, and is thus more directly implicated in, refugees' social and economic integration. Considering theories about migration patterns and labor of *economic* migrants and then applying them to examine *forced* migrants or refugees, as a subset of immigrants may yield new insights about refugee geography and the social and economic dimensions that foreground resettlement, and may raise questions relevant to refugee policy.

Drawing on literature on diversifying immigrant geographies, this study examines the resettlement patterns of one refugee population, Bhutanese refugees, and how labor market conditions and local immigrant policies may help explain those patterns. The case of Bhutanese refugees provides an exceptional opportunity that is particularly appropriate for this study. Social networks, or cumulative causation, is a primary explanatory theory for understanding migrants' movement, denoting the phenomenon whereby immigrants go where there are existing access to resources, communities, and jobs (Massey, 1995). However, there were no Bhutanese communities in the United States prior to their arrival as refugees in 2008 (Ott, 2011), thus allowing social networks to be reasonably eliminated as an explanatory factor in this unique and rare occasion. Eliminating this as a factor allows us to more closely examine other relevant factors, such as immigration policy and migrant labor demand in local contexts of reception. Empirically, I illustrate and describe two distributions of the Bhutanese population as of 2015, in cities of primary placement and in "new destination resettlement cities." I then conduct regression analyses to examine city-level factors that help explain those resettlement patterns, focusing on employment and local immigration policy specifically. I first provide background on resettlement patterns of refugees and relevant policy issues. Next, I discuss scholarship on

domestic migration of immigrants, particularly Hispanic immigrants in the late 1990s. Third, I discuss methods and then present findings. The final section closes with a discussion of findings

Refugee Resettlement Geography in the United States

Refugees of the Post World War II, Cold War, and Vietnam War Eras

Despite government efforts to control settlement locations and movement, refugees have historically moved upon resettlement to the United States. Research has been informative pertaining to the earliest years of refugee resettlement in the post-World War II era through to the 1980s. Upon resettlement to the United States, refugees of World War II moved generally from rural to urban areas, particularly to cities with populations over 100,000; and from northeastern and southern states to states in the Pacific Coast and in cities in north central states that had existing co-ethnic communities (Forbes, 1985, p. 4). *Hungarian* refugees, admitted in 1957, were initially dispersed widely across the country, but within merely 2 years, about 80% of them had concentrated in six northeastern states and California, joining Hungarian immigrants who had arrived prior to 1950 and lived in those same regions (Forbes, 1985). In 1962, more than 150,000 *Cuban refugees* who arrived and concentrated in Florida were encouraged by the federal government to relocate and disperse to other locations. They were incentivized with additional cash, promises of jobs, and reimbursement of transportation and administrative costs if they moved. Nevertheless, 5 years later, about 50% of Cuban refugees were still concentrated in Florida, with a second concentration hub of 18% in the New York/New Jersey region (Forbes, 1985).

Relocation trends were also evident in 1975 among Vietnam War era refugees, about 125,000 individuals from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and nearby regions. The government-planned dispersal of this group aimed to mimic the geographic concentration of the general U.S.

population at the time: 32 states each received about 1000 newcomers, and 11 states received about 3500 (Forbes, 1983, p. 5). After only 4 years, however, one-third of them were concentrated in California, and 70% of the population resided in only 10 states (Forbes, 1983, p. 1, 10). Approximately 45% of refugees who arrived in 1975 had moved to a different state within 5 years (Forbes, 1985, p. 7). Vietnam War refugees' relocation tended towards places with higher concentrations of refugees (North & Baker and Gordon in Forbes, 1985) and tended to go in western and southern directions, similar to migration patterns of other U.S. populations at that time (Forbes, 1985, p 7). Official data from the Office of Refugee Resettlement for example shows that in 1979 with the exception of Rhode Island all states that registered with a net in-migration of refugees were western states — California, Colorado, Kansas, Nevada, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming, (Forbes, 1985).

The bulk of existing research on resettlement patterns has focused mostly on Vietnam War refugees and examined individual level factors or migrants' characteristics and experiences in explaining geographic mobility and internal migration. Factors examined include ethnicity, age, gender, prior and current work experiences, education level, and earnings (Forbes, 1985, p. 11). Focusing on Vietnam War refugees, one study found that relocation was less likely if refugees had a successful resettlement experience, which was determined by factors such as having a sponsor, having friends in the United States, being resettled in an area with a large concentration of other refugees, and being resettled in the state of one's choice (Forbes, 1985, p. 9). In Desbarat's (1985) analysis of push and pull factors associated with place of residence of Vietnam War refugees, she found that refugees tended to leave states with less generous welfare policies (stricter eligibility requirements and low benefit levels) and tended to move to states with higher income levels, more economic prosperity, and greater presence of other co-racial

communities (Forbes, 1985). This body of research has also examined how relocation impacted the economic status of refugees, but findings are all-in-all inconclusive (Forbes, 1985, p. 11).

Resettlement altered after the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, the landmark legislation that institutionalized refugee resettlement as federal policy. That legislation systematized resettlement service provision and also removed language in the policy that restricted the legal definition of the "refugee" as individuals fleeing communist countries (The Refugee Act of 1980). This legislation is considered to show a marked shift in U.S. refugee policy, from having communist-centric underpinnings to a humanitarian one, and the "refugee" came to be depicted as de-politicized with the ceasing of the Cold War (Hamlin & Woglin, 2012). The new legislation also steadied the flows of refugees admitted annually into the United States and created a system for planned reception, placement, and service provision for refugees, most of whom came from war-torn countries in Africa, such as Somalia and Eritrea. The planned admissions and coordinated resettlement operations mandated in the new policy were in contrast to the massive, sudden, and highly visible influx of refugees from Cuba and Vietnam in previous decades that had prompted a scramble for political and institutional ad-hoc responses. In addition, data abruptly became unavailable as official census data collection on foreign-born individuals conducted by the United States Immigration Services was discontinued in 1983 (Forbes, 1985). Perhaps stemming from the depoliticization of the "refugee" and other changes, U.S.-based research on resettlement patterns, as well as refugee policy more broadly, waned starting around the late 1980s and continued to be minimal throughout the early 2000s, despite the sustained and steady flow of refugees into the United States, which was interrupted only by a dip in admissions following the events of September 11, 2001.

Refugees of the Post September 11 Era

Refugee admission rates picked back up in 2008, with three new groups of refugees — Burmese, Bhutanese, and Iraqi — making up the majority of all admissions in the next few years, and continued with admission of refugees from war-torn African countries such as Burundi, Somalia, and Eritrea. Dispersion seems evident in current refugee placement patterns. Four states may be considered gateway locations, where the largest numbers of refugees were placed in recent years. In fiscal year 2012, for example, about 30% of all admitted refugees were placed in those gateway states: Texas (5,923), California (5,173), Michigan (3,594), and New York (3,528) (U. S. RPC, 2013). Another 30% were placed in 8 other states, each with an average of about 2,200 refugees, and the remaining 22,000 refugees were distributed amongst 37 states nationwide (U.S. RPC, 2013). More recently in 2016, in response to a mass exodus of refugees from Syria to European nations in 2015 and the so-called "refugee crisis," the United States admitted refugees from Syria, as well as other Muslim-majority countries such as Afghanistan. This politicization and hyper-visibility of the Muslim refugee issue combined with the upswing of new arrivals in recent years have generated renewed interest amongst academics, as well as the public, in U.S. refugee policy.

However, with regards more specifically to resettlement patterns of post-911 refugee cohorts, there is yet only a small body of research of qualitative case studies. Based on interviews with government and agency officials, Ott (2011) found that internal migration is perceived to impact community integration and economic integration of refugee groups in her case studies: Iraqi refugees in Detroit, Michigan; Bhutanese refugees in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Burmese refugees in Kansas. From the results of another study, based on interviews with 73 Liberian and Burundian refugees, Weine and colleagues (2011, p. 10), suggested that refugees who relocated chose less urban locations, and that their voluntary

migration had a mixed impact on family risk and protective factors. An ethnographic study of a group of Burmese refugees, meanwhile, suggested concentration in a few locations in the South and Midwest, especially Nebraska due to jobs in meat processing factories (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011 p. 18). Similarly, the case study by Ott (2011) also discussed the in-migration of Burmese refugees to meatpacking towns in Kansas.

Internal or secondary migration of refugees as a pressing policy problem.

The onward domestic movement of refugees from initial placement is a challenge currently for policymakers and practitioners alike, a continuation of the challenge historical discussed above. The 2010 U.S. Senate report noted that failure to account for and respond to internal migration is one of the causal factors for "resettlement efforts in many U.S. cities (being) underfunded, overstretched, and failing to meet the basic needs of the refugee populations they are currently asked to assist." That report is entitled *Abandoned upon arrival: Implications for refugees and local communities burdened by a U.S. Resettlement System that is not working* (2010 U.S. Senate report). U.S. refugee legislation directs the U.S. ORR to compile and maintain data on voluntary migration (U.S. ORR Report to the Congress, 2010, p. 47) and mandates local agencies to plan for it (Ott, 2011; Weine et al., 2011, p. 2). However, there is currently no system in place to monitor or predict voluntary migration in an accurate way or collect information about it (Barkdull et al., 2012, p. 7; Ott, 2011; Van Arsdale, 1990, p. 6), although some communities and agencies monitor those secondary migrants who are registered with them (Ott, 2011). Current refugee placement models use outdated information and do not fully take into account community-level information (Brick et al., 2010, p. 16; U.S. GAO, 2012). The U.S. resettlement program lacks proper mechanisms (Weine et al., 2011) and has been considered "ill-prepared" for addressing internal migration (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011, p.18). The issue

of secondary migration is not taken seriously in determining initial placement (Ott, 2011). Refugees' entitlement benefits and resettlement services remain tied to primary placement. Some benefits, including cash and medical assistance, and services for which refugees are entitled may not follow them if they move from initial placement 8 months after arrival (Brick et al., 2010, p. 19; Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011, p. 18; Weine et al., 2011, p. 2). Levels of provision and funding for services nationwide thus have become uneven and inconsistent. States experiencing out-migration may continue to get federal funding for resettlement services, while new destinations don't, thus placing fiscal costs upon their state and city governments. Refugees' internal migration have consequences for the capacity of local communities, in terms of infrastructure as well as human services, to meet the rapidly and greatly changing needs of the diversifying demographics (O'Neill & Spybey, 2003), including safety, health, and education needs of refugees.

"New Destinations" of Refugees and Immigrant Laborers

Some parallels are evident when resettlement patterns of some refugee groups are set side by side with migration patterns of immigrants more broadly, and those from Mexico and South and Central America specifically. The internal migration of Vietnam War refugees in the late 1970s and early 1980s generally depict movement westward, into urban or metropolitan areas, and into areas with higher concentrations of refugees or co-ethnic communities, as detailed in the previous section (Forbes, 1985). Similarly, examinations of migration patterns of Mexican immigrants reveal immigrant urban gateways in the western region, particularly California and other southwestern states, beginning in mid-1960s through to the 1980s (Massey, 1995).

"New Immigrant Destinations"

There has been a marked shift, however, in more recent domestic movements of immigrants from Mexico and South Central America. Research has established the dramatic movement beginning in the 1990s of those immigrants, away from traditional immigrant gateway cities, such as New York, Houston, Washington DC, and Los Angeles, and away from the West and Southwest, and into "new immigrant destinations" in rural areas in the Midwest and the South (Lichter & Johnson, 2009; Sun & Cadge, 2013). That movement has been significant. In 1990, more than half of the Hispanic population was concentrated in California and Texas alone, but 10 years later, half of all nonmetropolitan Hispanics lived outside not only California but outside the southwest region of Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona (Kandel & Parrado, 2005, p. 447; Lichter & Johnson, 2009, p. 497). Many new immigrants from Mexico and South and Central America, particularly those from rural areas and new origins within Mexico (Riosmena & Massey, 2012, p. 25), seem to be bypassing gateway communities and heading straight for new destinations (Lichter & Johnson, 2009, p. 514). Only about half of those who moved to new destinations between 1995 and 2000 relocated domestically (Lichter & Johnson, 2009, p. 514). Many of those domestic migrants were disproportionately undocumented, as immigration policies at the time lifted some restrictions on their employment and movement (Riosmena & Massey, 2012, p. 6). Mexican migrants who moved to new places have been shown as a heterogeneous group, with varying demographic and socioeconomic attributes, and as including those who are unauthorized to work as well as those who have work experience and are naturalized in the United States (Leach & Bean, 2008, p. 69). This rich body of scholarship is detailed in the next sections.

Meanwhile, with regards to resettled refugees specifically, there is insufficient research on resettlement patterns of refugees in the 1990s to be able to make comparable determinations.

This decline in academic research, as discussed above, may be due to several factors: discontinuation in 1983 of official census data collection on immigrants' movements; the de-politicization of refugees with the ceasing of the Cold War; and the steadying of refugee admissions and institutionalization of refugee services as legislated by the Refugee Act of 1980. Literature about resettlement patterns in the United States came to a standstill after Vietnam War refugees, and little is known about movements of later refugees, including those of the post-911 era of resettlement. There is some indication, however, based on the handful of qualitative case studies mentioned above, that some recently resettled refugees who arrived after 2008, specifically Burmese and Bhutanese refugees, are following in the paths of their immigrant counterparts, out of traditional gateway cities and into "new immigrant destinations" (see Kelly, 2011; Ott, 2011; Weine et al., 2011). Examinations of resettlement patterns in the current contexts are warranted, given the calls from policymakers and practitioners, different social, economic, and political factors, and different refugee populations.

Immigrant Labor and Local Immigrant Policy

Migrant Labor Demand and Industrial Restructuring

The diversifying of immigrant geographies in the United States has been linked to labor demand, drawing from segmented labor market theory. Many industries in the 1970s saw their profits declining, due partly to increased competition from companies in countries with low-wage work (Piore, 1979). In response, industries restructured: they cut jobs, lowered wages and benefits, de-unionized, and applied new technologies to minimize labor needs and increase efficiency (Kandel & Parrado, 2005; Piore, 1979). Jobs were de-skilled to meet production needs, and tasks became routinized and repetitive. Working conditions worsened and in some industries deteriorated to be hazardous and unpleasant. Low-wage jobs have implications not only for

workers and in the short run, but also for their families and in the long run. Without paid leave, flexibility, and security at work, low-wage workers who are parents often forego familial responsibilities, such as care for their children's health and educational needs (Heymann & Earle, 2010). Work-related barriers and inequities can have far reaching effects.

The restructured industries necessitated low-skill, dead-end, low-paying jobs, a demand met largely by immigrants (Piore, 1979; Wright, Ellis, & Reibel, 1997). Native workers refused to take these undesirable and difficult jobs, and the workforce in these industries thus became racialized. Jobs express not only an economic dimension but also reinforce workers' class, status, or hierarchies as a social dimension (Piore, 1979; Wright & Ellis, 2000a). In the meatpacking industry, for example, within two decades (1980 to 2000), the proportion of meat processing workers who were white dropped from 74% to 49%, while the proportion of Hispanic workers tripled (Kandel & Parrado, 2005, p. 458). By 2000, about 82% of the labor force in meat processing industries was foreign born, and half of those workers had arrived in the United States within the previous 10 years (Kandel & Parrado, 2005).

To offset costs, some industries relocated to areas with lower rent or land costs, cheaper labor, and tax incentives and subsidies, such as areas in the Midwest and South (Kandel & Parrado, 2005). Immigrant workers moved with the jobs, and the meatpacking industry is most illustrative. For example, meatpacking expanded in Midwestern states like Iowa and Nebraska in the late 1990s, while carpet and textiles as products surged in Southern states such as Georgia (Hytrek & Zentgraf, 2008). Between 1981 and 2000, the number of meat industry workers in the Southeast region doubled to about 300,000 (Kandel & Parrado, 2005, p. 456). In the 1990s, exports of broiler meat surged tenfold to $1.9 million in Gainsville, Georgia, and, accordingly, the Latino population there increased by 300% (Hytrek & Zentgraf, 2008). These changing

geographic patterns of labor demands have been associated with internal migration of Hispanic immigrants (Massey & Capoferro, 2008).

Local Immigration Policies and Inclusive/Exclusionary Immigrant Sentiment

The unprecedented increased presence of migrants in new destinations has revitalized some local economies and demographics, but has also posed challenges in terms of incorporation and adjustment of immigrants and interaction with their new neighbors (Lichter & Johnson, 2009, p. 514). "New immigrant destinations," particularly those small rural communities that have had no foreign-born populations in the past, may lack the experience and public services to receive the population influx. Complex intergroup relations between white, black, and Hispanic immigrant populations in new destinations, particularly in the rural South, are marked not only by social hierarchies based on race but also on citizenship status (Marrow. 2011). In cities, the absorption of immigrants have led to a process of saturation, political intolerance, and, finally, deflection (Light, 2006).

In response to new immigration and as federal policies devolve immigration enforcement to subnational governments and local communities, "back door" immigration policing has become localized and taken on new forms (Ellis, 2006; Varsanyi, 2008a, 2008b). Such immigrant policing procedures include employment verification by adopting E-verify laws (Newman et al., 2012), enforcement of existing ordinances on housing and public spaces, the creation of new ordinances, and exercising unofficial tactics, such as harassment and intimidation (Varsanyi, 2008a). The most visible and explicit immigrant policies at the local levels are Sanctuary City policies that are considered inclusive or pro-immigrant and the USCIS 287g Program that is considered exclusionary or anti-immigrant (Walker & Leitner, 2011). Local governments' adoption of Sanctuary City ordinances or participation in the 287g Program, as

well as states' adoption of E-Verify laws, can be viewed as reflecting the symbolic orientations and cultural attitudes of state citizenries (Walker & Leitner, 2011; Newman et al., 2012). "Places" can be understood not merely in terms of physical and geographic dimensions, but also as imbued with social relations and belief systems (Walker & Leitner, 2011, p. 164).

The geography of immigration relates to local politics of immigration (Ellis, 2006). The economic threat hypothesis posits that the spatial concentration of immigrants produces a sense of competition and economic threat among citizens, especially the U.S.-born, who reside near immigrants, and is linked to nativist, anti-immigrant sentiment (Ellis, 2006). The acculturation threat hypothesis also posits that the pace of growth of immigrant population determines sentiments about immigrant: a faster pace results in anti-immigrant reactions. The "threat hypothesis" posits that "by amplifying levels of intercultural contact and challenging citizens" habituated ethnic and sociocultural contexts, substantial ethnic change driven by immigration could trigger a strong reactionary anti-immigrant backlash among native-born citizens" (Newman et al., 2012, p. 167). Localities are more likely to adopt restrictive local immigration policies and ordinances if they experience a drastic proportionate growth in or a higher concentration of immigration populations (Newman et al., 2012). In contrast, the "contact" hypothesis posits that contact with and proximity to immigrants can foster familiarity and inclusive sentiments, and thus integrative, pro-immigrant measures (Wells, 2004). Local communities that value and respect cultural and racial diversity are more likely to oppose anti-immigration ordinances and favor pro-immigrant ordinances. Municipalities and counties across the United States are implementing either exclusionary or inclusive immigrant policies, as markers either of nativist, anti-immigrant sentiments or integrative, immigrant-friendly, "welcoming" sentiments; policies vary by location (Walker & Leitner, 2011)

Refugees as Subset of Immigrants

Immigration research has yielded much information about the demand for immigrant labor and the local policing of immigrants in recent years, and how those issues link with the diversifying immigrant geographies and altering demographic landscapes, and thus social life, in the United States. However, this rich scholarship has not been focused on resettled refugees specifically, as a subset of immigrants. Previous studies of resettlement patterns in the 1980s focused mostly on individual level factors or characteristics, such as age, education, and social networks. Socioeconomic factors in cities — labor market and local immigrant policy specifically — are largely missing from analyses of resettlement patterns. Scholarship on refugee movements, and U.S. refugee policy more broadly, has largely failed to take into account political economy perspectives that have on the other hand been richly developed and applied in immigration research, particularly that on migrant laborers from Mexico and South and Central America. Moreover, as discussed previously, studies of resettlement patterns ceased in the 1990s, and there is not much known about the movements of post-911 refugees and how their movements may parallel those of their economic migrant counterparts. Such gaps are problematic because the economic and social dimensions of local contexts of reception are fundamental to understanding not only resettlement patterns but also the refugee experience upon resettlement and the complex social dynamics that ensue from altering demographics in the United States.

Methods

Drawing on theories on diversifying immigrant geographies and migrant labor, this study examines whether, and if so how, labor market and local immigration policies are related to resettlement patterns or the geographic distribution of resettled refugees after relocation from cities of primary placement, using Bhutanese refugees in the United States as case study. This

study uses data from several sources, including the U.S. Department of State and U.S. Census and from community-based data collection, which is described below. The three Methods subsections detail the following: the case study, data, and analysis. Then the next section discusses results.

Bhutanese Refugees as a Case Study

This study examines the case of the Bhutanese refugee population, one of three new cohorts, along with Burmese and Iraqi refugees, who arrived in the post-September 11 era starting on 2008. Due to state violence and ethnic persecution, in the early 1990s approximately 100,000 individuals were forced to flee Bhutan, a small, predominantly Buddhist nation in the Himalayas. This forced migration stemmed from a series of discriminatory policies enacted by the ruling Buddhist majority group, particularly the policy called "One Nation, One People" that stripped citizenship and banned the practice of culture, religion, and language of the minority group, who were ethnically Lhotshampa and Hindu (Evans, 2010). Bhutanese refugees lived for over two decades in the camps and were finally resettled in 2008 in several countries, with about 83,000 coming to the United States (Evans, 2010; U.S. Department of State Refugee Processing Center (RPC), 2017).

Studying Bhutanese refugees is particularly appropriate for several reasons. First, this unique and rare case allows for the exceptional occasion of eliminating social networks as an explanatory factor in internal migration patterns. Social network theory, or cumulative causation, is a primary theory that explains migrants' movements by focusing on their moving to locations where there are existing access to resources and information, particularly about jobs and community supports. According to this theory, the presence of immigrants from the same country or of the same ethnicity is a key pull factor in migrants' relocation decisions. However,

there were no such social networks and established communities for Bhutanese migrants prior to the resettlement of the earliest cohorts in 2008. Bhutan is a closed country that opened its doors to the world only in 2000, and that has had very limited emigration. According to the U.S. Census, 3 individuals from Bhutan were admitted as immigrants into the United States between 1990 and 2000, and only 78 individuals from Bhutan obtained permanent legal resident status in the United States between 1997 and 2006, with just 31 of them being admitted as refugees or asylum seekers. Given such a small number of individuals, social networks can reasonably be eliminated as factor in the case of Bhutanese refugees. A migrant population with no existing social networks is very uncommon, if not an isolated case, that uniquely allows the research. A second element is timeliness — the resettlement of that entire refugee population of around 100,000 individuals began in 2008 and was completed in 2016, presenting a timely opportunity for examining the complete resettlement of one group. The third important aspect about the case relates to the data collection methods. During two decades of life refugee camps, Bhutanese refugees became a tightly knit community, and their community continues now in the United States, with strong links across regions. Bhutanese communities have formed nonprofit organizations or informal groups in every state, and often in each city that has a substantial population. These state- or city-based organizations are linked through two national umbrella organizations, forging interconnectedness of key members and leaders of the communities in various locations. These strong networks facilitated the nationwide data collection. Furthermore, I have years of community work with Bhutanese communities and thus have established trust and collaborative relationships that allowed this community-based data collection among a hard-to-reach refugee population.

Data

Data were collected from various publicly available sources and via community-based data collection methods described below, and then merged into one dataset. City-level factors or characteristics, detailed in the next section, were measured using data from several publicly available sources: U.S. Census, U.S. Department of Labor, Center for Immigration Research, and U.S. Immigration and Citizenship Enforcement (U.S. ICE). Bhutanese refugees' population counts in cities of primary placement were obtained from the U.S. Department of State. These data reflect the nationwide distribution of all Bhutanese refugees in cities of primary placement (n=287) from 2008 to 2015.

Data about population count of Bhutanese refugees in cities as of the end of 2015, after internal in- or out-migration or relocation from cities of primary placement, were collected from the community. In some instances in this paper, I refer to this data point using the term "'new destination cities of resettlement" or "new refugee destinations," which draws from the term "new immigrant destination cities" that has been used widely by immigration scholars. Data collection methods for "new destination cities of resettlement" were based upon the approach, termed Community Mapping, developed by geographer Harte and colleagues (2009, 2011). Their study analyzed settlement patterns of African refugees in Queensland, Australia, using focus groups with refugee community leaders to collect data about population distribution. Their findings revealed that official census numbers were inaccurate in capturing the dynamic movements of hard-to-reach, small populations. Community Mapping is thus proposed for use particularly for hard-to-reach populations, such as refugees, and small populations, such as Bhutanese refugees that total about 83,000 in the United States. Community Mapping as a data collection method is appropriate also in the absence of official and accurate data.

This study draws upon the Community Mapping method and modifies it to apply to a nationwide scale. Six Bhutanese community leaders, as "community collaborators," participated in data collection, utilizing their social networks nationwide. As noted above, the Bhutanese refugee community is considered highly networked and organized, with community organizations either formally or informally existing in almost all cities where a substantial number of Bhutanese refugees reside. Many of the organization leaders in the United States are the same people who emerged as leaders during the two decades in refugee camps. The states were categorized into four regions (West, Midwest, South, Northeast), and one community collaborator was responsible for one region. For each of the states in their assigned region, the community collaborators identified one refugee leader as an "informant" for data collection. Informants were contacted by phone and/or email and instructed to communicate with other community members to estimate the number of individual Bhutanese refugees in each city of primary placement in that state. The community collaborators then compiled the estimates of population count in each city in each state in their assigned region. Steps to increase reliability of data were conducted, including triangulation or drawing from multiple data sources and specifically respondent validation or gaining confirmation from multiple respondents (Maxwell, 2005). First, where population estimates were greater than 3,000 for a given city, a second estimate was gained from another informant. Second, general trends pertaining to community estimate data were qualitatively discussed with refugee leaders in four focus groups in cities with great concentrations of Bhutanese.

There are some limitations to the data and methodologies that add uncertainty to the estimates. First, data addressing population count after relocation are subject to measurement error and problems of reliability, because these counts are based on *estimates* of leaders and key

members of the community. However, in the absence of accurate official data and particularly for hard-to-reach groups such as resettled refugees, community estimates are appropriate data for research (Harte, Childs, & Hastings, 2009, 2011). Second, data are not at the individual level, and thus do not capture whether patterns depict a second, third, or subsequent move after initial placement. Data do not capture all moves because some refugees may be "changing places" – i.e., one moves from city A to city B while another moves from city B to city A. Furthermore, the data do not capture the cities or location, from which individual refugees migrated or moved.

Analysis

The outcome (or dependent variable) is the population count of Bhutanese refugees after internal migration from each location in which refugees were initially placed by the U.S. Department of State. That data identified 287 such locations; of these, 50 were excluded from the sample for analysis because they did not correspond to a Census Designated Place (CDP).[1] Refugee populations for the remaining 237 cities were measured twice: once with data provided by the State Department for all refugees placed upon arrival during the years 2008 through 2015, cumulatively; and a second time in 2015 using the Community Mapping methodology. For ease of interpretation, I will refer to the State Department data as "2008-2015 population or distribution" for "cities of arrival;" and the Community Mapping data will be termed "2015 population or distribution" for "new resettlement destinations." The population counts estimated for 2015 will include the cumulative number of refugees placed upon arrival in the city and remaining in the city, plus the net in- or out-flow of refugees who changed location over this

[1] CDPs are the statistical counterparts of incorporated places, and are delineated to provide data for settled concentrations of population that are identifiable by name but are not legally incorporated under the laws of the state in which they are located. This measure of location was used because it corresponds most closely to State Department data on the placement of refugees. For ease of interpretation, CDP are referred to as "cities" in this analysis.

time period. Rather than linear regression, more appropriate for count data are regression models that use Poisson distribution, wherein the variance is equal to the mean. Some count data however exhibit more variation and are over-dispersed, where the variance exceeds the mean, thus violating the assumption for the Poisson distribution. To deal with over-dispersed counts, most commonly used is a generalized linear model framework with a quasi-likelihood, with either the quasi-Poisson model or negative binomial model (Ver Hoof & Boven, 2007). To determine model selection or model fit between those two models, information theoretic approaches that use distributional forms and likelihood, such as the AIC and BIC, are not appropriate for quasi-Poisson models because they use quasi-likelihood and not maximum likelihood. Instead, for model selection, Ver Hoef and Boven (2007) suggest using the distribution of data in terms of means and variance. Quasi-Poisson and negative binomial use weighted least squares to fit the models to the data, and these weights are inversely proportional to the variance. The quasi-Poisson and negative binomial thus weight observations differently, whereby the negative binomial gives more weight to smaller data counts in a given distribution (Ver Hoef and Boven, 2007). Given that, quasi-poisson was used for this study, as the aim is to estimate population counts in locations of in-migration, that is, locations with greater counts. The quasi-Poisson regression thus is more appropriate as it allows adjustments to be determined by the effects of larger data counts.

Analysis used an offset, the log of Bhutanese population counts in "cities of arrival" based on 2008-2015 data from the U.S. Department of State. This offset is treated as baseline or expected count (Ma et al., 2014) for the 2015 distribution, thus allowing estimation of the change in 2015 geography of counts related to the various variables or factors. To test robustness of results, I conducted sensitivity checks using population count in other years as offset.

Specifically, I conducted seven separate quasi-Poisson and Poisson regressions, using as offset the log of Bhutanese population counts in "cities of arrival" for seven cumulative periods from 2008 up to each year (2008, 2008-2009, 2008-2010, 2008-2011, 2008-2012, 2008-2013, 2008-2014) in the dataset from the U.S. Department of State. In order to select which offset variable better explains the model, stepwise variable selection analysis was used. It was performed by forward selection of eight different offset variables while keeping explanatory variables. Results from the sensitivity checks indicate that the final offset variable, using cumulative population of 2008 to 2015, is better for explaining the model, compared with the other offset variables that used population count that accounted for a shorter duration than the complete resettlement years. Results reveal relatively consistent estimates or coefficient sizes across the seven regressions but much bigger standard errors, compared with the final model used in analysis.

City-Level Factors

Drawing from the literature described above pertaining to immigrant labor and geographies, I examined were various city-level characteristics, conceptualized into four dimensions: (a) region (b) immigrant population (c) employment opportunity, and (d) local immigration policy. Table 1.1 provides a summary of population count variables and covariates. A discussion of covariates is below, including a brief summary of the expected relationship to the outcome and measurement.

Region.

Researchers have documented migration patterns of Hispanic immigrants in recent decades, showing movement out of traditional urban immigrant gateways and out of western and southwestern regions, into new destinations in rural areas of the midwestern and southern regions. These patterns following movement of low-wage, low-skill jobs in those same regions.

It may be, then, that Bhutanese refugees have followed these same trajectories. The total population of a given city was included as a control variable, data for which was also retrieved from the U.S. Census.

Hypothesis: Cities in the Midwest and South were expected to have a positive association with Bhutanese population count in cities in 2015 after relocation; while cities in the West and Northeast were expected to have a negative association. Indicator: Data for the variable region were collected from the U.S. Census and measured as a four-category variable: West, Midwest, Northeast, and South.

Immigrant population.

Recent migration research on "new immigrant destinations" has revealed that beginning in the 1990s through more current times, immigrants have been moving to new cities or locations that may not have been traditional immigrant gateways or that may not have seen immigrant populations in previous years. In other words, immigrants are going to cities with fewer immigrants already in residence. Relatedly, these new immigrant destinations are cities that have experiences rapid growth in immigrant populations in recent years.

Density of immigrant population. Hypothesis: Cities with a higher percentage of foreign-born population were expected to have a negative association with Bhutanese population count in 2015. In other words, more Bhutanese refugees were expected in cities with fewer immigrants, cities representing new immigrant destinations. Indicator: The density or concentration of immigrant population was measured using the number of foreign-born individuals relative to total population size in a given city, using data from the U.S. Census.

Rate of growth of immigrant population. Hypothesis: Cities with faster growing immigrant populations were expected to have a negative association with the outcome. That is to

say, more Bhutanese refugees were expected in cities with immigrant populations increasing at a faster rate, characteristic of "new immigrant destinations." Indicator: Pace of growth of immigrant population was measured as rate of growth of foreign-born population between 1990 and 2010 relative to total population size in a given city, using data from the U.S. Census.

Labor market conditions.

Labor market conditions in a given city were measured using two indicators: unemployment rate and job quality.

Unemployment: Labor market conditions, i.e., the availability of jobs, depict migrants' prospects for employment in a given city. Hypothesis: A lower unemployment rate in cities depicting better job prospects was expected to have a positive association with the outcome. Indicator: Using U.S. Census data, unemployment was measured as the unemployment rate, defined in the U.S. Census as the number of unemployed individuals relative to the number of individuals in the workforce.[2]

Job quality. Job quality is conceptualized such that low-wage, low-skill jobs that typically allow easy entry for workers without U.S. education and training are considered low-quality jobs. Hypothesis: A higher proportion of low-quality jobs in cities was expected to have a positive association with the Bhutanese population count in 2015. Indicator: Job quality was conceptualized as low-wage production jobs and indicated by a combined measure of the percentage of production jobs at the city level multiplied by the percentage of low-wage jobs at the state level, using data from the U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Census, respectively.

[2] Individuals no longer looking for work are not considered as part of the workforce, according to U.S. Census definitions.

Local immigration policy.

Immigration policies or ordinances at the local level, city or county, have been viewed in previous scholarship as reflecting the sentiments of local communities towards immigrants, where inclusive and exclusionary policies reflect positive and negative sentiments, respectively.

Hypothesis: Having an inclusive local policy on immigration was thus expected to have a positive association with Bhutanese refugee population count. In other words, more Bhutanese refugees were expected to live in locations receptive or friendly towards immigrants, as indicated by a having an inclusive immigration policy. Reverse associations were expected for cities with exclusionary immigration policies. Indicator: Local immigration policy was measured using two policies—Sanctuary City Policy and the USCIS 287(g) Program, which have been used in previous studies (see Walker & Leitner, 2011). One binary categorical variable for each policy measured whether or not the policy had been adopted in a given city as of 2015.

Sanctuary City Policy: "Sanctuary Cities," considered inclusive or immigrant-friendly, refers to those localities that have adopted "Sanctuary City" policies that are designed to disallow arrest and prosecution based solely on undocumented immigrant status; that do not allow local funds or resource for enforcing federal immigration laws; or that don't allow local police or city employees to inquire about immigration status. Data on Sanctuary City Policy were collected from the Center for Immigration Policy.[3]

USCIS 287g Program: Cities with exclusionary local policies are those that have adopted the 287g Program, a program under the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Immigration and Citizenship Enforcement arm, commonly known as ICE. "The 287(g) program, one of ICE's top partnership initiatives, allows a state or local law enforcement entity to enter into a

[3] Center for Immigration Policy. http://cis.org/Sanctuary-Cities-Map

partnership with ICE, under a joint Memorandum of Agreement, in order to receive delegated authority for immigration enforcement within their jurisdictions." Data on the 287g Program were collected from U.S. ICE.[4]

Results

This section is in two parts. First, I provide brief visual representations and descriptions of the geographic patterns of two population distributions of Bhutanese refugees: in cities of primary placement (2008-2015) and in "new destination resettlement cities" as of 2015, which accounts for geographic changes from the former, followed by descriptive statistics. Next, I discuss findings from analyses conducted to examine the city-level characteristics that may help explain movement of Bhutanese refugees from "cities of arrival" to "new resettlement destinations."

Descriptive Analysis: Bhutanese Distribution in "Cities Of Arrival" and "New Resettlement Destinations"

Geographic distribution of Bhutanese refugees in "cities of arrival," 2008-2015.

Figure 1.1 illustrates the geographic pattern of the cumulative population distribution of Bhutanese refugees upon primary placement in 233 cities across the United States before in- or out-migration or relocation, from the first arrivals in 2008 to those who arrived as resettlement came to a close in 2015. In other words, this is a hypothetical map that depicts the patterns if all Bhutanese refugees had stayed in the cities where they were first placed by the U.S. government. Based on arrival data from the U.S. Department of State, this map reflects the policy-intended distribution for the entire resettlement program for Bhutanese refugees in the United States.

[4] U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Immigration and Citizenship Enforcement https://www.ice.gov/factsheets/287g

The geographic distribution of Bhutanese refugees in cities of arrival or placement in Figure 1.1 exhibits some patterns. The most notable is the government strategy of dispersion. The maximum number of refugees resettled in one city was 2,626; in other words, no one city gained received more than 2,626 individuals out of the total 82,533 Bhutanese refugees resettled as of 2015. Sixteen cities in nine states received 1,500 individuals or more; and the rest of the Bhutanese population were dispersed in more than 200 cities across the country.

Geographic distribution of Bhutanese refugees in "new resettlement destinations," 2015.

Figure 1.2 depicts the geographic pattern of the distribution of Bhutanese refugees at one point, 2015, which reflects the distribution in "new resettlement destinations" after in- or out-migration or relocation from cities of primary placement.[5] The spatial distribution of Bhutanese resettlement in Figure 1.2 exhibits some distinctive patterns. First, movement out of the West seems evident, with California, Arizona, and Washington showing the largest losses in Bhutanese population. Second, there appears to be a pattern of concentration around the midwestern and southern regions, in contrast to the dispersion pattern in Figure 1.1. Specifically, Columbus, Ohio, stands out as city of high concentration, with a seven-fold increase in Bhutanese population count in 2015 compared to the primary placement counts, by far the highest increase and thus considered an outlier. Population counts in several other cities in Ohio and in neighboring states, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, also increased substantially.

[5] Figure 1.2 illustrates data from the community knowledge maps or community-based census data collection techniques previously described. To reiterate, data in Figure 1.2 are population counts based on Community Mapping methods, as estimated by leaders and key members of the Bhutanese refugee communities in cities across the U.S. It is important to note here that community-based census data tend to often be overestimated (Harte et al., 2009, 2011).

Descriptive statistics.

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 summarize the descriptive statistics for the outcome and explanatory factors. Total population of Bhutanese was 82,533 in "cities of arrival" in 2008-2015 according to data from the U.S. State Department, while the total population is 137,960 for "new resettlement destinations" in 2015, according to data from the community mapping methodology. There is thus a substantial over-estimation based on informants who provided data during data collection using the community mapping methodology. Overestimation is expected and is not uncommon for this methodology, because data are based on estimates made by individual community leaders (Harte et al., 2009, 2011). Future studies could improve data collection strategies to better account for population estimates gained from community mapping methods.

Bhutanese population distribution by region is displayed in Table 1.1. There was a relatively even distribution across the four regions (slightly less in the West and more in the South) based on arrival or placement data, reflecting the dispersion strategy of policy-driven resettlement geography. In contrast, in 2015 after accounting for relocation, the Bhutanese populations shows a large increase in concentration in the Midwest and a substantial decrease in cities in the West (based on 2015 community mapping data).

Table 1.2 displays the averages and standard deviation for five city-level factors for all cities in the sample, and for the top five "new resettlement destinations," that is, the five cities with the greatest number of Bhutanese refugees as of 2015 after accounting for onward movements or relocation. Comparing the full sample to that of the top five cities, density of immigrant population in the top 5 was nearly half that in the full sample. Furthermore, averages for the other variables were slightly smaller in the top five cities compared with the full sample.

Quasi-Poisson Analysis of City-Level Factors

Drawing on theories on immigrant geographies, four domains of city-level characteristics were considered step-by-step in four models — region, immigrant population, labor market, and local immigrant policy — to explain the Bhutanese refugee population distributions. I first briefly present results for the final model for Bhutanese refugee population counts in "cities of arrival" from 2008 to 2015, based on data from the U.S. Department of State. Next, I discuss in detail results for Bhutanese refugee population count in "new resettlement destinations" as of 2015, based on community mapping data.

Results for policy-driven resettlement geography: "cities of arrival," 2008-2015.

Table 1.3 displays results for the final model for Bhutanese population count in "cities of arrival" across three regions, reflecting policy-driven resettlement geography. Results indicate that Bhutanese refugees were placed in locations that had a lower density of existing immigrant population and a higher unemployment rate, and other variables were not significantly associated with the outcome. That Bhutanese refugees were placed by the U.S. government in cities with lower concentrations of immigrants, as suggested by findings, is consistent with the idea that refugee placement is intended not to "inundate" cities with a large influx of newcomers (Forbes, 1985, pp. 1,3; Kelly, 1986, p. 7; Weine et al., 2011, p. 2).

Second, the higher unemployment rate associated with more Bhutanese refugees in cities of arrival is a surprising result and particularly noteworthy—unfavorable labor market conditions or worse employment opportunities in cities of arrival were associated with the placement of more Bhutanese refugees. This seems counterintuitive, because it is expected that the U.S. government would place refugees in places with better employment opportunities, particularly because employment or self-sufficiency is the main goal of refugee policy and because many

refugees seek economic integration through jobs. However, it may not be the availability of jobs per se, but the availability of low quality jobs that matters. Because refugees are often without relevant work experience and lacking education, and given the segmented and racialized U.S. labor market, resettled refugees more commonly take low-wage, de-skilled or low-skill jobs, such as those in the production and manufacturing industries. The result for low-quality jobs is in a positive direction, although not significant, suggesting that more refugees were placed in locations with a higher proportion of low-quality jobs.

Results for refugee-driven resettlement geography: "new resettlement destinations," 2015.

The results for the subsequent "refugee driven" resettlement geography, controlling for population distributions in "cities of arrival" or primary placement, are different when compared with policy-driven resettlement, as discussed in the previous section. Stepwise regression results are presented as risk ratios in Table 1.4, and results as coefficients are presented in Table 1.5. Stepwise regression was used to introduce variables incrementally and better explore and assess the relative influence of each explanatory variable on the outcome. Results for the full model are plotted in Figure 1.3. A plot of observed versus predicted values for Bhutanese population count in "new resettlement destinations" in 2015 is depicted in Figure 1.4. The coefficient of the determination (r2), the slope and the intercept of the line fitted to the data indicate positive evaluation of model performance. Statistically significant results for the full model are summarized in the plot of effect sizes in Figure 1.5. Effect sizes were computed using standardized coefficients to allow comparable assessments about how one standardized unit change in each factor leads to an increase or decrease in the actual count of Bhutanese refugee population in "new resettlement destinations" in 2015.

Region

Model 1, as the base model, considers region. After a period of refugees' onward movement from "cities of arrival," estimates for the number of refugees per location suggest that the number of refugees declined significantly in locations outside the Midwest. The difference in the logs of expected counts of Bhutanese refugees is expected to be lower by 1.174 units, 0.65 units, and 1.072 units in the West, Northeast, and South, respectively, compared to the Midwest. Explained in terms of IRR, Bhutanese population counts in the West, Northeast, and South are expected to have a rate that is.31, .52, and .34, respectively compared to the Midwest. In other words, compared to being in the Midwest, being in the West, Northeast, and South is expected to have a 69%, 48%, and 66% decrease in Bhutanese population count, respectively.

These results are consistent with migration literature on Hispanic immigrants, whose internal migration patterns from the 1990s into the 2000s show outward movement from the West and Southwest, and inward movement to the Midwest as well as South. However, Bhutanese refugees depart somewhat from Hispanic migration trends– results suggest that the South in not a destination for Bhutanese refugees, unlike their Hispanic counterparts. Furthermore, the significance of region for "new resettlement destinations" but not for "cities of arrival" is noteworthy. These results indicate that refugee-driven movement into the Midwest contrasts with the strategy of dispersion intended by the U.S. government when placing refugees.

Immigrant Population

Model 2 adds immigrant population in cities as a factor relevant to Bhutanese geography in 2015, with two variables: density and pace of growth of immigrant populations. A greater number of refugees per location was significantly associated with a faster growing immigrant population in a given city, according to results. The association with the density of the existing

immigration population was negative and nonsignificant. Interpreting the former, every one unit increase in rate of immigrant population growth is expected to lead to a 0.0786 unit increase in the logs of expected Bhutanese population count in a given city. In terms of IRR, with a 1% increase in pace of growth of the immigrant population, the rate ratio for Bhutanese population count would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.082, while holding all other variables in the model constant. In other words, a 1% faster pace of growth of the immigrant population is expected to lead to an 8.2% increase in Bhutanese population count. The effect of region from the earlier model maintains direction and significance, and varies only slightly in magnitude (slight increase for western and southern cities, and slight decrease for Northeast cities).

These results are consistent with theories of "new immigrant destinations" of Hispanic immigrants more broadly. Similar to movement trends of their Hispanic immigrant counterparts, refugee destinations are indeed "new," in the sense that these are cities with fast-growing immigrant populations. In addition, refugees are moving to cities with smaller concentrations of immigrants, thus "non-traditional immigrant gateways," according to non-significant results.

Results for arrival cities, however, are different in terms of immigrant population. The direction of the coefficient for immigrant population pace of growth are reversed for the two distributions: the number of Bhutanese refugees decreased with immigrant population pace of growth in "cities of arrival," but increased with that in "new resettlement destinations." Meanwhile, the density of immigrant population was similar in direction and magnitude, and non-significant, for arrival cities and new destination cities in terms of Bhutanese distribution.

Labor Market

Model 3 further contextualizes the model by adding the labor market as an additional factor for explaining Bhutanese refugees' geographic distribution as of 2015, controlling for region and

immigrant population. Two city-level characteristics pertaining to labor market conditions were considered: unemployment rate and low-quality jobs.

Estimates were not significant for the role of unemployment rate or quality of jobs. The statistically significant effects of region and immigrant population pace of growth rate, in the previous models, were robust to controls for labor-market conditions added in Model 3. In other words, after accounting for labor-market conditions, being in the Midwest and having a fast growing immigrant population in cities remain relevant for explaining the outcome.

The coefficient for the proportion of low-quality of jobs changed direction, from that in cities of arrival, to have a positive association with the number of refugees after secondary migration. The coefficient for unemployment rate, meanwhile, had a positive association with the number of refugees in both arrival cities and destination cities. The direction of these coefficients for labor-market variables, although not statistically significant, are surprising and contrary to the hypothesized relationships with the outcomes, and thus are areas for future research.

Local Immigrant Policy

Model 4, the full model in Table 1.3 and depicted in Figure 1.3 below, adds local immigration policy, with two measures: Sanctuary City as inclusive policy and INA287g as exclusionary policy. These policies are considered indicators of a un/welcoming immigrant sentiment of the local community.

The estimate of the number of refugees per location after secondary migration had a significantly positive association with the adoption of INA287g as exclusionary policy. The outcome was not significantly associated with adoption of Sanctuary City policies, but had a negative direction. The directions of the policy variables suggests that more Bhutanese refugees

in 2015 were in locations with anti- or unwelcoming immigrant sentiment, and fewer in locations with inclusive sentiments, the latter not significant. Causality cannot be determined, however, because policy variables were collected in 2015, which is at the tail end of secondary migration into "new resettlement destinations." The effects of region and pace of growth of immigrant population from earlier models maintain direction, magnitude, and significance. Adopting the INA287g exclusionary policy is expected to increase the logs of expected counts of Bhutanese refugees by 0.967 units. In terms of IRR, a given city with the INA287g exclusionary policy, compared with a city that doesn't, is expected to have a rate 2.630 times greater for Bhutanese population count. In other words, adopting the INA287g exclusionary policy is expected to have a 163% increase in Bhutanese population count. Also, the effect of INA287g policy is the same magnitude but in the opposite direction of that estimated for primary settlement locations or arrival cities, though not statistically significant.

These significant results about policy are particularly of note, and are consistent with theories about "new immigrant destinations" more broadly. Destinations of Bhutanese refugees mirror those of other immigrants, in terms of region and immigration population, according to results from Models 1 and 2. Immigrant policies factor in as well, however, as immigration scholars have suggested; restrictionist or exclusionary immigrant policies at the local levels follow the influx of immigrant populations and occur at a faster rate than that of influx itself (Varsanyi, 2008a; Wright & Ellis, 2000). Moreover, results from the full model suggest that "new resettlement destinations" of Bhutanese refugees are better explained by social factors rather than economic factors, as indicated by significant effects of INA287g exclusionary policy and non-significant effects of labor-market conditions.

Conclusion

Using a strategy of dispersal to determine policy-driven resettlement geography, the U.S. government places refugees relatively evenly across various regions around the country and in locations with relatively small concentrations of existing immigrant populations, according to the findings in this study of the Bhutanese refugee population as a case study. However, similar to immigrants more broadly and earlier waves of refugees who came before them, refugees in the current post-911 era of resettlement also have moved. Following the migration trends of Hispanic immigrants toward "new immigrant destinations" (Marrow, 2011), findings in this study put forward "new *resettlement* destinations" for refugees. Like their immigrant counterparts, resettled refugees are moving away from the West and concentrating in new destinations in the Midwest and locations with fast-growing immigrant populations. Furthermore, refugees have moved into locations with exclusionary local immigrant policies, understood as reflective of anti-immigrant sentiment.

Immigration scholars have examined the injurious interplay of economic and social conditions in "new immigrant destinations" in the United States (Marrow, 2011; Zuniga & Hernandez, 2005). On one hand, low-wage labor demand in new destinations draws in cheap migrant labor (Kandel & Parrado, 2012; Piore, 1979); and, on the other, exclusionary immigrant policies follow in response to that influx of immigrants (Ellis, 2006; Varsanyi, 2008a), as local communities and residents feel threatened by a fast-growing immigrant population (Ellis, 2006). Findings in this study suggest that resettled refugees, as a subset of immigrants, are no exception to these tensions, as they move to "new resettlement destinations" that can be characterized as similar to those of immigrants more broadly.

Though results regarding labor-market conditions were not as expected, they open new lines of inquiry about how low-wage work features in in "new resettlement destinations," as an

area for further study. Resettled refugees as low-wage laborers are unlike immigrant counterparts, because refugees are eligible to work in the United States whereas undocumented migrants are not. These differences may have a more nuanced expression in terms of immigrant and refugee geographies.

Meanwhile, the findings that exclusionary immigrant policy is positively associated with the number of refugees in "new resettlement destinations" yields insight and raises questions. Refugees are state-sponsored migrants, whereas their immigrant counterparts are considered "economic migrants" coming of their own accord. The U.S. state assumes responsibility for, and is thus more directly implicated in, refugees' economic and social integration, under the banner of humanitarianism that is at least rhetorically and discursively portrayed to the American public. Mirroring federal-local tensions in immigrant policing (Varsanyi, 2008b; Wright & Ellis, 2000b), the federal resettlement policy mandate of social integration of refugees conflicts with policies of immigrant exclusion at local levels.

Table 1.1

Total Population by Region

	Primary	Secondary
Total population	82,533	137,960
West	17.49%	8.39%
South	30.50%	23.72%
Midwest	24.05%	42.08%
Northeast	27.95%	25.81%

Table 1.2

Immigrant Population, Labor Market, and Policy

	Mean (SD)	
	Full Sample (n=223)	Top 5 Cities*
Density	15.69 (10.91)	8.77 (4.31)
Rate of Growth	1.87 (3.98)	1.53 (1.08)
Unemployment Rate	10.03 (3.62)	13.90 (4.02)
Low Job Quality	1.37 (0.82)	1.58 (0.54)
Total Population	237,039 (639,021)	-

*Five cities with the largest number of Bhutanese refugees in "new resettlement destinations" in 2015.

Table 1.3

Quasi-Poisson with Offset

	Model 1
Bhutanese count in "cities of arrival'	
Region	
West	1.401
	(0.93)
Northeast	1.157
	(0.49)
South	1.465
	(1.26)
Immigrant Population	
Density	0.975*
	(-2.11)
Pace of Growth	0.974
	(-0.42)
Labor Market	
Unemployment Rate	1.074**
	(2.66)
Low Quality Job (%)	1.093
	(0.57)
Local Immigrant Policy	
Sanctuary Policy	0.609
	(-1.77)
INA287g Policy	0.488
	(-1.22)
Total population	1.000***
	(4.02)
Observations	223

Exponentiated coefficients; *t* statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 1.4

Estimates using Quasi-poisson Model with Offset

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Bhutanese population count in "new resettlement destinations" 2015	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR
Region				
West	0.271***	0.300***	0.292***	0.309***
	(0.073)	(0.083)	(0.086)	(0.091)
Northeast	0.528***	0.570**	0.532***	0.522***
	(0.094)	(0.101)	(0.102)	(0.099)
South	0.424***	0.422***	0.407***	0.342***
	(0.082)	(0.085)	(0.086)	(0.076)
Immigrant Population				
Density		0.988	0.987	0.990
		(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Pace of Growth		1.095***	1.101***	1.082***
		(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Labor Market Conditions				
Unemployment Rate			1.027	1.027
			(0.022)	(0.022)
Low Quality Job (%)			0.923	0.893
			(0.115)	(0.117)
Immigrant Policy				
Sanctuary City, Inclusive Policy				0.725
				(0.150)
INA287g, Exclusionary Policy				2.630**
				(0.890)
Total population	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	223	223	223	223

Exponentiated coefficients
Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Offset = log(Bhutanese population count in "cities of arrival" 2008-2015)

Table 1.5

Estimates using Quasi-poisson Model with Offset

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
2015 Community Data	Ceof	Ceof	Ceof	Ceof
Region				
West	-1.306***	-1.202***	-1.230***	-1.174***
	(0.269)	(0.275)	(0.296)	(0.294)
Northeast	-0.639***	-0.562**	-0.630***	-0.650***
	(0.178)	(0.177)	(0.191)	(0.189)
South	-0.858***	-0.862***	-0.898***	-1.072***
	(0.193)	(0.201)	(0.210)	(0.221)
Immigrant Population				
Density		-0.0118	-0.0127	-0.0100
		(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Pace of growth		0.0912***	0.0961***	0.0786***
		(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Labor Market Conditions				
Unemployment Rate			0.0264	0.0265
			(0.022)	(0.022)
Low Quality Job (%)			-0.0804	-0.113
			(0.125)	(0.131)
Local Immigrant Policy				
Sanctuary City, Inclusive Policy				-0.321
				(0.207)
INA287g, Exclusionary Policy				0.967**
				(0.339)
Total population	-8.86e-08	1.84e-08	4.23e-09	-1.21e-08
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	1.115***	1.039***	0.905***	1.016***
	(0.120)	(0.146)	(0.271)	(0.275)
Observations	223	223	223	223

Standard errors in parentheses
* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
Offset = log(Bhutanese population count in “cities of arrival” 2008-2015)

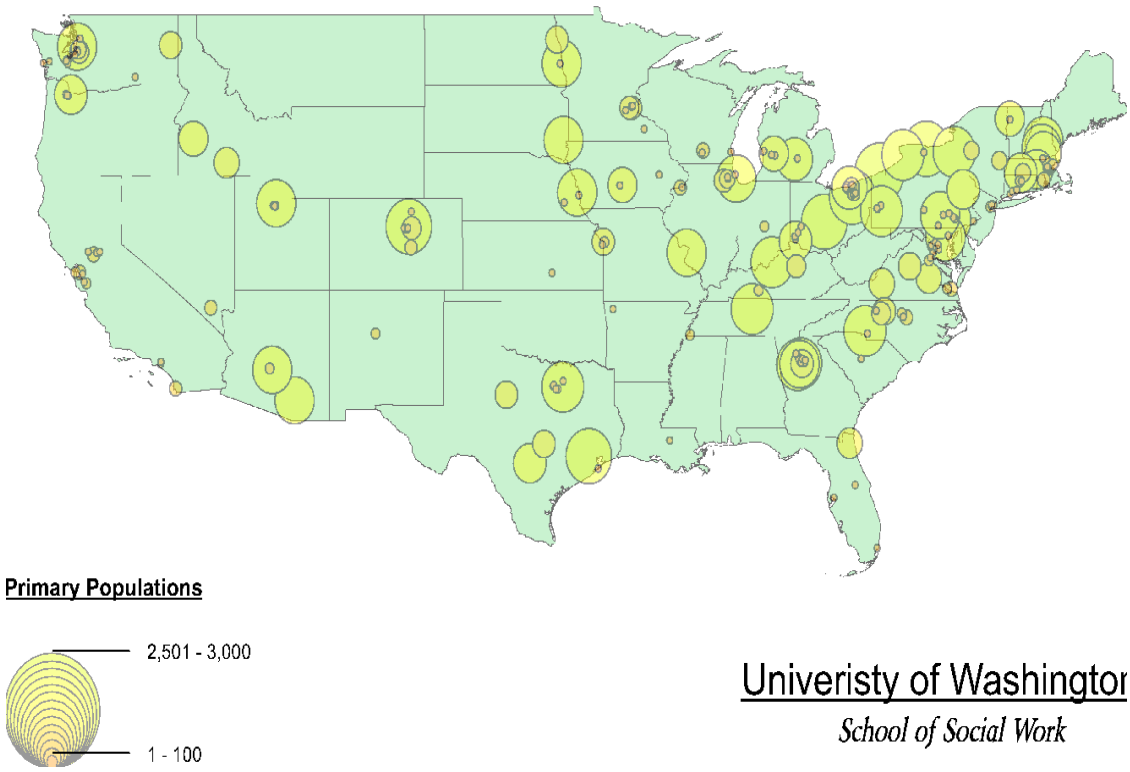

Figure 1.1. Geographic distribution of Bhutanese refugees in "cities of arrival," 2008-2015.

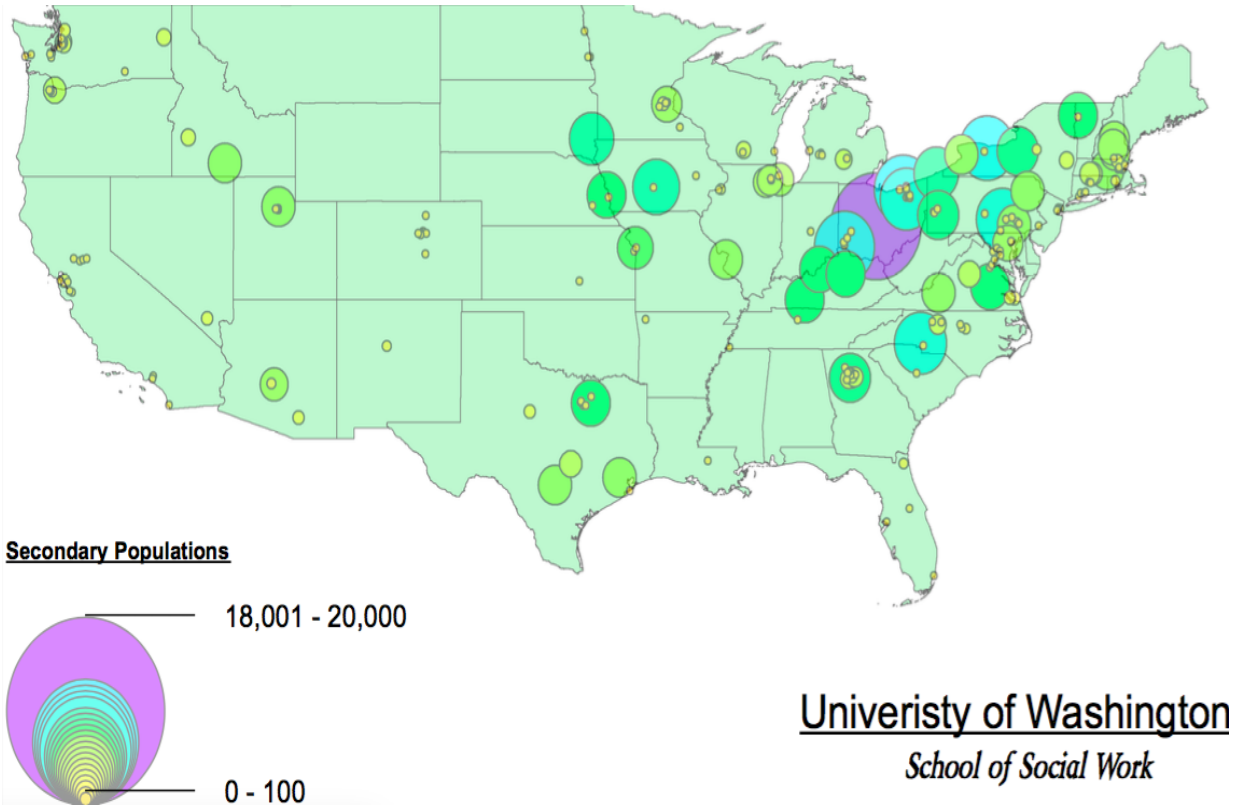

Figure 1.2. Geographic distribution of Bhutanese refugees in "new resettlement destinations," 2015.

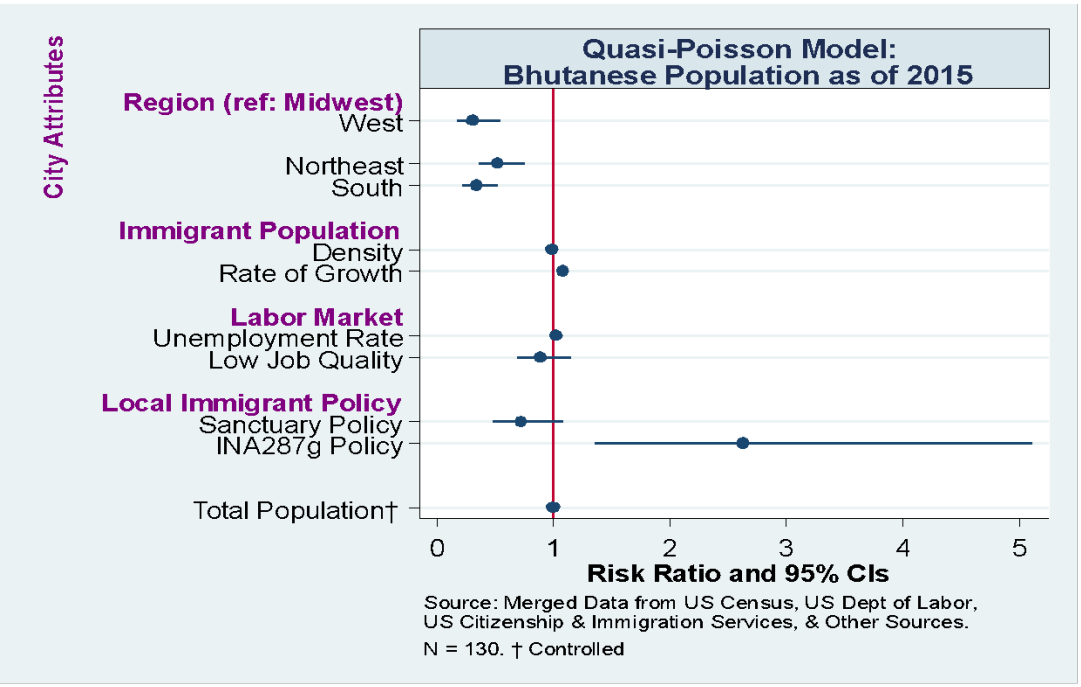

Figure 1.3. Incidence Rate Ratio for Bhutanese population in "new resettlement destinations," 2015.

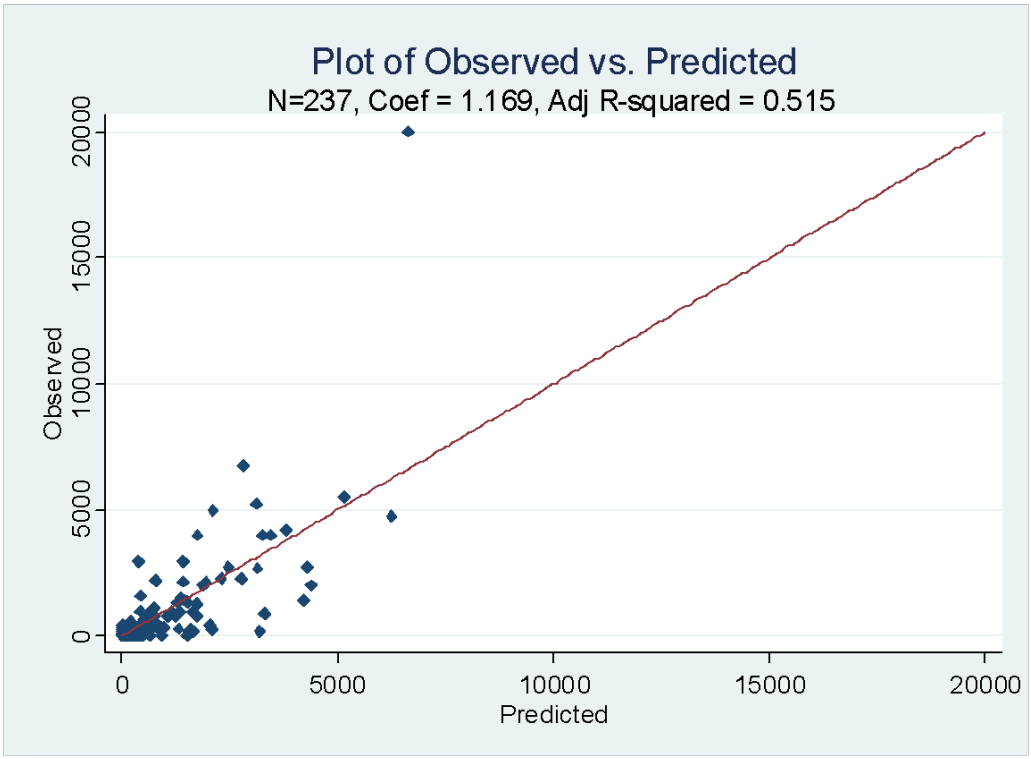

Figure 1.4. Plot of observed vs. predicted values for Bhutanese population in "new resettlement destinations," 2015.

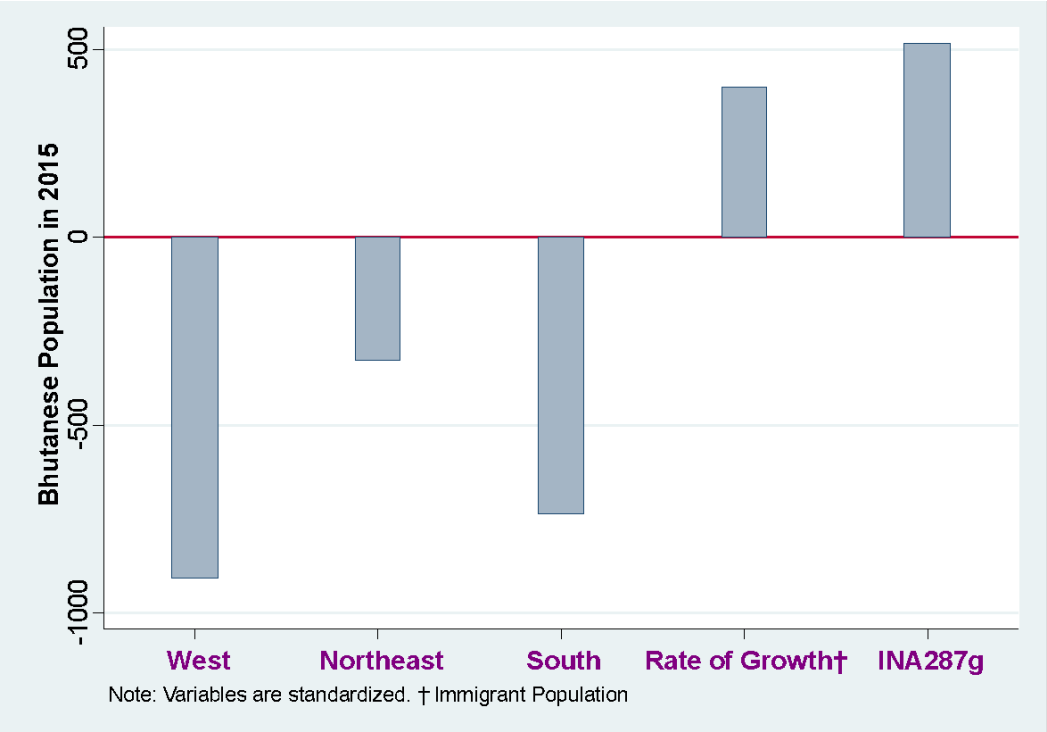

Figure 1.5. Graph of effect sizes (N=223): Full model.

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CHAPTER 2.
A TYPOLOGY OF SERVICES: REPOSITIONING REFUGEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE SOCIAL WELFARE DOMAIN

Introduction

Continued immigration into the United States alters not only the demographic landscape but also social, economic, and political life, for both immigrant newcomers and their new neighbors (Marrow, 2011). Taking center stage in these complex, dynamic processes are migrant organizations that are key sites for negotiating processes of immigrant integration and resisting exclusion (Couton, 2014; Halm & Sezgin, 2013; Jimenez, 2011; Nichols, Uitermark, & van Haperen, 2016; Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2017; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). In urban contexts especially, immigrant integration policies are shaped by the infrastructure of community-based organizations that represent the collective interests of immigrants, along with supportive local governments and a large, active immigrant constituency (Acheson, 2012; de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Sharry, 2000). The vibrancy of these organizations — indicated by the actions, character, number, and size of organizations, and the extent to which immigrants cluster around them — can reflect the sense of identity that forms out of the collective (Cohen, 1985). Immigrant organizations provide a wide and diverse range of activities and functions (Hung, 2007; Moya 2005) to facilitate the socio-cultural, economic, and political domains of integration (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005).

Empirically, the bulk of scholarship on the nonprofit sector has largely neglected immigrant organizations (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2011, 2013; Ramakrishnan & Viramontes, 2010), what studies there are on immigrant organizations in the United States have focused on those that are large, formally established, legally defined, and institutionalized (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005, p. 826; Moya, 2005, p. 835; see Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Bloemraad, 2005).

Immigrant organizations that are small, informal, and grassroots are not captured or are undercounted in official data, commonly from the Internal Revenue Service, and thus precluded from academic studies (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2005). This results in a "distorted" and "incomplete" view and representation of the immigrant domain of the secondary sector in the United States (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2005; Moya, 2005, p. 835). More specifically overlooked in literature on U.S.-based immigrant organizations are Refugee Community Organizations (RCOs), those organizational entities formed by and for resettled refugees, as a subset of immigrants. For researchers, informal grassroots immigrant organizations such as RCOs "pose a problem" as "they are difficult to track down and leave few traces" (Schrover & Vermeulen 2005, p. 825), even as they are the most common type of social association among immigrant communities in the United States (Moya, 2005).

The "ethnic association fetish" that predominates in migration research has been critiqued for obscuring more particularized "ways of being" of migrants and social relations that emerge out of migration processes (Glick-Schiller, 2013, pp. 27, 29). Perspectives on migrant organizations and RCOs that all too often emphasize the "cultural" and the "social" or "associational" can minimize migrant organizations and obscure their full character (Clarke, 2014; Piacentini, 2012). Some migration scholars have challenged organizational logic based on ethnicity, examining immigrant organizations instead as multi-ethnic, class-based, hybrid in form, and implementing diverse legitimizing strategies (Gnes, 2017; Nicholls & Uitermark, 2013). Categorizations and characterizations of migrant organizations and their conceptual limits are thus problematized. To more fully understand migrant organizations and RCOs as complex and dynamic entities, new approaches are called for that move "beyond refugeeness" (Piacentini,

2012, p. 1), “beyond social capital” (Clarke, 2014, p. 61), “beyond ethnicity” (Gnes, 2016, p. 1420; Glick-Schiller, Caglar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006).

This present study aims to join those conversations and heed those calls, by reconsidering how scholars characterize activities by RCOs and then developing a synthesizing classification framework. Findings are used to theoretically re-examine how RCOs fit within the broader institutional context of refugee resettlement, specifically in relation to state-contracted organizations that implement U.S. refugee policy. In addition to those theoretical contributions, this study seeks to fill the gap in empirical knowledge about migrant organizations in the United States by focusing on those hard-to-reach organizational entities that are “small, ephemeral, and unstable” and that are formed and run by resettled refugees, as a subset of immigrants (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005, p. 824). In addition, this study adds to the breadth of knowledge about RCOs by using data on a nationwide scale, to complement the depth of knowledge that is largely based on studies of RCOs that use a limited number of locations.

Data in this study are from focus groups and semi-structured interviews with 40 key members of RCOs in the Bhutanese refugee community, who live in 30 different states across the United States. Bhutanese refugees are one of three new cohorts of refugee groups that arrived in the post-911 era of refugee resettlement in the United States, beginning in 2009 when refugee admissions in the United States restarted after a 7-year hiatus following the events of September 11, 2001. I conducted qualitative thematic analysis to analyze data, drawing from data from existing studies as informing and sensitizing concepts. Findings reveal five types of services provided by RCOs: (a) case management and crisis management; (b) outreach events; (c) cultural and social events (d) targeted programs; and (e) advocacy and liaison. I also developed a classification or “typology of services,” as a synthesizing framework.

After a brief introduction to refugee community organizations in the United States, I provide theoretical background on RCOs and hone in on studies that consider characterization and framing of RCOs. In the following sections, I elaborate methods and results, and close with a discussion of findings and future directions.

Refugee Community Organizations

RCOs, also termed Mutual Aid Associations (MAAs) and Ethnic Community Based Organizations (ECBOs) in the United States, are organizational entities formed and run by resettled refugees themselves; they operate at the local level, arising out of existing groups based on ethnic, regional, or national communities in the home country, and they primarily serve and support the same community in the new country. RCOs may or may not be legally registered as an organization, usually have no staff or central office, have no or minimal external funding, and rely largely on the donations, leadership, and time of volunteers, including community members (Nawyn, 2006; Zetter, Griffith, & Sigona, 2005).

In the United States, groups, associations, and organizations have long emerged out of local refugee communities, from the earliest cohorts during the Cold War to those most recently arrived in the post-September 11 context of refugee resettlement, such as Iraqi, Burmese, and Bhutanese refugees. In the late 1970s, refugee groups, formed mostly by Vietnam War refugees from Southeast Asia, emerged as a specific category, termed MAAs in the policy-practice arena (Majka & Mullan, 2002). Toward the end of the 1980s, more than 1,200 MAAs had formed in the United States. To encourage the development of those groups, the Indochinese Mutual Assistance Division was created within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services) as liaison and to offer technical assistance and funding (Hein, 1997; Majka & Mullan, 2002). That division has since closed, and no such unit

exists now within the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement (U.S. ORR). Currently, a handful of private and nonprofit providers are contracted with ORR to sufficiently provide technical assistance, and a small portion of federal funds are reserved annually as discretionary grants specifically targeting organizations that are led by and serve refugee communities.

A list of RCOs or MAAs in each state is published at the ORR website, but that list is not exhaustive, and no complete listing is known. As discussed in the Introduction, small and informal immigrant organizations such as RCOs are undercounted in official data banks and overlooked in research (Moya, 2005; Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2011, 2013; Shrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Most studies on U.S.-based organizations use official data from the Internal Revenue Service, considered reliable because non-profit organizations are mandated to register with the federal IRS to become legally defined and file annually their financial information. However, nonprofits with annual revenues less than $25,000 — which includes many RCOs— are not mandated to file, along with religious organizations, and thus are not captured in IRS data (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2011). Grassroots organizations of migrants are thus largely excluded from analyses, leading to underestimation of their activities (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2011, 2013).

RCOs in the "Institutional Network of Refugee Resettlement"

RCOs are one of three actors in the Institutional Network of Refugee Resettlement, a foundational framework developed by Nawyn (2006) for examining how organizations or institutions map onto four domains of refugee resettlement as policy and practice in the United States. The four domains are the social welfare system, advocacy, religion, and culture; the organizations, along with RCOs, are Voluntary Agencies and support agencies. A Voluntary Agency, also termed "resettlement agency," is a nationally based, large organization, either for- or non-profit and either faith-based or secular, that is contracted annually by the federal

government to administer resettlement services. The "support agency" is a catch-all reference to any organization, not necessarily federally contracted, that provides any kind of assistance open to the general public, including refugee communities.

Empirical findings in existing studies, including that by Nawyn (2006), have enumerated the wide and diverse array of activities that RCOs provide, as outlined in Table 2.1. Studies provide a listing or cataloging or enumeration of RCO activities. However, these empirical findings have not been incorporated into conceptual models. Nor have they been applied to policy and practice frameworks; there remains only a "fleeting reference" to RCOs' activities in the broader policy domain (Clarke, 2014).

In the Institutional Network of Refugee Resettlement developed by Nawyn and depicted in Figure 2.1, the RCO, as and institutional actor, is positioned primarily within the cultural domain of immigrant life, whereas the Voluntary Agency or resettlement agency is positioned within the social welfare system. This conceptual positioning seems incongruent with the empirical enumeration of several RCO activities described in that same study that appear to be straightforwardly not cultural, such as financial literacy and juvenile offender counseling. The positioning of RCOs within the "cultural" domain in the final analysis in the model thus perhaps warrants attention and revisiting. The literature to date on RCOs is not without empirical documentation of their wide range of activities, but that empirical documentation is glossed over in broader theorizing and conceptualizations about those organizations.

Characterizing RCOs as Cultural and Social Groups

A most visible and dominant depiction of the refugee is based on "culture" and their status as a refugee (Anthias, 2013; Philips & Hardy, 1997), a depiction that follows their organizations (Clarke, 2014; Piacentini, 2012). Immigrant organizations, including RCOs, are often noted for

the distinct role they play in assisting in cultural navigation between countries of origin and of immigration, particularly during arrival and early transitory phases (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Fennema, 2004; Jurkova, 2014). This "cultural competence" and integrative capacity are what are considered the unique and defining characteristics of migrant organizations like RCOs, characteristics that are celebrated. Highlighted are their key role in sociocultural integration and adaptation processes of newcomers into their new neighborhoods and new country (Giugni, Michel, & Gianni, 2014; Lacroix, Baffoe, & Liguori, 2015; Lamba & Krahn, 2003). The collective practices and objectives of these organizations are intimately linked with their constituents' identity as newcomers.

In addition, RCOs, and migrant organizations more broadly, are also commonly understood in terms of how they facilitate social resources gained from associational ties and group membership (Barnes & Aguilar, 2007; Clarke, 2014; Jurkova, 2014; see Leung, Chin, & Petrescu-Prahova, 2016; Smets & ten Kate, 2008). The "RCO paradigm" is hinged on social capital theory, focusing on RCOs as agents or as sites for strengthening and harnessing the resources and "capital" embedded in networks and communities (Kellow, 2010; Zetter, Griffiths, & Sigona, 2005). Discourses of self-help and mutual support depict migrant communities and their organizations. The term "Mutual Aid Association" that is used in official U.S. policy to refer to RCOs perhaps foregrounds precisely their "mutual aid" and "associational" character. Because they form out of primary kinship ties based on ethnic or regional or national communities, RCOs have the unique capacity to strengthen social network connections and facilitate solidarity (Fennema, 2004). That role can often cannot be filled by professional agencies and mainstream organizations that may be unfamiliar with newly resettling refugee communities and their cultural norms and language (Lacroix, Baffoe, & Liguori, 2015;

Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). Therefore, RCOs' functions in the social domains of immigrants' lives are vital and often celebrated.

Organizational Categories and Positioning

Despite the above description, a framing of migrant organizations and RCOs that is dominated by the "cultural" and by the "social" or "associational" can minimize those organizations' purposes and obscure their full character. "Refugeeness" precedes refugee community organizations (Piacentini, 2012). Migration research suffers from an "ethnic association fetish" that essentializes (Glick-Shiller 2013). RCOs are often regarded as static and uncomplicated; most studies examine them during the early stages of organizational life and do not account for internal dynamics that are adaptive to shifting policy and institutional contexts, nor the changes in practice and constitution over the life cycle of the organizations (Piacentini, 2015). "The failure to recognize such complexities constructs a collective identity built upon an externally constructed fictive unity based around "refugeeness" that in many cases fails to reflect the aims or aspirations of the groups being thus categorized" (Piacentini, 2012, p. 436). Its value notwithstanding, "culture" can swallow up the entirety of an organization's character. Focusing on social capital diverts attention from policies and systems that structure the capacities and opportunities of RCOs (Zetter, Griffiths, & Sigona, 2005) and migrants' ethnic networks (Cederberg, 2012). Often all too emphasized are their "social network attributes" of RCOs, their social and cultural roles (Clarke, 2014, p. 62). Social network attributes of RCOs "cannot account for or readily accommodate the many other services provided by RCOs, since these do not relate primarily to RCOs' social-network characteristics, but to the fact that they are also established organizations" (Clarke, 2014, p. 62). Pigeon-holed and defined primarily as

functioning within the social and cultural, the broader spectrum of services that RCOs offer are often neglected (Clarke, 2014).

Depictions and categorizations used in organizational language reflect positioning or legitimacy within the organizational networks or fields (Bourdieu, 1991; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Gollant & Sillince, 2007), such as the "Institutional Network of Refugee Resettlement" discussed previously. To gain resources and legitimacy and to position themselves within that network or field, immigrant organizations contend with accepted classifications of the social world that establish "who and what are considered reasonable, sensible, and legitimate" (Gnes, 2016, p. 1422; Brubaker, 2002; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Organizations must share storytelling and narratives that establish themselves to be "accepted by the public as a taken-for-granted feature of society" (Vermeulen & Brunger, 2014, p. 979; see also Suchman, 1990), and this is particularly true for immigrant and refugee organizations (Gnes, 2016; Gollant & Sillince, 2007). Migrant organizations' "legitimacy is narratively constructed" (Gollant & Sillince, 2007, p. 1149).

Frames and characterizations, including those of RCOs, are understood as contextually situated and socially constructed, and thus open to revision and challenge (Bourdieu, 1991; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). Called for is "a conceptual shift away from the RCO label and 'refugeeness'" (Piacentini, 2012) and going "beyond social capital" (Clarke, 2014) and "beyond ethnicity" (Gnes, 2016), when studying migrant organizations and RCOs. With such perspectives, which take critical and social constructionist approaches to examining organizations, "analysis shifts from explanation to deconstruction of prevailing understandings of the organization" (Hasenfeld, 2009, p. 48). Warranted is a conceptual orientation that is

hesitant of the assumed certainty of existing categorical boundaries, in the first place, to yield new insights.

This study examines the range of services provided by RCOs, drawing from social constructionist perspectives, and makes several original contributions to the conceptual framing and empirical description of these organizations. First, this study describes and proposes a classification of services by RCOs that may be useful in providing common and integrative language to help advance how to discuss and conceptualize RCOs. Second, this research contributes to filling in the empirical gap in knowledge about immigrant organizations more generally by describing small and informal organizations that have been largely overlooked in the literature, specifically RCOs in the United States. Moreover, while studies on RCOs are typically case studies located in one or, at most, a handful of cities/locations and thus have provided depth of knowledge on a specific small group, this study adds breadth of empirical knowledge by enlarging the scope nationally using data collected from 40 RCOs of Bhutanese refugee communities in 30 states. Third, this study uses this more comprehensive empirical data to theoretically reconsider the positioning of RCOs within the institutional field of refugee resettlement, challenging prior classification of these organizations on the basis of "refugeeness" and as embedded only in the social and cultural dimensions of refugee life. In the next sections, I discuss methods and results, and then close with a discussion of findings.

Methods

Case Study

This research uses a case study of the Bhutanese RCOs in the United States. In the early 1990s, the government of Buddhist-majority Bhutan implemented a national policy that retracted citizenship from the minority group that was Hindu, and implemented political, ethnic and

religious persecution (Rizal, 2004). Approximately 100,000 individuals fled the country to escape persecution and violence, and lived in refugee camps in Nepal for nearly two decades. After several failed attempts at repatriation, resettlement to the United States and other western nations started in 2008 and will complete in 2017. The majority of the Bhutanese refugee population, about 83,000 currently, are resettled in the United States.

Using Bhutanese RCOs as a case study is particularly interesting for research questions because the Bhutanese community has a unique history of exemplary organizational capacity. The Community Development Approach (CDA), which was implemented as policy by the UNHCR in 1994, is focused on empowering refugees to be active actors, rather than passive recipients, in the reformation of their lives and communities while residing in refugee camps (Muggah, 2005; UNHCR, 2001). Under the CDA, Bhutanese refugee camps came to be hailed as "model camps" within the United Nations' international community, due to an enhanced quality of life and impressive levels of literacy, secondary school graduation, public safety, health, and cleanliness, as detailed in a study by Muggah (2005). Under UN oversight and funding, Bhutanese refugees administered schools, justice systems, food and supplies distribution, and other aspects of camp management. Camp committees were organized to be in charge of various functions, such as social services, counseling, administration, food and supplies delivery, health projects, justice programs, cleanliness programs, and relief assistance. Elections for committee officials were held regularly. Political organizing was also common, and political groups were critical in organizing efforts towards repatriation and against human rights violations by the government of Bhutan. Dozens of political-social organizations proliferated in the camps, although there were factional conflicts and activities were limited in scope due to the nature of their circumstances and lack of resources. Bhutanese refugee camps in Nepal, run mostly by

Bhutanese refugees under CDA policy, were considered "exemplary," and widely recognized by the UN community as "model(s) of best practice" for "care and maintenance" (Muggah, 2005, p. 156). Thousands of refugee children attended schools in the camps, with enrollment at nearly 100%. The literacy rates in the camps' refugee populations were higher and mortality and morbidity levels were lower, when compared to the Nepalese and Indian populations living around the camps (Muggah, 2005). This experience of successful organizing in refugee camps, unique only to the Bhutanese refugee community, provides a distinct and exceptional occasion for examining how a refugee group may organize upon resettlement. Currently in the United States, there are two nationally based umbrella organizations and at least 35 Bhutanese state- or city-level community organizations in states across the country (Association of Bhutanese in America, 2017).

Data Collection

Data collection entailed four focus groups and interviews with 40 leaders or key members of Bhutanese refugee community organizations in 30 states across the United States. I conducted design and implementation of data collection, with guidance from and collaboration with leaders of five Bhutanese RCOs. I conducted all interviews, and transcription was done using professional services. Appropriate approval for human subjects was gained from the Institutional Review Board of the University of Washington (HSD #51312 exempt determination received February 14, 2016).

The nationwide scope of data collection adds breadth of information, complementing other studies on immigrant organizations that have been mostly case studies located in two or three cities (e.g., Bloemraad, 2005; Holley, 2003; Majka & Mullan, 2002; Shandy, 2006). Included in the sample are organizations that are both formally formed and legally registered

with 501c3 non-profit status with the Internal Revenue Service, and those that are not. Identifying potential interviewees started with the four Bhutanese RCO leaders, who drew on primary contacts in their social network, and snowball recruiting identified subsequent interviewees. Standardized open-ended, semi-structured interviews were 1 to 2 hours, conducted either in person, by telephone, or by skype. The protocol for the focus groups and interviews was based on the interview protocol developed by Anucha and colleagues (2006) and elucidated in the Guide for Organizational Profile Interviews that included questions about activities and structure (origins and development) (see Appendix for guide adapted from Anucha, Dlamini, Yan, & Smylie, 2006). Interviews were audio-recorded and annotated by hand, and then transcribed and analyzed in the coding software Atlas.ti. Names and locations of respondents and their organizations are not identified in this dissertation.

Analysis

My analytical approach employs theory-guided qualitative research methods, also termed "deductive qualitative analysis," to think through the research and analysis (Gilgun, 2015), and applies "directed content analysis" specifically for examining content in transcribed data (Hsei &Shannon, 2005). Such theory-guided, deductive approaches are warranted when research is initiated with informing concepts and theories (Gilgun, 2015), as is the case with this study. Sensitizing concepts, ideas that inform analysis as well as coding, were specifically based on findings and data from existing studies, outlined in Table 2.1. A directed approach to content analysis entails a more structured process, whereby initial coding categories or key concepts are identified by the analyst a priori (Hsei &Shannon, 2005), in contrast to grounded theory or inductive approaches to coding and content analysis that seek out emergent themes from the data. I transmuted sensitizing concepts directly into the coding scheme, while also being

sensitive to the level of specificity versus abstraction in an effort to address the aim of developing an integrative framework.

I began coding using the predetermined codes informed by sensitizing concepts from the studies by Nawyn (2006), Owusu (2000), Clarke (2014), and Lacroix et al. (2015), described above, and I generated new codes, retaining specificity and an action or task orientation, to data that did not fit existing codes or concepts. This applies a coding strategy appropriate for directed content analysis, as described by Hsei and Shannon (2005). In the second level of coding, termed axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, in Gilgun, 2015, p. 76), I created subcategories and core categories, combined codes, re-coded, and double-coded, based on connections, overlaps and interactions within the emergent first-level coding scheme. In selective coding as a final level of coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, in Gilgun, p. 76), I analyzed quotes within each category or code to determine different aspects or dimensions described or presented to further illustrate and nuance each category or concept.

Validity

I also took steps towards addressing issues of validity. Intensive, long-term involvement and rich data help increase validity, and this research sought to attend to those two elements. Interviewees were contacted again for further communication, as questions and need for clarification arose. I was in close consultation with a research team of four Bhutanese leaders throughout the research process. Respondent validation was conducted; findings were presented and discussed in a focus group. For data triangulation, organizations' online presence (e.g., websites, blogs, google groups) and documents (e.g., leadership structure, by-laws), as available, were collected from informants and analyzed to supplement data from interviews. Also, researcher bias and reactivity are acknowledged as issues of validity in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2005, p. 124).

Therefore, I took steps to be reflexive and self-aware, by documenting thoughts and reflections in analytical memos and by consulting with community collaborators and research advisors and peers. One important provision to my analysis is that it does not assess the quality and quantity of the services, but only identifies and describes them. That is to say, I did not evaluate how often services were conducted, how many people were served, or the effectiveness of and reception to the services.

Results

Currently, there are two national Bhutanese organizations comprising representation and leadership from many of the same U.S. cities and states. As of 2017, 35 Bhutanese RCOs across the United States are listed in the website of one of those national organizations (Association of Bhutanese in America, 2017). In this study, most Bhutanese organizations, 22 of the 35 in the sample, were loosely formed and thus provided services informally. Seven organizations have gained federal funding, and thus have more formal organizational and leadership arrangements, more structured service provisions, and paid employees responsible for specific tasks and duties.

Analysis of data reveals five "types of services" by RCOs: (1) case management and crisis management; (2) outreach events; (3) cultural and social events (4) targeted, sustained programs; and (5) advocacy and liaison. This typology, summarized in Table 2.2, emerged from the descriptions and information provided by informants in interviews and focus groups.

Case Management and Crisis Management

Respondents described various activities that I categorize as "case management" and crisis management, similar to services provided by helping professionals in resettlement agencies and social service agencies.

Case management.

One respondent noted that part of his organization's mission was "to empower and educate people, and try to teach them how to navigate through the complex system, like health system and the benefits systems. Any system in this country is kind of complex for people who are illiterate, and even for the literate people when they're new." Informants described a variety of case management services, ranging from simple tasks to more complex ones. Some services reported were straightforward, such as translating or explaining documents and taking individuals to appointments. "Basically, we help families in need, you know, taking them to social security, checking them in to welfare office, so all those kind of personal issues," explained one informant. "So I used to take them in my car and go there and just try to, you know, interpret what they're trying to say and get the things done," said another. Other services described were more complex, such as needs assessment and assistance navigating through service systems, including those pertaining to public assistance, health, and immigration. Three informants shared some of their activities:

1. "I used to be involved in people's personal problems, y'know. Sometimes there were 3 to 4 families sitting in my sitting room when I got back from college."

2. "The goal is assisting them so new arrival refugees get health care system and good food and do not accommodate all those kind of, what you call, junk, and get sick and things like that."

3. "Sometimes they don't fully understand why medications just stop for some reason and they not know how to continue, how to re-apply."

Immigration services were also described in informants' interviews, such as in this quote: "Personally, I filled more than 200 green cards and my friend filled more than 500 green cards. That's what we used to do before."

Member volunteers of the organization offered time and availability for one-on-one individualized consultation, as described by one respondent:

> "We told the people to share their problems. We gave them our numbers, phone numbers of the people working in the executive committee and the sub-committees. So, the people, when they needed help, they would call the phone numbers and whoever were available, they responded to the people and gave them the direction."

Case management services were provided informally by key members and volunteers. Because the organization did not have an office, these services were provided in homes of the community members or in public locations, such as common areas or lobbies in apartment complexes where refugees resided.

Crisis management.

RCOs also provided crisis management, the components of which I have identified and termed based on informants' accounts as services provided during emergencies and stressful events, such as medical emergencies, funerals, accidents, criminal issues, suicide and mental health emergencies, and family and gender-based violence. As an exemplar case, one respondent detailed how he helped manage an urgent situation for an individual facing eviction.

> "[We assist] when the need comes, like for example, what happened was one person was evicted from the house because he did not pay his rent… This is a long story… He was in TANF program and he did not get money on time and he did not pay the apartment for 3 months. And in the fourth month he was served notice of eviction, all of a sudden. Until that [time], we did not know, but once the eviction was served, we came to know that there was no money at all. And we approached [an established NGO], and they gave all $3,400 or something, and we got the rent fee and legal fee. Everything was solved at that time."

Informants also shared examples when organization members organized and coordinated to provide support in terms of fundraising during emergencies, particularly funerals and accidents.

Outreach Events

Outreach events, the second type of service I typified, are defined as activities that provide information, education, and/or awareness, and that are held on a one-time basis, in short duration, or on specific occasions, and conducted in locations or venues accessible to community

members, such as community members' homes, local parks and the lobby or common areas of apartment complexes. "Outreach" is commonly or traditionally defined as services, conducted for a variety of purposes (e.g., information sharing, direct service provision, resource allocation) that seek to "reach out" to specific populations and groups that are often hard to reach and don't have easy access to services, and means for reaching these groups is by providing services in their own settings or locations, rather than participants going to administrative centers. Outreach as informational is contrasted with "episodic" programs intended for cultural and/or wellness purposes, which I categorized separately as a third type of service, as discussed next. Outreach as episodic is also in contrast with educational or awareness programs provided in longer, sustained duration, which I categorized into the fourth type of service Targeted Programs, described below. I discuss two kinds of outreach, as described by informants: community meetings and awareness events.

Community meetings.

One activity many informants described as common to all organizations was community meetings, which I define as meetings held on occasion or as needed, both formally and informally, to provide information and serve as a venue for asking questions and discussing issues. Some examples are:

> "At the meetings, we talk about the general problem, focusing on the whole community."

> "We gather people and give some (mental orientation) about the laws here and the systems."

Without a formal office or headquarters, meetings were held in various locations.

> "We used to have the meeting on the ground, the apartment complex and also in the public park. We used to gather there."

The informal nature of many community meetings, as discussed by informants, allows individuals to interact with the larger community, thus providing space not only for information sharing but also for enhancing and strengthening social and cultural connections.

Awareness events.

Several organizations provided "awareness events," which I define as events held at one time or in brief duration that aim to provide information about a specific topic or issue or for specific groups. One organization, for example, conducted a 2-hour seminar for about 20 high school students about preparing for college, with invited speakers from the refugee and broader communities to provide instructional steps, encouraging mentorship and role modeling. A similar example conducted by another organization is a 2-hour seminar for 20 students about gang membership, with an officer of the local police department as speaker. A third organization held a 1-day gathering to raise awareness and community discussion about suicide and suicide prevention, with mental health professionals as speakers and a discussion session wherein members raised issues. In a fourth case, an organization held a seminar attended by dozens of parents with school-age children to share information about various aspects of schooling, from report cards and lunch programs to parent-teacher relationships and homework.

Awareness events could be combined as part of a community meeting. For example, one organization featured experts and practitioners as invited speakers during community meetings. "Sometimes we would invite people from health department, from the family health clinic and they would (discuss) matters," stated one informant. One important issue addressed during meetings and events was mental health and specifically suicide, which is a major problem in the Bhutanese population in the United States.

> "In our meeting, we always have that topic — mental health — in discussions because of the number of cases that were increasing in all the states. Luckily, we did not have that problem in our city. And sometimes our discussion would focus in that issues, and it was always strong."

Cultural and Social Events

Informants described various activities that I classify as cultural and social events, defined as events held at one time to celebrate cultural, ethnic, and/or religious traditions and identities and to promote solidarity among community members as well as the broader community. These events are in contrast with aforementioned "outreach events" that primarily aim to provide information or awareness, as means towards wellness and support more generally.

Cultural events.

Cultural events, specifically annual holidays that celebrate traditions and ethnic culture, were common across all organizations, according to informants. These events were described as a way for promoting solidarity and identity, as expressed here by two respondents:

> "The general problems that we dealt with the people were how to maintain our culture in the new land, and how to protect our culture, tradition, language."

> "To such activities, young children would know we have such kind of culture."

Another informant described these cultural events as means for connecting with their neighbors in the broader community:

> "It's…bringing people together. And also we want to introduce our self to the local community people. Also we want to let them to come to join with us… We are here not for…a short period of time; we are here for permanently, that is why we want to build up our relations with the local community people."

Social events.

Informants also discussed organizational activities that I classified as social events, defined in the typology as one-time activities that aim to promote wellness and provide support for community members, such as recognition programs, recreation events or field trips. Social

events are differentiated from cultural events, the latter being events specifically aimed for cultural, ethnic, or religious themes or purposes. Social events were described by informants in various ways. One organization annually coordinated field trips for elderly members, to the zoo one year and for a picnic outing to the park another year. Another organization conducted a recognition program for the elderly wherein each member was awarded a gift and personally recognized on stage in an auditorium with the broader refugee community in the audience. Several organizations coordinated music events, featuring musicians and artists from the refugee community and from the country of origin.

Targeted Programs

The fourth type of service that I classify based on informants' accounts is Targeted Programs, which I characterize with three elements. First, Targeted Programs have longer duration or are not episodic or one-time events, unlike Outreach Events and Cultural and Social Events. Second, these programs target specific subgroups within the refugee population, such as ESL learners, the elderly, women, the youth. Third, these services aim to provide information, develop skills, or promote wellness in a more structured and sustained format, such as weekly classes and months-long trainings. I discuss four examples of Targeted Programs, based on informants' depictions: English and citizenship classes, community gardens, mental health trainings, and recreational/sports programs.

English language and citizenship classes.

Informants discussed English classes and citizenship classes provided by their organizations. One informant shared that volunteer teachers of his organization developed their own curriculum and strategies to better teach elderly students, and offered citizenship classes in both Nepali and English. Resettlement NGOs and/or mainstream organizations also offered ESL

and citizenship classes for immigrants more generally, but those classes were usually taught by American teachers who did not speak the Bhutanese refugees' native language. As such, the classes often did not effectively address the specific language needs of students, particularly students who were elderly, many of whom could not read or write in either English or their own native language.

Because the organizations often did not have an office or space, they sought out spaces for the classes that were in locations accessible to students, such as in apartments or homes; some organizations offered transportation to classes. One respondent's illustration provides detail:

> "What we did was we went to people's houses in the apartment and we ask them 'can we rent your space for 2 hours a day for 2 days a week.' And they say 'yes, definitely because that's some income for us.' And we booked one apartment in the area and we hired the people from the community to teach the ESL classes. We did not hire from outside the community. I can say simultaneously according to the schedule of that group of people in that particular apartment and the teacher. That way, we ran 10 ESL classes through the community with volunteers in the beginning, and afterwards we paid them a little bit of incentives."

Community gardens.

In a city in the Midwest, one of the projects described by a respondent was a farming program, wherein members of the organization collaborated with the city government as part of the planning and implementation team. Paralleling conventional farm cooperatives, the team secured funding and a plot of land and organized workers and volunteers for planting, harvesting, marketing, and administration. The project was described as widely appreciated by the Bhutanese community, many of whom were traditionally farmers and agriculturalists in their home country. The farm yielded produce to as a small business, and engagement and a sense of ownership among community members. One informant, who was an organizational leader who helped lead and implement the community garden, described how useful this project was:

> "Our people are always willing to work in the garden, so that benefits us. We would develop our skills. We would further build trees and vitalize our skills, gardening skills and at the same time, we would learn the new skills which we haven't done before. And the health point of view was very good for the big (perspective) and all.".

Mental health trainings.

Mental health training programs were conducted by a handful of organizations, wherein about a dozen community leaders received training and education about depression and suicide in an effort to increase awareness and prevention. These programs often were conducted in partnership and with funding or resources from the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Recreational/sports programs.

Sports and specifically soccer programs were coordinated as part of activities of many organizations. Nearly every city with a substantial population of Bhutanese refugees had a local team, that competed in local, regional, and national competitions. In the 2016 national tournament, soccer teams from 22 states traveled and came together in one city to compete in matches attended by hundreds of community members. As for other types of recreational programs, a few organizations organized regularly scheduled classes for traditional dance, music, and language. These cultural programs are differentiated from cultural events held on a single day. For example, one organization in the Southwest offered Nepali language classes and another organization in the Midwest offered weekly traditional dance classes for young people.

Advocacy and Liaison

Some respondents shared that leaders and key members of their organizations participated in actions and activities that I classify as Advocacy and Liaison, characterized into the "typology of services" as community-led efforts aimed at promoting change and raising issues pertaining to services and policies for refugee communities. Informants depicted various efforts and

endeavors. Organization leaders sought to resolve issues with local resettlement NGOs, some went to the state refugee office, and a few went directly to their local elected policymakers. Advocacy was mostly conducted by individuals in their capacity as an organization member or leader, rather than being a sustained organizational activity or program. Advocacy was largely described as in terms of efforts or attempts, with few success stories shared. Advocacy as a type of service by RCOs can thus be conceptualized as the endeavoring for changing policy-practice and impacting awareness, successful outcomes notwithstanding. Two stories below detail such advocacy efforts.

One informant shared how his organization sought to raise the issue of safety of refugees to various stakeholders. In this northeastern city, the residential neighborhood where Bhutanese refugees were placed was very unsafe. Community members were harassed nearly daily in the streets on their way to and from home, and there were daily accounts of robberies and theft, as described by one leader:

> "We can't be safe… We go to work, we go to school, sometime, they beat in a parking [lot], bus park, when we ride the bus. We don't leave all the time…and [stay] home inside."

The informant discussed his organization's efforts to address the issue: "A lot of time the organization go and talk with the police officer and go talk with the district officer, the mayor, or something. Like, in [the] capitol, they go and talk." The informant noted that they also approached the resettlement NGO that was responsible for selecting the housing location for the community. Crime and safety issues remained unresolved, and a majority of the community soon moved out to relocate in other cities.

Another example offers a success story. In a Southwestern city in the United States, one informant described how he, as a key member of his organization, collaborated with a local

advocacy group to mobilize towards changing local policy about school transportation for Bhutanese children in their school district. A large number of Bhutanese families and their children were placed by resettlement agencies in an area that was just outside the zone covered by school bus transportation. Many Bhutanese children had to walk three miles to and from school along a road with high traffic that was deemed unsafe. The community group teamed up with the advocacy group in organizing public events, the largest one attended by hundreds of people, to raise awareness about the issue and gain broader public support. Community-led efforts resulted in success: school administrators changed school bus zoning policies to better accommodate the needs of newcomer families.

> "And there's a long story but very successful story about a school bus issue. I'm so happy and proud of that… Our own…community organizing, like bringing people together. Yes, we can make this change but we are to come [together]. And we started to explain 'what is community organizing 101,' 'what is power of people.' And not only for one [group] but for all refugee and immigrant community we involved… We worked almost 2 years in this project… We had more than 300 community meetings. We went to the director; he said no after 1 year… And we didn't stop… We went to superintendent… We were able to bring around 500 people for (the final) meeting… and finally (the School Superintendent) announced there will be eight additional buses in that area of the town. And now, even today, those buses are there and are full and kids are going to school. That's kind of a good story."

Discussion

The Typology of Activities presented in Table 2.2 provides a framework for understanding the range of services and activities conducted by RCOs: case management, crisis management, outreach events, cultural and social events, targeted programs, and advocacy and liaison activities. The Typology demonstrates the broad diversity of services that a given RCO may provide, as described by members of 40 RCOs in this study that were of and for one specific refugee population in the United States. I extend this classification scheme by differentiating and

characterizing the activities/services by duration of service, target constituency (individual, targeted, community), and substantive domain (e.g., educational, well-being).

The proposed Typology of Activities advances our theoretical understanding of RCOs in three specific ways. First, straightforwardly, the classification is based on activities or services of RCOs as organizational entities. The Typology is conceptually based on specific actions or tasks, and thus can be contrasted with other categorizations, as outlined in Table 2.1, that reflect functions, missions, purposes, and goals in a more abstract sense or in broader generalizations, such as "fostering a new sense of 'home,'" and "protection from discrimination" (Lacroix, Baffoe, & Liguori, 2015); "build bridges" and "increase power" (Holley, 2003); and "service, cultural, religious, and public interest," (Hung, 2007), the latter a categorization of organizations more broadly. The Typology also departs from others that categorize organizational activities in terms of substantive topics or issues, such as immigration, language, advocacy, or education (e.g., Cordero-Guzmán, 2005).

Second, to augment existing studies on RCOs that enumerate or itemize activities and services as outlined in Table 2.1, the proposed typology scales up the level of abstraction by organizing specific activities into "buckets" or themes on the basis of common characteristics or properties that can more easily facilitate conceptualizations and discussions in both academic and practice domains. The classifications are not mutually exclusive and may overlap. For example, outreach events that educate or inform groups of families about new eligibility rules for social services may also be considered case management. As another example, a cultural presentation in a health care setting, as part of efforts to advocate for culturally appropriate services, may be classified simultaneously as both a cultural event and advocacy. It is important to note here that analysis did not include assessment. In other words, the broad range of services presented in

these findings does not necessarily translate to capacity or effectiveness of RCOs; these are areas for future research.

Third, the proposed Typology suggests a repositioning of the RCO within the Institutional Network of Refugee Resettlement model formulated by Nawyn (2006), to reflect a broader and more diverse range of activities, as depicted in Figure 2.2. In doing so, it advances a more complex understanding of the positioning of RCOs in its institutional field and challenges dominant perspectives that characterize RCOs solely as social and cultural groups. Layering categories from the Typology onto the model in Figure 2.1, "cultural and social events" would be considered as addressing the "immigrant culture" domain primarily as well as the "immigrant religion" domain, in parallel to the existing model. The Typology in this study departs from that original model: the presence of case management, crisis management, outreach events, and targeted programs locates the RCO within social service system domain; and advocacy and liaison places it in the advocacy domain. The model is thus revised to better account for the wider range of services. These findings suggest a need to dislocate RCOs from the "immigrant culture" primary domain, in which they have been singularly positioned according to Nawyn's original conceptualization, and to include them within the social welfare domain as well.

RCOs are thus set side-by-side with, rather than peripheral to, Voluntary Agencies or resettlement agencies, those larger, well-established organizations contracted by the state to provide refugee services. That co-location raises questions about how RCOs and resettlement agencies compare and contrast in terms of priorities and scope of services, an inquiry tackled in Chapter 3 in this dissertation. In addition, transplanting of RCOs from periphery to center also raises broader questions about how state-detached RCOs are linked not only with their state-contracted counterparts but also with the state itself, which is probed in Chapter 4.

The diverse range of activities of RCOs has been empirically documented, but the non-cultural and non-social functions of RCOs documented in those empirics are too often rendered unrecognizable, as they are incongruent with the "ethnic association fetish" and culturalization of those organizational entities that predominates in migration research. In the institutional network of refugee resettlement, the ideal type is the state-contracted, state-funded Voluntary Agency with protocols and procedures, funding streams and legal ties, hierarchical and ranked leadership, documentation and professionalization, and an organizational way of life that is wrapped up in bureaucracy and institutional norms for relations and processes. In contrast, grassroots RCOs are conceptualized as focused on the "cultural" and the "social," and as unstructured and unofficial, thus "quasi-formal and informal, not fully an "organization" in the western or American sense of the word. "The informal nature of much of this work means that it is often missing from the broader picture" (Piacentini, 2012).

Classifications and definitions, however, not only reproduce positioning within organizational fields, but also contest them. The re-defining of the activities of RCOs, drawn from the empirical findings in this study, thus implies such contestation, moving toward a re-positioning of RCOs within the social welfare domain of the institutional network of refugee resettlement in the United States. Organizations gain cognitive legitimacy when their "operations, structures and routines are…considered to form part of the 'natural order/ of their social context" and be consistent with institutional logics (Gollant & Sillince, 2007, p. 1150). To acknowledge the functions that RCOs play in case management, outreach, targeted interventions and other areas in the social welfare domain of immigrants' lives is not only to put forward a new and different narrative about RCOs, but also to aim to question the very institutional logic with which RCOs have come to be understood and framed. Claims for legitimacy are operative

only insofar as they are accepted by stakeholders, however; future studies could examine legitimizing strategies of RCOs and other migrant organizations that operate in the social welfare domain. And because legitimacy and institutional positioning are directly linked with allocation of resources, findings thus also raise serious questions about how our policies and systems may facilitate or impede organizational capacity of RCOs and thus the effectiveness and outcomes of their activities.

Table 2.1.

Activities and Services by Refugee and Immigrant Organizations

a. Enumeration of activities of grassroots Refugee community Organizations (RCOs)

Author	Services	Data
Lacroix et al. (2015)	"empowering individuals, providing a communal voice and a form of representation, bringing a flexible and immediate response to local needs, playing a mediating role between refugees and service providers, filling gaps in existing services, and serving as an important organizational training ground."	Interviews with leaders and key members of RCOs in two cities in Canada
UK Refugee Council and Refugee Action (2007) in Clarke 2014	"social and cultural activities, interpretation and translation, education for children, health advice, housing and homelessness, nationality and citizenship, English language classes, campaigning and lobbying, training and employment classes, legal advice"	Nationwide survey of 300+ RCOs in the United Kingdom (the largest survey of RCOs in the UK to date)
Nawyn (2006)	"cultural and social activities, employment counseling and job training, juvenile offender counseling, advocacy with local schools and police, offers men's and women's support groups, a children's choir and after-school program, translators for individuals who are ill and need assistance navigating the medical system, liaison with a local university, food pantry, financial literacy, family literacy"	Interviews with leaders and key members of 10 RCOs in 4 cities in the U.S., as part of a broader study of non-profit organizations serving refugees
Owusu (2000)	"find jobs and housing, fulfill cultural needs, provide financial assistance during crisis, adjudicate in personal and family problems"	Interviews with leaders and key members of 7 "ethnic, township and national associations" of Ghanian migrants in Toronto, Canada

Table 2.1 cont.
b. Types of immigrant organizations that are formally formed and well-established.

Author	Services	Data
Hung (2007)	Four functional types of immigrant organizations: 1 religious organizations, 2 cultural organizations, 3 service organizations to help participation in the economy 4 public interest organizations to enhance political voice	No empirical data
Cordero-Guzmán (2005)	Four functions of immigrant organizations: 1 assistance with the immigration process; 2 adaptation and incorporation of immigrants; 3 representation for the immigrant community; 4 linking immigrant communities to their countries of origin	Survey of 317 organizations in New York City
Holley (2002)	Four aims of community building activities of "ethnic agencies" 1 build support networks 2 give back to the community 3 build bridges 4 increase power	Interviews with leaders and key members of 13 "ethnic agencies" in one city in the U.S.
Rex (1994) in Kellow (2010)	Typology of immigrant association functions: 1 social work and pastoral 2 overcoming social isolation 3 goal attainment 4 affirmation of cultural beliefs and values	No data

Table 2.2.

Results: Typology of Activities Provided by RCOs.

Types	**Substantive area**	**Time**	**Target population**	**Examples**
Case Management, Crisis Management	Access to social services and resources; Well-being	On-going; as needed; one-time; short or long-term	Individual, Family	Interpretation & translation, system navigation, referral, transportation, needs assessment, job readiness; financial assistance
Outreach Events	Informational, Educational	One-time, episodic	Community, Targeted	Community meetings, intergroup dialogue, mental health training & awareness, youth engagement
Cultural and Social Events	Cultural, Social	One-time, episodic	Community	Annual celebrations of music & dance, recognition events, field trips, soccer matches
Targeted Sustained Programs	Well-being, Community Building /Development, Educational,	Sustained over time; structured format (weekly, months-long)	Targeted (those in-need or high-risk, such as elderly, youth, women)	Sports intramurals, educational classes (ESL, citizenship), cultural classes (ethnic dance, language), job training, gardening and agricultural, financial literacy,
Advocacy and Liaison	Political Participation, Empowerment, Safety, Access to resources	Sustained over time;	Community, Individual, Family	Community organizing, communication with policymakers

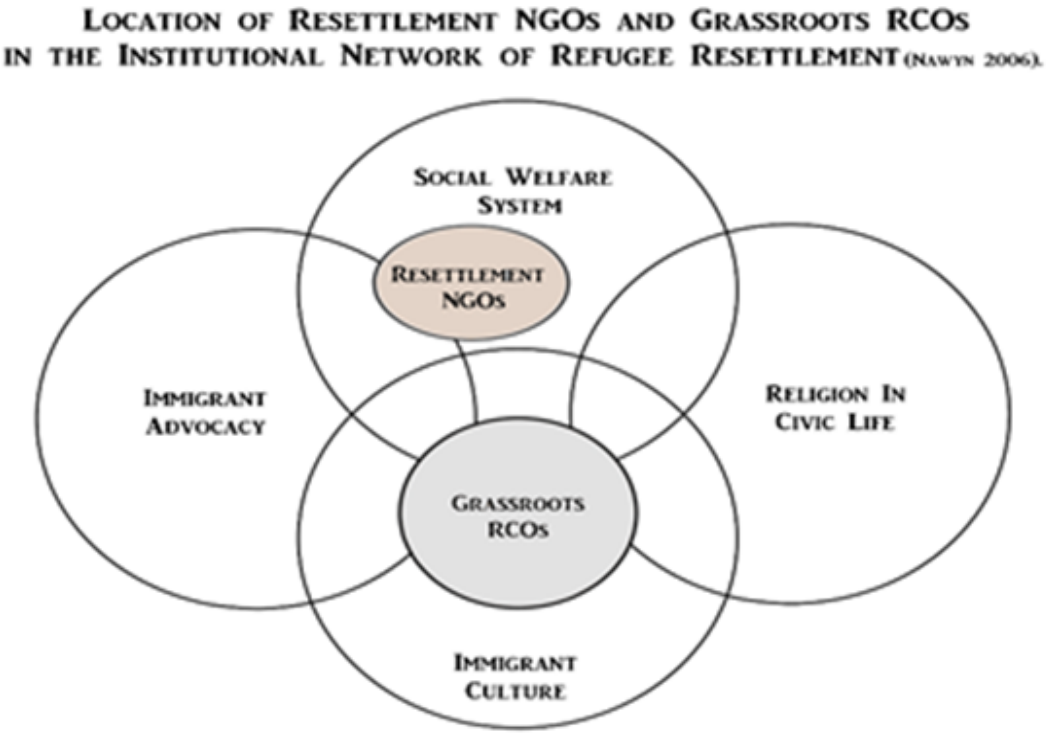

Figure 2.1. Conceptual model, based on Nawyn (2006).

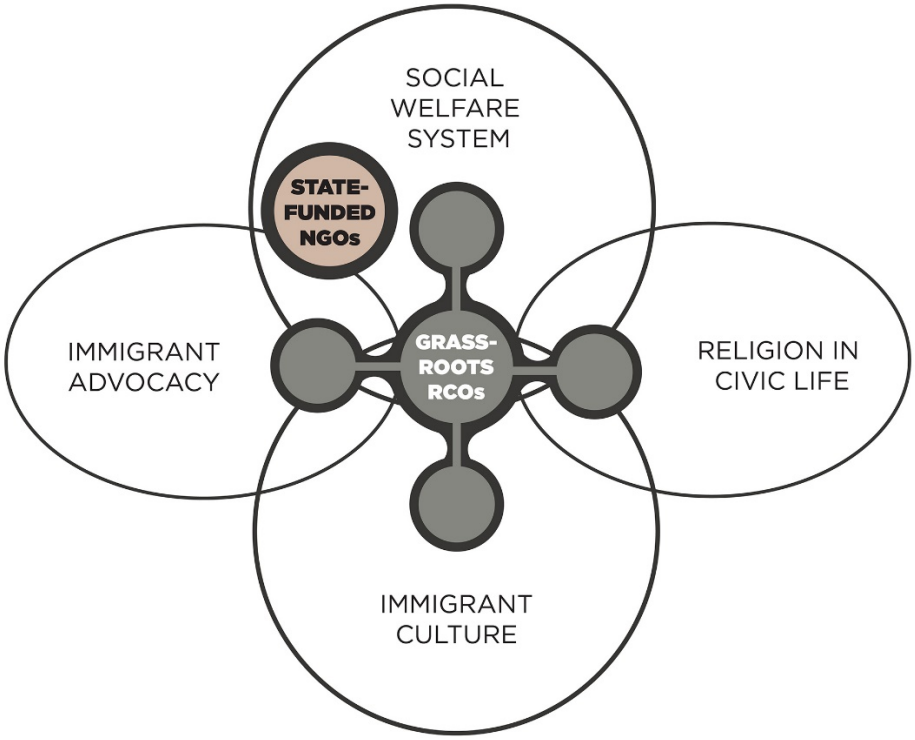

Figure 2.2. Modified conceptual model, based on Nawyn (2006).

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CHAPTER 3.
EXPANDING THE "WHO, WHEN, WHERE, AND HOW" OF REFUGEE SERVICES: EXAMINING THE SCOPE OF SERVICES OF REFUGEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Background in Brief

Top-down hierarchical governance, as some scholars posit, has become insufficient for addressing the complex tasks of administering policy and service provision across states and city governments, across diverse constituencies, and across a variety of intersecting and interrelated domains (O'Toole, Meier, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2005; Trudeau, 2008; Whitehead, 2007). Complex and dynamic urban issues of the 21st century are ill-served by top-down, process-oriented policy frameworks, and necessitate instead approaches that are truly and meaningfully based on on-the-ground communities (McGuire, 2006; Sommerville, 2011). Scholars of "multiscalar governance" point to "lower" scales for such renewed visions of collaborative, participatory policy approaches (Hupe, 2014; Sommerville, 2011; Whitehead, 2007). The achievement of policy goals depends in large part on congruence with the priorities and operations of implementing entities, and this is particularly true when policy goals and institutional systems are complex (Meyers, Riccucci, & Lurie, 2001), which is precisely the case for refugee resettlement.

In the domain of refugee resettlement, the administrative task of providing social assistance — every year for nearly 100,000 refugees, of diverse ethnicities and backgrounds, in hundreds of locations across the country, with regards to the multiple domains of welfare, employment, health, housing, education, immigration, and taxation — is complex. Rather than top-down management, better suited for the task is an institutional resettlement network that is interrelated at multiple levels. In the United States, services for refugees, such as basic needs provision and job placement, are provided currently by nine "resettlement agencies," private and

nonprofit organizations that are federally funded and contracted annually. Resettlement agencies are nationally based but operate with hundreds of local offices in cities and towns across the country, under oversight from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement as well as the U.S. Department of State. Scholars have examined those resettlement agencies in terms of policy implementation and yielded key insights (see Connelly, 2013, Darrow, 2015; Nawyn, 2006; Trudeau, 2008).

Operating alongside resettlement agencies and considered a second key non-governmental actor in the institutional network of refugee resettlement in the United States are Refugee Community Organizations (RCOs), those locally based organizational entities formed and run by refugees themselves (Nawyn, 2006). However, RCOs are largely neglected in analyses of refugee policy and service provision, and not much is known about the on-the-ground, every day processes of RCOs (Lacroix, Baffoe, & Liguori, 2015). This gap in knowledge is particularly evident for RCOs in the United States. "There have been few attempts to theorize the scope and focus of migrant organizations' activities" (Halm & Sezgin, 2013, p. 212). Grassroots migrant organizations, such as RCOs, are hard-to-reach in research and their organizational perspectives are not easily accessed, as they often have fluid, unstable organizational structures and are deeply embedded within ethnic communities. Researchers have focused primarily on migrant organizations as actors in socio-economic integration processes and political advocacy in places of immigration and resettlement (Bloemraad, 2005), and more recently, in transnational processes (Halm & Sezgin, 2013; Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2017). Most studies on RCOs are case studies that are limited to a handful of cities or organizations (see Holley, 2003; Nawyn, 2006; Lacroix et al., 2015; Owusu, 2000), and thus less positioned to provide contextual analyses. Furthermore, nonprofit organizations that are small, informal, and

grassroots, such as RCOs, are undercounted in the official data most commonly used by scholars of immigrant organizations and thus overlooked in scholarship on immigrant civil society (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2012).

According to the findings reported in Chapter 2, RCOs provide a wide range of services, including case management, outreach events, and advocacy, which departs from dominant characterizations in the literature that frame RCOs as primarily cultural and associational groups that solely focus on issues of transition and immigration (Clarke, 2014; Piacentini, 2012). RCOs' varied services relate to the social welfare domain, an area more commonly understood as the purview not of RCOs but that of publicly funded resettlement agencies. Services for refugees are thus not just "policy-driven" and publicly funded via resettlement agencies, but also "refugee-driven" and community-based, via RCOs that operate largely disconnected from the state, as posited in Chapter 2. That both resettlement agencies and RCOs provide services in the social welfare domain but differ in terms of links to the state opens up a new and important line of inquiry. The state funds and oversees service provision of resettlement agencies but not that of RCOs, and thus the two types of organizations may be differentially affected or influenced by policy guidelines. Relationships between the state and NGOs impact the scope of social services, process of service delivery, and definitions that specify who the service recipients will be (Simpson, 2015). The co-location of both state-contracted resettlement agencies and state-detached RCOs within the social welfare domain, posited in Chapter 2, thus raises questions about their similarities and differences, in terms of priorities and scope of services. Overlapping service domains and differences in organizational character between RCOs and resettlement agencies lead to broader questions in the literature about multiscalar governance of social

welfare services, how organizations that operate in varied scales may parallel, contrast, and work in conjunction.

Overview of Chapter

This chapter examines the priorities and scope of services provided by RCOs, compared with those of resettlement agencies that are state-contracted and state-funded to implement refugee policy, while seeking to address questions about multiscalar governance and refugee-driven service provision, and help fill the gap in empirical knowledge about hard-to-reach grassroots RCOs in the United States. This examination uses RCOs of the Bhutanese refugee community in the United States as a case study. A review of the general literature and study methods are provided in Chapter 2. This chapter continues the presentation and discussion of findings, while providing supplementary background and references to additional literature as needed. This chapter continues an explication of the study findings, beginning with a description of the emergence of the Bhutanese RCOs as refugees arrived in the United States. Next, I analyze the priorities and scope of services of RCOs, with four sub-sections that address the "who, when, where, and how" of service provision. The discussion in each sub-section is first contextualized by referencing literature on service provision by state-contracted organizations in the refugee resettlement domain as well as the social welfare domain more broadly. I juxtapose the activities of the RCOs with those of the more formally structured and publicly funded resettlement agencies, but I do not draw on new empirical data about these agencies. There has been extensive study and rich theory on street-level bureaucracy and public-private partnerships as a mode of policy implementation (see Gray, DeDan, Agllias, Howard, & Schubert, 2015; Meyers & Vorsanger, 2007; Lipsky, 2010; Wolch, 1990;), including those that hone in on resettlement NGOs (see Connolly, 2013; Darrow, 2015; Nawyn, 2006; Trudeau, 2008). In this chapter, I

make use of that literature to contextualize relevant issues and use data collected from informants in the Bhutanese RCOs to provide a "bottom up" perspective from grassroots organizations on differences in the who, when, where, and how of activities in the two types of organizations. Findings indicate that Bhutanese RCOs have broader priorities and scope of services than do resettlement agencies that are tied to policies and funding requirements. This produces distinctive approaches to service provision of RCOs – including who is helped, when and for how long they are available, where they are available, and how services are provided. I conclude with a discussion of implications for understanding issues of multiscalar governance and the role of grassroots organizations more generally; and a discussion of questions raised about organizational legitimacy and capacity in the institutional landscape of refugee resettlement services.

Results: Formation and Leadership

Very soon after arrival in the United States of the first cohorts of Bhutanese refugees in 2009,[6] small groups of individuals got together in nearly every city to begin forming groups. One informant explained how his organization formed:

> "So I was the fifth or sixth family (to resettle) in that city, and later there were 7, 8, 9, 10 families, and the population kept increasing. Our people were resettled in four different cities (in the state). And then we started talking about forming an organization because people don't really have a place to go and talk about their problems."

Organizations formed as the population grew, as another informant described:

> "So when I moved in 2010, it was a small community back then. They already had a community but it was not formal, because it was a social group with few people. So after that, we saw many more people coming to [the state] from the refugee camps. So the community started, as a whole, growing up, and after 8 or 9 months, there were

[6] The very first Bhutanese refugees arrived in very small numbers (fewer than 20 people throughout the United States) in December 2008; thus, 2009 is referenced in this study as the "first" year of resettlement.

> around 1800 people… So we decided, why not we have a community. So we set citizen meetings, we wrote by-laws and finally we held an election, the first election of the community, and they elected a president. So we had a major mission and vision of the community."

Another informant described the initial meetings:

> "We started gathering, I mean, talking to friends, coming together, like sitting in some sitting room of one apartment one day; another week, another apartment. We felt that there should be a kind of organization. In the beginning we are around 15" [referring to the founding members].

One informant explained how the earliest beginnings of his organization emerged out of existing social networks from the refugee camps, but also included new ones.

> "Most of us we knew each other back there in refugee camps in Nepal. And those who were not known there, when we came here, we came in contact with each other, and we know, we introduced ourselves to each other."

Another informant said in accord:

> "Some of us knew one another in the camps, but most of them I knew here. I could just talk to people and get the sense that they're interested in (having a) community organization."

The Bhutanese leaders who arrived first were able to quickly identify newcomer leaders and connect with them for organizing. Those leaders capitalized on existing strong social networks, and managed to retain and reconfigure those networks in places of resettlement to generate the strong community of leadership that worked together to establish their organizations.

Many of the founders and leaders of organizations upon resettlement were the same individuals who participated in refugee camp management, discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, many of the RCO leaders in the United States were those who had served as camp managers, school administrators, teachers, workers, and volunteers in the refugee camps in the two decades before

resettlement. Apparently, previous work experience in the camps effectively translated into roles as organization leaders in the United States. One informant explained:

> "I have very good experience because I used to work as a mental health counselor for 20 years in the refugee camp. I was a medical counselor in the refugee camp, and I have worked with these folks, those who have intellectual disability, those who have psychological problems, those who got raped and tortured in Bhutan. I worked as a counselor, so I have the experience."

In addition to experiences specific to community organizing, many Bhutanese RCO leaders have higher education, English proficiency, an existing reputation, and work experience. Some leaders and volunteer-workers of RCOs were teachers, college students, business and farm owners, government workers, agricultural laborers, and medical professionals, while in Bhutan and/or in neighboring communities and locations surrounding the refugee camp, thus increasing their work experience over the nearly 20 years in the camps and gaining transferable skills and experiences. "People expect because I was one of the educated persons, they think that I can help them," shared one informant who was one of the leaders in his organization. Some leaders had skills and experiences that were transferable for community building and others have had long-established leadership and occupational roles in their communities before resettlement. Many leaders were proficient in English, because it was the mode of education and teaching in the schools in Bhutan and in the refugee camps. One informant described the skills of organizational leaders:

> "The main skill we need to have is language. The other thing is communication skills, how to communicate with the general people who do not understand many aspects of laws and locals systems and everything like that. We have to understand (them) and we should be able to explain everything."

As organizational entities emerging out of newcomer communities and with prior experience organizing while in their home country and in the refugee camps, RCOs naturally took, at the outset, the organizational forms and processes based on prior experience. Adapting to

legal requirements and norms of organizations in the American system was a major challenge: filing official documentation, registering with the IRS, and adopting required organizational structures, such as establishing a Board of Directors as a separate authority from the executive leadership. Informants from RCOs that did apply for formal, legal status as a 501c3 NGO shared that they received assistance from resettlement agencies, other organizations, churches, and individuals in formal processes of creating their organizations legally.

Results: "Who, When, Where, and How" of Service Provision

Who: "Reaching People Who the Resettlement Agency Could Not Reach"

Job placement is the main priority of resettlement agencies, as they align with policy goals (Connolly, 2013; Darrow, 2015; Trudeau, 2008), and thus those refugees who are employable are prioritized. Only "job-ready" refugees —those who speak English well and have work experience or education— are enrolled into a fast-track job placement program that allows them access to job readiness assistance and job placement services that are provided only for those who are enrolled. Refugees who are not employable may thus gain less time and attention from resettlement agencies' case workers, as they struggle with high caseload and aim to streamline services and be more cost-effective. Service providers in resettlement agencies apply discretion in who gets services, or in applying eligibility requirements and rationing scarce resources (Darrow, 2015), mirroring discretion among street-level bureaucrats more broadly (Meyers et al., 2001). Social welfare scholars have examined how, to meet productivity demands and performance standards of the job, service providers prioritize clients who are less resource- and time-intensive and more compliant with rules (Brodkin, 2011; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2014; Soss, Fording, & Shram, 2010; Woolford & Nelund, 2013).

In contract to formal resettlement agencies, informants described RCO services as based primarily on who is in need, and as targeting those who are often the most vulnerable subgroups within their community. In describing the scope of services in terms of who they serve, informants shared that RCOs target underserved subgroups within their community, such as those who are elderly, don't speak English, and cannot read and write at all, and thus are having a more difficult time — precisely those who are not "job-ready." "Our organization shared information to the people whom the resettlement agency could not reach," said one informant. "Looking for a job — our organization did not work in that field. That was the job of the resettlement agency… That goal is not for our organization; that is for the resettlement agency." He explained that RCO services target instead:

> "…especially the illiterate people who cannot read the signs, the sign boards, and other fliers. And so these are the people this organization helps. Sometimes the resettlement agency could not pass messages to everyone at a time so they would pass information through us."

Informants shared that elderly community members in particular were having a difficult time in transitioning, and events, programs, and support for them were a priority for RCOs. "A lot of people, like me, we help the older people and disabled who do not do [things] by themselves; we help," said another informant. He contrasted such individuals with younger community members who received English training and some education and work experience while in the camps and thus could adjust more easily upon resettlement: "For the young generation, they don't need help, they go for job interview, [they can do] anything. But those who don't know how to speak English, they need help."

Another informant provided in accord:

> "Elderly parents are at home, they have nobody to share, you know; kids go to work, [but the elderly] have nobody.. [Resettlement] is not easy to understand, for our senior people. It's harder for them… It is hard for them to understand where we are, what we

> are doing, what is the next, how we are going to transition those folks into the new world. So the entire life circle is completely different for them… So that was one of the reasons why we decided that we need to get together."

Similarly, another informant explained that, while many are able to adjust well, the most isolated community members find it difficult to reconcile expectations with realities upon resettlement, and "that's why we are…working for those people who are really in need." Resettlement NGOs have a fast turnover in terms of who they serve, as they attend to the continuous flow of new arrivals, explained one informant, "but as a community, we cannot do that, because whether 20 years, 30 years, we are a community and we are responsible to them somehow."

When: "Our Help is More Sustainable, More Permanent Kind of Help, as Far There is a Need, But the Government is for a Fixed Period of Time"

The Reception and Placement program of the Office of Refugee Resettlement that provides transition assistance for newly arrived refugees ends 30 days after arrival, and job placement and case management services end after 8 months. After these time limits, refugees cannot access social services from resettlement agencies. Thurs, unless individuals or families have specific needs, they are no longer eligible for services once the initial transition period has expired.

In contrast, services of grassroots RCOs are not restricted to time limits, and they can provide assistance at any time, according to informants. A majority of the informants in the sample made at least one mention of the lack of time limits in describing their organizations, and several stressed this as a main departure for their own organization and provided detail. Time limits in service provision emerged from the data as a main theme that differentiated their services from those of resettlement NGOs.

"Our help is more sustainable, more permanent kind of help, as far there is a need. But the government is for a fixed period of time," shared one informant, who continued with:

> "The government policy is fixed at a particular period of time, where [our] local organization support is almost like a very durable and permanent [nation?]. We see the problem in the community, we discuss and we help [for] a long time. But the government's box is focused on the newly arrival people, for certain months they help and then they leave, because the government cannot support every individual who had been resettled since centuries. That is why there is a demarcation, there is a border," referring to time limits in services.

Another informant explained:

> "Our goals are long term goal and their goals are short term. Our goal is to establish the community organization which is going to help our people in a long way for our generations to come, you know."

He questioned a one-size-fits-all time limit, explaining that the amount of time needed for adjustment in fact varies: "Sometimes they overcome the challenges very soon, but most families still have problems for 5 years, like finding a job, developing skills, you know." Another informant stated simply, "Once…90 [days] are gone, they just leave them alone"; and another concurred. "After (resettlement agencies) find them job and everything like that, the refugees have to be on their own."

"As soon as refugees are placed into a job, the successful job placement is measured as outcome and then case workers turn to the next one," shared another. This informant explained further that: "The main goal of the resettlement agency is to resettle them, have an apartment for them, put them in the apartment, and probably a job, put them in job, and just leave it… After 3 months or 6 months, they don't bother." Resettlement NGOs conduct surveys to assess job placement at the end of the eligibility period, but "after 6 months,… they may be busy with their new clients."

He went on to note:

> "So it is different — the resettlement agency just resettles; gives them some job, finished; after 6 to 8 months, finished. The Bhutanese organization goal is different. [We] serve them for a long time until they are self-sufficient. The goal was for until the

> community is there. So we have the case work, we have them whenever their problem comes in."

Another informant agreed. "With the receiving agencies, mainly, I think their main timeframe to help the people would be a few months. In the beginning, they are very helpful." In contrast, "We don't stop anywhere in between. We provide the same benefits and same help to everyone, be the new ones or existing people," referring to refugees who are newly arrived and those who have been here past the initial 8 months. "It's an ongoing process," he added.

Where: Accessibility, Transportation, and Proximity to Community

For immigrant communities specifically, spatial access to social services is a particularly crucial aspect of the receiving context and, thus, the processes of immigrant integration (Roth & Allard, 2016). Social policy scholars have problematized access to services — there is a mismatch between geography of needs and geography of social services (Allard, 2008), including those provided by immigrant-serving organizations (Roth & Allard, 2016). Few non-profit service organizations are located in high-poverty, high-needs neighborhoods. In other words, the poorest neighborhood are also those with least access to much needed social services. Spatial detachment from service providers can limit access to information about services, increase transportation costs and burdens, and hamper familiarity with and trust in service providers (Allard, 2008).

Mirroring that spatial inaccessibility, resettlement agencies in cities are typically headquartered in business or commercial areas. Refugee families in cities, meanwhile, are generally placed into the low-income residential areas that are often situated farther away from those central commercial locations, because federal funding for refugees' housing is limited. Furthermore, resettlement agencies are restricted by policy from providing transportation services, according to a survey of refugee-serving nonprofit organizations in Minnesota (Trudeau, 2008). Remote proximity from resettlement agencies and lack of transportation

services may thus arise as particularly problematic, because transportation, as well as information and trust, are crucial for resettled refugees, particularly upon arrival and during the earliest phases of resettlement.

In contrast, accessibility, transportation, and proximity to community were described by several informants as crucial considerations for RCOs. Providing transportation was a critical service by RCOs, shared informants. RCO volunteer-workers should have driving skills, shared one informant.

> "Driving is compulsory… We should drive to reach people and to take them to these different offices. If we don't have driving skills or don't have license or don't have a vehicle, then how can we how can we do it?"

Another informant specified transportation as critical especially for those newly arrived.

> "Many people who were not driving, and those few of us who were driving were helping, even going to shopping or going to nearby health centers and all these kinds of things."

Transportation was provided not only for individualized case management services but also for outreach and targeted programs. In one northeastern city, the RCO arranged for transportation for participants of their 2-day outreach event targeting youth. Similarly, in another city in the Midwest, the RCO offered transportation to students in their weekly citizenship classes.

Informants shared that RCO services prioritized accessibility, and are intended to reach precisely those community members who are more isolated and less mobile, such as those who are elderly, don't speak English, or are having difficulty with the in transition. Community meetings and outreach events, as well as ESL and citizenship classes, according to informants, were held in the common area or lobby of apartment complexes where refugee communities reside, or in parks, libraries, and other public areas located in close proximity to residences of refugee communities. Housing was set up for newly arrived refugees by the resettlement

agencies, and because of limited resources allocated for housing, refugees were often placed in specific areas with affordable apartment rental prices. In many cities, specific apartment complexes around the city catered to refugee residents, having developed relationships with resettlement agencies over the years and being within the affordable rental price range. This housing arrangement located refugees in close proximity to each other, as well as to other refugees and immigrants in general. That residential arrangement allowed easier, more convenient communication and interaction amongst the refugees, and provided accessibility for outreach services, information, and education; though as a means of segregation and ethnic niching, it can be consequential in the long run for migrant and poor communities. In other cities, however, some refugee families were placed by resettlement agencies into residential locations that were far from the main hub of the community and thus the organization. One informant discussed providing transportation services as particularly challenging when community members lived far away.

> "Sometimes we are asked to go somewhere, you know, [and] I don't have money to buy gas for my car, so I cannot… If I have to travel 70 miles and get something, I don't, because 70 miles cost me money. If it was 10 miles I would manage, you know."

The informant then explained that he would then contact other volunteers for help, "For example, two of us might get together… So what we do is we share, we call, '…can you please help this?'"

How: "The Doing—The Way of Doing—Maybe Is Where the Difference Is"

Existing literature has described and problematized professional service provision as procedural, technocratic, instrumental, and discretionary. Some social welfare scholars have argued that modes of public management of the human services domain have become more managerial and business-like (Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2015; Benish, 2010; Brodkin, 2011; Cherlin et al. 2002;

Harlow, 2003; Meyers, Glaser, & MacDonald, 1998; Woolford & Nelund, 2013). Bottom-line outcomes are primarily economic, while interactions focus on processing claims and rationing scarce resources. Transactions between service providers and clients have become instrumental and routinized, rather than transformational and meaningful (Meyers et al., 1998).

In contrast, informants described the ways of service provision of RCOs as "personal," "informal," and "culturally competent." The broad overarching aim of both resettlement agencies and RCOs is to assist refugees, but as one informant succinctly stated, "the doing — the way of doing — maybe is where the difference is."

"Personal."

Service provision was personal and rooted in concern for the community, as discussed by informants. One informant shared that:

> "The purpose of the informal organization was to let our people, my community, to personally feel that we care about them. We care about our family, we care about our kids. We are, you know, different from the native people who are already here… So, the only way we can take that challenge is being together, you know, sharing our concerns, finding a way out. How we can help each other. How we can let our kids, our elderly parents, you know, know that we care about them. They care about us, you know."

The informant further explained how roles of RCO worker-volunteers blur with their roles and commitments as members of the community. Professional workers have a clear delineation in terms of work hours, but as an RCO worker-volunteer, he simply could not clock out and was never really off duty. If someone was stranded somewhere and called him in the middle of the night, he explained that he would not be able to deny such an urgent request for help. "Not (just) dual, but multiple roles, I have to say. As a dad, as a son, as a community member, you know, as an employee. So we have to have multiple roles," he said. Another informant shared that he felt connected to those he serves.

> "When you deal with people every day, you'll feel. I can feel because I'm in the same community, so I know how they feel, I know how my parents feel, I know how these senior people in the community feel about the environment. So they are not really happy from the inner core of their heart… So, you know, when you deal with them every day, you will kinda feel the frustrations they have."

Being an organization seemed intertwined with being a community, as reflected in the account of one informant specifically who interchanged using the term "community" to refer to the organization when describing the earliest phases of his organization.

> "So people, the community, realized the need of a community because we heard that in other states, they have found community and the community organizations were good for people. So we decided, why not we have a community."

The dual role as community member and volunteer-worker with the community organization simultaneously also comes with challenges, as informants shared.

> "So leadership, being a leader means…they cannot engage in all those community activities for all the time, because they need to have their own family obligations, financial projects for themselves. So that was pretty tough."

Another concurred: "We do our jobs. We have our family. We have our limitations, you know." One informant shared that the community relied on RCO volunteer-workers like him:

> "They have some expectation which I may not be able to fulfill 100% of their expectations, but if I can at least fulfill some of their expectations, you know, they won't get frustrated. They won't think they don't have social support."

"Informal" and "culturally competent."

Resettlement agencies are dis-incentivized or restricted by policy from nonstandard approaches to service provision (Trudeau, 2008). As example, in a study of nonprofit organizations serving refugees, findings revealed that resettlement agencies were restricted by policy from alternative modes of service delivery, specifically, one-on-one preventative health education programs (Trudeau, 2008). That may be counterintuitive, however, because

"alternative" approaches are perhaps the kinds of approaches that would be more culturally responsive and thus effective for newly arrived refugees.

RCOs' case management services, as described by informants, were provided in more informal ways that looked different from the ways in which social services were rendered by professional case workers employed in resettlement agencies. Without an office, RCOs' volunteer-case workers conducted needs assessments, health screenings, and other case management services in private homes of service recipients or of the RCO volunteer-worker, or over the telephone. "Sometimes there were 3 to 4 families sitting in my sitting room when I got back from college," shared one informant. Another shared,

> "We gave them our numbers, phone numbers of the people working in the executive committee and the sub-committees. So, the people, when they needed help, they would call the phone numbers and whoever were available, they responded to the people and gave them the direction."

RCO worker-volunteers also used email lists and social media to reach community members for outreach and for sharing resources.

As another example, "resettlement agencies, sometimes, they don't have the cultural competence kind of training for their staff. So, if a staff is not culturally competent to handle that…; their purpose is not met," shared one informant. Informants described the ways in which services and programs are culturally and linguistically appropriate. For example, ESL and citizenship classes use teaching materials and methods that are tailored specifically not only for non-English speakers but for those are who not literate or don't read or write even in their own native language, many of whom were elderly. RCOs' customized approaches to teaching are in contrast to standard ESL classes provided by resettlement agencies, which apply a more universal approach rather than target just one refugee group specifically. As organizations

forming out of the same cultural and ethnic community, RCOs uniquely have the capability to provide critical and much needed refugee services, such as translation and interpretation.

Conclusion

Findings from Chapter 2 demonstrate the diverse, wide range of services offered by RCOs, and this current chapter describes those services in greater detail, using data collected from RCOs leaders to draw comparisons with the activities of the more formally organized, publicly funded nonprofit resettlement agencies. Findings suggest that the priorities and scope of services of RCOs are wider—in terms of the "who, when, where, and how" of service provision—than those of state-contracted resettlement agencies that are facilitated but also constrained by federal policy and funding.

Who and when. Eligibility requirements and time limits, as stipulated by federal policy, constrain who can receive services from resettlement agencies and when (Trudeau, 2008). The findings here indicate that those *who* are not eligible for or those not targeted by publicly funded services are served by RCOs. Specifically, RCO services aim to reach the most vulnerable members of the community, such as those who are elderly, illiterate, or isolated. In contrast, resettlement agencies prioritize job-ready individuals to fulfill their mandate of self-sufficiency or non-dependence as goals of refugee policy. With regards to *when* services are provided, assistance beyond the 3- to 8-month time limit of publicly funded resettlement programs is provided by RCOs. Thus, whereas publicly funded resettlement agencies provide services only during the arrival and early phases of resettlement, RCOs' services and supports cover a much longer timespan and can be available to individuals and families years after arrival, basically anytime in post-resettlement.

Where and how. Poor communities such as those of immigrants and refugees are often "out of reach" for mainstream social services organizations (Allard, 2008), but grassroots community-based organizations, such as RCOs are closer to home. First, being closer to home is relevant in its literal sense, in terms of *where* services are provided. Because RCOs emerge out of local communities, their services and activities are commonly provided in locations near these same communities, if not within them—often in the very homes of community members needing services. Outreach events are held in nearby neighborhoods, parks, or libraries: for example, ESL and citizenship classes are held in the lobbies or common areas of apartment complexes; case management is done in living rooms. These findings indicate that RCOs increase access to services. On the other hand, resettlement agencies are commonly headquartered away from poor neighborhoods where refugees most commonly reside; furthermore, case workers are not permitted to provide transportation services. This geographical distance from the community they serve points not only to decreased access to services and information, but it is also not conducive to cultivating trust (Allard, 2008). Second, close distance or proximity is not just spatial, but also functions in terms of *how* services are provided (Roth & Allard, 2016). Service delivery by RCOs is personal, informal, and culturally appropriate. Rooted in community, the RCO worker-volunteer is a service provider but also simultaneously a community member. In contrast, professional workers can too often be discretionary in allocating resources (Darrow, 2015) and instrumental and routinized in interactions with service users, given the mandates and demands of the job (Meyers et al., 1998). Furthermore, professional workers in resettlement services are often overburdened with administrative duties, and overly focused on case management, and constrained from pursuing alternative modes of service delivery, such as transportation services, one-on-one health assessments, and outreach (Trudeau, 2008).

RCOs provide practical assistance that parallels social services, and RCOs expand the scope of services and increase access, as suggested in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. RCOs begin, so to speak, where resettlement agencies end, and implications are thus impactful and an important area for future research. Research to date on migrant organizations has primarily examined them as actors in political advocacy and in immigration, resettlement, and transnational processes (Bloemraad, 2005; Halm & Sezgin, 2013; Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2017). Through the findings elucidated in Chapters 2 and 3, however, RCOs emerge as actors in the social welfare domain, thus opening a new line of research that complements and complicates existing perspectives about migrant organizations.

"Going Lower" in Service Provision Raise Issues of Legitimacy and Capacity

Findings in this chapter link with scholarship on multiscalar governance that points to "lower" scales, into communities and neighborhoods and their organizations. These sites, on-the-ground and grass-roots, emerge as crucial components of the networked, multi-sector framework for public policy (Percival, 2009; Somerville, 2001; Whitehead, 2007).

Immigrant and refugee organizations may be those needed entities —formed by and for these lowest scales of community— envisioned as sites for participatory, multiscalar governance. RCOs' broadened scope of services lends well for participatory practice, with their rootedness to community being a cornerstone for multiscalar governance. The administrative task of refugee resettlement moves from global to local to individual, and reaches across multiple domains of government, from welfare and employment to nutrition and mental health. Better suited for the task is an institutional network that is interrelated at multiple levels, rather than run via top-down management. As part of that network while simultaneously embedded within communities, both socially and spatially, as the present findings suggest, RCOs are positioned to facilitate

consistent and meaningful interfacing with service users as well as direct representation. RCOs' broadened scope of services lends itself well to participatory practice, so that their rootedness to community serves as a cornerstone for multiscalar governance.

Grassroots RCOs may indeed hold promise, and are poised to have a wider reach and to increase access to services, particularly for the most vulnerable members of refugee communities. However, RCOs operate at the margins and are under-resourced (Lacroix et al., 2015; Nawyn, 2006). These tensions raise questions pertaining to organizational legitimacy of RCOs and inclusion in decision-making and policy-planning processes, the key components of participatory approaches in multiscalar governance. Multiscalar governance takes heed of variation and multiplicity of scale of governance, but also to the ways in which authority and decision making are apportioned across those varied scales (Hupe, 2014; Somerville, 2011). Community members and service users are considered not only in implementation and service delivery, but also in policy planning (Hupe, 2014; Poocharoen & Ting, 2015; Somerville, 2011). Policy practice and social service provision that are collaborative and participatory are not new ideas; but what is new in recent conversations, and what was missing in the old ones, is attention to issues of legitimacy and power relations across the varied scales of collaborations. Attention to such issues is particularly crucial, as legitimacy and institutional positioning are directly linked with allocation of resources and with political opportunity structures that may facilitate or impede the capacity of RCOs to conduct their services and attain their aims of expanding the scope of services for refugee communities.

In addition, findings in this study raise other questions about organizational capacity of RCOs and about effectiveness, implementation, and outcomes of their various activities and services. Such issues are important but beyond the scope of this analysis and thus are areas for

future research. RCOs emerge out of refugee communities themselves, and community members may romanticize RCOs and the role they play. RCOs' "personal," "informal," and culturally relevant ways of service delivery have their advantages, as discussed above, but issues of privacy, confidentiality, and power dynamics may yet arise, given the dual role that RCO volunteer-workers play as both service providers and community members. Privacy and confidentiality issues are particularly important for health screenings, health assessments, and mental health counseling, for example, and case management that involves medical and personal information of community members.

Furthermore, for community members-cum-service providers of RCOs, existing relationships and kinship ties may have bearing in service provision and may result in discretionary and preferential treatment and allocation of time and resources. Also, issues of authority and power are not non-existent; many volunteer-workers and leaders of RCOs are also those who are most educated and belong to the upper class, thus power dynamics may play out in interactions. Second, standards of care and guidelines for practice, established to give direction to professional workers, are absent in the unofficial service provisions of RCOs. Documentation is missing, and accountability is in question. RCO volunteer-workers are not professionals, of course, and generally don't have the training and education that are commonly considered as required or expected of workers to be able to competently conduct services. Those issues (privacy, confidentiality, discretion, power dynamics, standards of care, accountability) are also at play and of consequence in professional settings of official service provision, such as resettlement agencies, and research could examine how those issues may play out differently at the grassroots level for RCOs. Further inquiry into these issues of organizational capacity of

RCOs and assessments of implementation and outcomes may point to unexpected issues and dilemmas that warrant attention and also shed new insights about service provision.

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CHAPTER 4.
"SHADOWS OF THE SHADOW STATE": EXAMINING GRASSROOTS REFUGEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE RESETTLEMENT INSTITUTIONAL NETWORK

Introduction

The "shadow state" refers to the enlarged role of nonprofit organizations in functions that had been done by the public sector in the past, in social services provision particularly, and the new forms of challenges that have come to compromise processes and outcomes of those organizations, as they have become conjoined with the state (Wolch, 1990). Around the 1980s, the shadow state emerged out of welfare state restructuring that transferred social responsibilities of the state onto the third sector's nonprofit organizations that would be the new providers of the bulk of public social services. The political, economic, and institutional context of the era engendered retrenchment, rescaling downwards and privatization of social welfare (Simpson, 2015; Trudeau, 2008; Wolch, 1990). Some scholars consider those institutional changes within the welfare state as an effort to engender a public policy approach that is leaner, more efficient, more flexible, and collaborative with and responsive to local communities' needs and circumstances (Bristow, Entwistle, Hines, & Martin, 2008).

Over time, however, scholars have examined the reconfigured welfare state in more critical ways. Illuminated are the "dark side" to collaborative, multi-sector policy practice, the "shadow of hierarchy" that insidiously persists and the "crisis of partnership" that obscures the promise of truly inclusive participation of nonprofit organizations and the communities they serve (Gray, DeDan, Agllias, Howard, & Schubert, 2015; Lipsky, 2010; O'Toole & Meier, 2004, p. 681; Trudeau; 2012; Whitehead, 2007, p. 3). Highlighted are the top-down structures and power dynamics that persist in networked public management as state agencies retain all decision-making power and authority, thus undermining the promise of a collaborative, multi-

sector approach to public governance (O'Toole & Meier, 2004; Trudeau & Veronis, 2009). Called into question are the technologic-managed, business-modeled, funding-driven forms of "new public management" that can all too often compromise commitments to communities, redirect priorities, and overemphasize costs and processes over more meaningful outcomes and purpose (Lipsky, 2010; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Soss et al., 2011; Trudeau, 2012). Hierarchical control mechanisms, organizational constraints, and individual incentives manifest into a complex implementation process that influences street-level workers in multiple, intersecting ways (Meyers & Vorsanger, 2007). A relational perspective to the shadow state, meanwhile, conceptualizes nonprofit organizations neither as "empowered communities" on one hand nor "junior partners" on the other, but as "liminal" sites for negotiating complex relationships and variegated interactions with the state (Simpson, 2015; Trudeau, 2008). This scholarship on the shadow state has enriched our understanding of nonprofit social service organizations that are funded and partnered with public agencies, and their functioning and operations within a competitive, volatile, regulatory and cash-strapped policy environment.

Largely unexamined as part of the shadow state, however, are grassroots nonprofit organizations. Often unstable, unfunded, and hard-to-reach for research purposes, these organizations emerge within many immigrant and refugee communities. Refugee scholars who examine the voluntary sector have laid foundations and yielded important insights, but attention has been too focused on organizations that are funded and contracted by the state (see Connolly, 2013; Nawyn, 2006; Trudeau, 2008). Meanwhile, studies of immigrant organizations focus largely on immigrant-serving organizations that are formally formed and well established (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2011, 2013; see Bloemraad, 2005; Roth & Allard, 2016; Wilson, 2013). The empirical data commonly used in these studies suffer from misrepresentation and

undercounting of immigrant organizations, especially those that are small and informal (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2011, 2013). Refugee community organizations (RCOs), those small organizational entities formed and run out of newly resettled refugee communities, have been established as part of the institutional network of refugee resettlement in the United States (Nawyn, 2006), and studies have illustrated the diverse array of activities conducted by these entities at the local levels (Clarke, 2014; Lacroix, Baffoe, & Liguori, 2015; Piacentini, 2015; Zetter, Griffiths, & Sigona, 2005). However, yet undertheorized are how those refugee community organizations fit as part of the shadow state in which they operate.

This study theoretically examines how organizations that are grassroots and refugee-led fit alongside their larger, state-funded counterparts, and within the broader institutional context of the shadow state. I build upon the theoretical exposition formulated by Jennifer Wolch (1990) on the "shadow state" and the extended literature, including that on street-level bureaucracy and public-private partnerships as modes of policy implementation. The rich body of literature on the shadow state is distilled into a conceptual framework with two types of institutional responses by nonprofit organizations in refugee resettlement, as they reconfigure the types and scope of activities they provide to adjust to policy mandates, funding priorities, and low munificence. I argue, here, that institutional responses are different for organizations that are state-contracted versus those that are not. I make the case by drawing specifically upon the two empirical analyses in Chapters 2 and 3 in this dissertation, which examined the type and scope of services, respectively, of refugee community organizations, specifically those of the Bhutanese refugee community in the United States. The notion of "shadows of the shadow state," as formed by grassroots refugee NGOs, is formulated as a theoretical concept that builds upon existing theories on the "shadow state."

I start with a Background section that provides an overview of literature on the "shadow state," and the conceptual framework. Then, I discuss the shadow state as relevant to the refugee resettlement domain specifically. In the next section, I hone in on the types and scope of services of both resettlement NGOs and grassroots RCOs, with a comparative perspective. In the Conclusion section, I discuss main ideas and future directions.

The Shadow State

Social welfare provision that is devolved to local levels and privatized, rooted historically in Tocqueville's America, gained traction anew with policy changes beginning around the mid-1970s. Funds once allocated for income support or cash assistance as part of social welfare policy were dramatically cut and redirected toward social services. As public resources grew for social services, so did the nonprofit sector — the number of nonprofit social service organizations providing human and job training services rose by 65% from 1990 to 2003, as spending doubled to $80 billion annually in the same time period (Allard, 2008, p. 89). The restructuring of the welfare state and ensuing predominance of public-private partnerships in social services was proposed to be more flexible and responsive to needs and demands at the local level (Bristow et al., 2008). The "paradigm of partnership" highlights the cooperative relationships between governments and nonprofit organizations, driven by both instrumental reasons and shared common purposes (Trudeau, 2008, p. 1119; Wilson, 2013). Social policy that is collaboratively planned and implemented with local partners in the third sector is considered by scholars not only as an effective and cost-efficient mode of governance, but also as more inclusive, equitable, and accountable, and thus a means for empowering communities (O'Toole, Meier, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2005; Trudeau, 2008). The conjoining of state institutions with the nonprofit sector enlarged and localized services.

However, this new policy environment also engendered new forms of challenges, and the "shadow state" soon came into view as constituting welfare state transition (Wolch, 1990). The "shadow state" describes not only the enlarged role of nonprofit organizations in provision of social services, but also "the influence of state institutions on the activities and agendas of nonprofit organizations, the capacity of nonprofits to operate as entrees to civil society, and the implications of the shadow state apparatus for democracy" (Trudeau, 2008, p. 672). Public-sector agencies maintain regulatory oversight and fiscal authority, while third-sector organizations comply with regulations and performance contracts. Funding and policy mandates and operational requirements, rather than local community needs, end up dictating where nonprofit organizations locate and the kinds and quality of services provided. Organizations struggle with new institutional dilemmas, as they lose autonomy and respond to the fiscal and administrative demands of the renewed social welfare context (Dias & Elish, 2012; Gray et al., 2015; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Lipsky, 2010; Meyers, Glaser, & MacDonald, 1998; Soss et al., 2010).

A Framework for the Shadow State

To elaborate the relationships and issues more precisely and to structure a theoretical analysis that hones in on the refugee resettlement domain specifically, I developed a conceptual framework for the shadow state (depicted in Figure 2.1). I draw upon the foundational conceptualization by Jennifer Wolch (1990) in her book, *The shadow state: Government and voluntary sector in transition*, as well as more recent, extended literature on street-level bureaucracy and in disparately located disciplinary fields that examine welfare state restructuring and public-private partnerships as a mode of policy implementation. "Structural and operational constraints" are two broad kinds of Constraints imposed by the state upon nonprofit organizations, specifically those engaged in social welfare provision, thus limiting their

autonomy and political voice. I further develop this framework established by Wolch, by detailing in this section how those Constraints can be conceptualized as manifesting via specific Mechanisms, which in turn generate Institutional Responses, impacting the Functions, Processes, and Relations of nonprofit organizations.

Structural constraints manifest at the institutional level via two mechanisms: funding structures and relational arrangements between the state and nonprofit actors (Wolch, 1990). First, funding structures loom as differential and selective; preference is granted to those organizations that provide services/activities that are in line with state priorities and organizations with politics that are "middle of the road" (Wolch, 1990, p. 75). Second, the relational arrangement between state agencies and partner NGOs is often one that "incorporates" NGOs as part of the decision-making process, thus creating a "quasi-corporatist" alignment between state and non-state actors (Wolch, 1990, p. 74). Organizations become dependent upon government funding, fostered by a highly competitive policy environment that exists in tandem with reductions in federal social welfare spending. When nonprofit organizations become institutionalized, their democratic appeal is swallowed up by the hierarchical orders of state institutions, and advocacy groups are particularly impacted (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Silverman, 2005; Smith, 2013). State-contracted NGOs can end up as "junior partners" to the state, rather than collaborators with comparable authority to make decisions and strategic planning (Trudeau, 2008).

Operational constraints, meanwhile, impact more directly the everyday and on-the-ground operations and processes of social service organizations, thereby "increas(ing) state penetration into their affairs" (Wolch, 1990, p. 77). Operational constraints are conceptually akin to managerialism or "new public management," the way of conducting business that adopts

corporate management strategies, seeks cost-efficient modes of service delivery, and prioritizes measurable standards and outputs that are defined primarily in economic terms, thus marketizing social services and commodifying interactions and outcomes (Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2015; Gray et al., 2015; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Lipsky, 2010; Meyers et al., 1998; Soss et al., 2011).

This mode of management makes demands upon implementation, ultimately transforming front lines of service delivery and organizational life. Managerialism entails more rigorous regulations, tightened monitoring, and rigid evaluations, all of which have been extensively examined in studies on street-level bureaucracy. Inspections and evaluations monitor compliance, and benchmarks are tied not only to financial incentives and allocations but also to sanctions. Fiscal and regulatory oversight by the state transform operations to be too oriented to cost-effectiveness, accountability structures, and economic outcomes.

Structural constraints (fiscal and relational) and operational constraints weigh down upon the non-profit sector, even as it has gained increased relevance as the right-hand of the state as deliverer of public services. Circumscribed control together with enlarged responsibilities and low munificence are precisely the tensions that characterize the shadow state that formed out of welfare state restructuring.

To manage these controls and to make accommodations, scholars have examined how NGOs alter their functions, processes, and relations, conceptualized in the framework as institutional responses, as informed by literature on street-level bureaucracy. First, NGOs respond by limiting the types of services they provide, and, second, by narrowing the scope of those services. In addition, NGOs play a subordinated role with regards to their relationship to the state; this latter point is not discussed in this dissertation. In the remainder of this chapter, I

elaborate on institutional responses, and the shadow state broadly by examining nonprofit organizations in the refugee resettlement domain of social welfare policy in the United States. I first provide contextual background on processes of retrenchment, privatization, and devolution of authority in the resettlement domain; then I apply a comparative approach in discussing the types and scope of services of two types of organizations —state-contracted "resettlement agencies" and grassroots RCOs.

The Shadow State in Refugee Resettlement

Refugee resettlement, as a domain of welfare provision with refugees as a specific target population, can be understood in terms of the "shadow state" concept. Political geographer Dan Trudeau (2008) proposed that insight in his study that empirically and theoretically examined the complex relationships between resettlement NGOs and state institutions that fund them. Other studies, disparately located in varied disciplinary fields, have examined the processes, policies, and outcomes within resettlement services provision and public-private partnerships as a mode of refugee policy implementation, though those studies don't use explicitly the "shadow state" as a term (see Connolly, 2013; Darrow, 2015; Erickson, 2010; Gonzalez Benson, 2016; Lenette & Ingamells, 2014; Nawyn, 2006; Smith, 2013). Revealing restructuring trends similar to that in the social welfare domain more broadly, the policy and institutional changes in refugee resettlement are characterized by retrenchment, privatization, and devolution.

Retrenchment

Paralleling retrenchment shifts in social welfare policies more broadly, policy evolution over the next 30 years after the Refugee Act of 1980 can also be characterized as involving decreased cash assistance for refugees, with a time-limit eligibility that plummeted over that period. The

time limit for cash assistance for refugees was 36 months in the original 1980 legislation, but three policy amendments over the years have steadily diminished refugees' cash assistance time limit to its current level of 8 months, which has been in effect since 1991 (U.S. Congressional Research Service [U.S. CRS], 2010). This reflects an 80% downward spiral in entitlement benefits for refugees over three decades. After the first 8 months, refugee individuals and families are subject to eligibility criteria in the general welfare system, wherein only low-income families with children are eligible for cash assistance. Meanwhile, Social Security entitlements for resettled refugees who are elderly, those ages 65 years and older, and who cannot pass English language requirements in citizenship examinations, expire after 7 years. No social services, including job assistance, are available after the initial 8-month phase of resettlement, except for special cases (U.S. CRS, 2010; U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement [ORR], 2017c).

Privatization: NGOs' Historically Entrenched and Deepened Role in Refugee Resettlement

Voluntary organizations in the nonprofit third sector have long been key players in refugee resettlement in the United States, going as far back as the earliest days of refugee resettlement as an ad-hoc policy response in the post-World War II era, when the "refugee" first emerged as a global "problem." Absent a federal refugee resettlement institution during that era, it was not the U.S. government but non-profit, mostly faith-based organizations that provided means and mechanisms for refugees' admission and transition into the United States, by sponsoring refugees directly or assisting American citizens to become sponsors for refugees (Erickson, 2010; Gonzalez Benson, 2016). That historically entrenched role of NGOs in refugee resettlement has only deepened over the past three decades, mimicking expansion trends in social welfare service provision more generally. Nonprofit organizations were institutionalized and codified as government partners in refugee resettlement in the formative years of federal policy,

with the landmark legislation, the Refugee Act of 1980 (Gonzalez Benson, 2016). That Act legislated refugee resettlement as the domain of federal governance by establishing the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and creating a program for systematic, comprehensive service provision to resettle refugees domestically (Refugee Act of 1980). In this precedent-setting policy, the federal government had administrative and fiscal oversight on refugee admissions and resettlement services, but planning and implementation were devolved to state governments that in turn contracted out services to nonprofit organizations, as second-order devolution (Gonzalez Benson, 2016). Currently, nine long-established, nationally based non-profit organizations, Voluntary Agencies or "resettlement agencies," with nearly 300 affiliate offices in cities across the United States, deliver mandated services for refugees, as partners that are funded and contracted annually by state refugee programs through the ORR.

Devolution

Three years after the 1980 refugee legislation, a policy amendment further augmented the devolution of resettlement by giving state governments the option for a completely privatized model for resettlement programming, the Wilson/Fish program. The Wilson/Fish alternative permitted states to opt out of participating in resettlement altogether and transfer all tasks to nongovernmental and private organizations that would coordinate with the federal government directly, bypassing state governments (Nawyn, 2006; U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). In addition to the Wilson/Fish program, two other approaches for delivering federally funded refugee services are the Publicly Administered program and Public-Private Partnership program (Connolly, 2013, p. 37; GAO, 2011, 2012). In the Publicly Administered program, states operate their own resettlement program and commonly model refugee assistance on the states' TANF programs. States manage cash and medical assistance for refugees and either directly provide social

services or sub-contract with private agencies for some services. The public-private partnership program, meanwhile, authorizes states to partner with private agencies to administer the program, and also allows states to set cash grants at higher levels than those authorized for Publicly Administered programs. As of 2009, the Publicly Administered option is the most common, adopted in 33 states; while five states use the Public-Private Partnership model; and 11 states the Wilson/Fish Program (U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012, p. 6). The extent of the role of the third sector in refugee resettlement in the United States sets it apart from other countries of resettlement, such as Canada, Australia, and European nations (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011, p. 19).

Grassroots Refugee Community Organizations and the Shadow State

Operating alongside state-contracted "resettlement agencies" are grassroots organizational entities that form out of refugee communities and are run by refugees themselves. Grassroots RCOs are part of the institutional network of resettlement, but these organizations are often considered as operating in the cultural domain of immigrant life, and located in the peripheries of the social welfare domain (Nawyn, 2006). Small and often informal, they are largely missing from official data in the U.S. collection systems; this makes tracking of immigrant organizations difficult, leading to an incomplete picture of immigrant civil society (Bloemraad, 2005). Studies have suggested that the integral role RCOs play in resettlement service provision and adjustment processes is not fully understood, if not underestimated (Clarke, 2014; Lacroix et al., 2015; Piacentini, 2015; Smith, 2013). Grassroots organizations, such as RCOs, are also non-profit actors (although not necessarily formal ones), but literature on the shadow state has largely developed without taking heed of them. How grassroots organizations fit as part of the shadow state remains unexamined and undertheorized. Without funding from and contracts with the

state, grassroots organizations such as RCOs are generally considered detached from the state and autonomous. Indeed, it is expected that state controls impose more directly upon resettlement agencies that are funded and contracted, and thus more intimately tied to state affairs. Some scholars have raised the important point that separation from the state is precisely what allows organizations to retain or regain autonomy and political voice (Smith, 2007). I argue, however, for further nuancing of the tripartite relationship between grassroots RCOs, state-funded resettlement agencies, and the state. The institutional responses of the two types of NGOs to operational and structural constraints from the state may be different. To make the case, I consider side-by-side the types of services and then scope of services of resettlement agencies that are state-funded and grassroots RCOs that are state-detached. To structure the ensuing discussion, I first draw on existing scholarship on the shadow state as well as related literature on public-private partnerships and street-level bureaucracy, and then draw upon empirical and theoretical findings in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation.

Types of Services

State-funded resettlement agencies:
Restricted to jobs placement and basic needs provision.

The first explicit policy outcome specified by U.S. refugee policy is self-sufficiency: "In providing refugee assistance…, the Office of Refugee Resettlement Director shall…make available sufficient resources for employment training and placement in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency among refugees as quickly as possible" (The Refugee Act 1980). This primary policy goal of self-sufficiency determines program effectiveness and is measured as refugees' employment as soon as possible during the first 8 months of arrival (U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012; Connolly, 2013; U.S. CRS, 2010). Second, the Reception and Placement program is another key mandated refugee program that outlines guidelines for provision of basic needs, such

as housing, education, and health, of all refugees upon arrival (Connolly, 2013). Case management entails picking refugees up from the airport, securing housing and basic furniture, orientation, enrolling children in schools, and registering new immigrants into the American systems of social insurance, health, welfare, immigration, and taxation.

Consequently, the services of resettlement agencies are directed primarily towards job placement, as well as basic needs provision upon arrival (Connolly, 2013; Keles, 2008; Nawyn, 2006; U.S. GAO, 2012). In a survey of 52 NGOs providing social services for refugees in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, a majority of the organizations, about 62%, had employment or self-sufficiency as their main purpose, and basic needs and systems navigation was the main purpose of 25% of the organizations surveyed (Trudeau, 2008, p. 2815). Moreover, about 72% of staff time was devoted to service delivery and general administrative duties associated with it (Trudeau, 2008, p. 2813).

While much emphasis is on employment, according to recent government policy assessments there is lack of policy guidance pertaining to "integration" of refugees in the longer term and in the broader sense (U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). Practitioners consider integration a policy goal in addition to self-sufficiency, but no or very little effort is channeled towards it (U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). As resettlement agencies focus on jobs and case management, pushed to the margins are other important functions and goals, such as advocacy, community engagement and development (Lenette & Ingamells, 2015; Nawyn, 2006; Trudeau, 2008), and refugee integration (U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). Out of 52 refugee-serving NGOs in the Minnesota survey previously mentioned, only three and four organizations had community engagement and advocacy as their primary purpose, respectively, a small proportion compared with the 45 organizations that prioritized employment or self-sufficiency, basic needs, and systems

navigation (Trudeau, 2008, p. 2815). Furthermore, only about 13% of staff time is devoted to advocacy, collaboration and research, while 72% of time goes to service delivery and administrative duties (Trudeau, 2008, p. 2813). Resettlement agencies around the country receive discretionary funding to implement other types of services, such as gardening programs, women's health and microfinance, but those are often considered secondary to their job placement and case management functions. In general, the actions of organizations in refugee service provision mirror those of organizations in social service provision more broadly. Incentivized with funding and/or restricted by policy, the nonprofit sector has largely shifted to service delivery, thus thwarting and putting on the wayside advocacy, reformist approaches, and civil rights efforts that were once central to nonprofit organizations (Burkett, 2011; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Lenette & Ingamells, 2014).

Under-resourced grassroots RCOs: Wide range of services.

State-funded resettlement organizations prioritize job placement and service provision for basic needs of refugees during the early phases of resettlement transition, but the services of RCOs in contrast span a wider range. The "Typology of Services," developed in Chapter 2, illustrates that RCOs provide case management, crisis management, outreach events, targeted programs that aim to reach more vulnerable groups, and advocacy and liaison, in addition to cultural and social events. Case management and crisis management provided by RCOs address some of the same issues and problems tackled in resettlement agencies, such as needs assessment, system navigation, and referral. Outreach events conducted by RCOs, such as community meetings and information sharing, promote education and awareness at episodic or one-time events. Targeted programs, meanwhile, seek to address specific issues to a specific group of participants with programming that is longer in duration and more structured. ESL and

citizenship classes, for example, target those who are elderly and illiterate, as more vulnerable community members of the population. In addition, targeted programs include community gardens in some organizations; one aim of this example is to increase public visibility and foster interactions at farmers' markets and other venues to move towards connecting refugees with the broader community. Finally, as advocates and liaisons, leaders and key members of RCOs speak up for community members, raise awareness about problems and issues, and call for reforming policy and practice in varied ways, even though these attempts may often come to naught.

RCOs are not commonly viewed as service providers. The more dominant depiction of them is one that highlights them as social or associational groups operating mostly within the immigrant culture domain. This depiction is challenged by findings elaborated in Chapter 2, however; RCO services may in fact often be similar to those of resettlement agencies, in that they both operate within the social welfare domain of immigrant life. RCO worker-volunteers function much like professional case managers and social workers employed in resettlement agencies. RCOs are shown in this study to provide a wide range of services: e.g., providing case management and crisis management, like resettlement agencies, but also outreach events, targeted programs, and advocacy, services that are not taken up by resettlement agencies. That diversity of services is in addition to the social and cultural events more commonly associated with RCOs.

As resettlement agencies focus on job placement and basic needs provision, they have largely retracted from other social service programs for education, outreach, and prevention. Such programs are not considered essential in policy and thus take a backseat on the ground for resettlement agencies. These services, however, may be crucial for newcomers, in providing

information necessary for transition and adjustment, and in building community to support those transition processes in the longer term and in more sustainable ways.

Scope of Services

State-Funded Resettlement Agencies: Restricted by Policy Limits and Regulatory Oversight

Resettlement NGOs align the types of services with policy priorities by whittling down services to job placement and basic needs provision, as discussed above, but even those limited services are further narrowed in scope. Structural and operational constraints apply not only to the functions but also to on-the-ground processes; not only the types of services but also the scope of services — who is to be served, and when, where, and how those services are implemented.

Eligibility requirements and time limits stipulate that only newly arrived refugees, defined as those who arrived within the past 8 months, are eligible for job placement and case management that are part of mandates services for refugees, except in exceptional cases (Connolly, 2013; U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012). Those services are cut off after this initial time limit. Resettlement agencies thus cannot serve those many refugee families that continue to need assistance after eligibility terminates. Job placement, as indicator of the policy goal of self-sufficiency is measured at the 8-month cut-off, and case workers and job developers thus rush to employ refugees as fast as possible (Connolly, 2013; U.S. GAO, 2011, 2012).

Funding and incentives structures direct service provision; the sole program that allows direct allocation of federal funds to resettlement NGOs is based on performance (Connolly, 2013, p. 20). To adhere to funding and policy regulations, resettlement agencies devote a considerable amount of time to bureaucratic administrative duties, such as demonstrating eligibility, documentation of services, tracking outcomes, and writing reports to external

agencies (Trudeau, 2008). Satisfying the requirements attached to federal funding takes away from other responsibilities or "actual work," such as community outreach, advocacy, and providing additional services (Trudeau, 2008, p. 2814). Similarly, in the social welfare domain more generally, day-to-day operations of service providers at the street-level have also been impacted by policy restrictions and managerialism, according to several studies (Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2015; Benish, 2010; Cherlin, Bogen, Quane, & Burton, 2002; Lipsky, 2010). Reflecting an eligibility-compliance culture, whereby front-line practitioners engage in instrumental transactions that communicate and enforce time limits, those eligibility requirements and other policy mandates operate at the expense of more full engagement with service providers (Meyers et al., 1998).

To adhere to contract service limitations, professional service providers in resettlement agencies "sort clients into groups" and "cherry pick" clients, using personal bias to favor those who are employable, according to an ethnographic case study of resettlement workers (Darrow, 2015). Darrow's findings indicated that application and duration of employment services were at the hands of resettlement workers. High caseloads and high demands, coupled with low staff morale, led resettlement workers to deprioritize housing provision for refugees, that in turn led to housing that was poor in quality and inconsistent across refugee families (Darrow, 2015). Resettlement case workers' application of discretion mirrors that of street-level bureaucrats in social welfare more broadly. Practitioners on the ground respond to institutional challenges by using discretion in implementing policy and inflecting rules (Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2015; Lipsky, 2010; Soss et al., 2011). The result is uneven and discriminate application of rules, such as eligibility requirements for services (Lindhorst & Padgett, 2005; Meyers et al., 1998). The pressures to meet program goals, maintain cost-effectiveness, and secure reallocation of funding

result in the paradoxical situation, wherein social welfare more broadly, service providers end up prioritizing individuals or "clients" who are less resource- and time-intensive, more compliant with rules, and more likely to meet program goals (Brodkin, 2011; Soss et al., 2010; Woolford & Nelund, 2013).

Under-Resourced Grassroots RCOs: Expanding How, Where, Who, and When of Services

Findings from Chapter 3 suggest that the scope of services of RCOs are different and widened, compared with those of state-contracted resettlement agencies. This enlarged scope can be discussed in terms of the how, where, who, and when of service provision.

With regards to *how* services were provided, RCOs' ways of doing things were discussed by informants as personal, informal, and culturally competent. Volunteer-workers in RCOs played a dual role as community members. In terms of *where* services were provided or geographic location, findings suggest that RCOs' services were more accessible than those of resettlement agencies. Emergent from the community itself, RCO services were entrenched within the community not only substantively but also geographically. Services were held in close proximity to where community members reside, such as lobbies or common areas in apartment complexes or nearby parks and libraries. Also, transportation was an important service provided by RCOs. Meanwhile, resettlement agencies, as mainstream organizations, were not as geographically situated near refugee communities and, further, professional case workers in resettlement agencies were restricted from providing transportation.

Regarding the *who and when* of service provision, although, resettlement agencies are restricted by eligibility requirements and time limits, RCOs are not, according to findings in Chapter 3. In terms of who they serve, to heed policy mandates, resettlement agencies main job is placement and provision of basic needs and transition assistance and thus they prioritize those

who are employable or job-ready and those most newly arrived. Regarding time limits, job placement services end after 3 to 8 months, while transition assistance lasts 8 months, as specified by policy. In contrast, without policy to restrict who they can serve and when, RCOs serve anyone in need at any time. RCOs target particularly those who are not reached by professional services, such as those who are elderly, illiterate, and don't speak English, and thus may be more isolated and having a more difficult time in adjusting to new ways of life. Moreover, RCOs' services are long-term and not confined to the early phases of resettlement.

Discussion: Shadows of the Shadow State

As the "shadow state" in the refugee resettlement domain, state-contracted resettlement agencies are impacted by funding and policy directives (as structural constraints) and operational constraints, compounded with weak munificence (Trudeau, 2008; Wolch, 1990). As institutional response to those constraints, resettlement agencies narrow the type and scope of services provided, mimicking similar processes in the field of human services more broadly. As resettlement agencies cave in to institutional demands by limiting types of services and narrowing the scope of those services, the theoretical discussion posited in this paper suggests that it is the RCOs, those locally based grassroots organizations formed and run by resettled refugees, that take up those compromised functions by providing a wide range of services. The types of services provided by RCOs are not restricted to job placement and provision of basic needs, unlike their state-contracted counterparts. Second, the scope of services of RCOs is not limited by operational constraints that manifest as regulatory policies, such as eligibility restrictions, time limits, and other stipulations that dictate who may receive services, and when, where and how those services are implemented.

Refugee community organizations — unfunded federally and disconnected from institutional and policy structures — operate as shadows of the shadow state, so to speak. I argue that the shadow state is characterized by an offloading of social responsibilities that burrows deeper downwards — from U.S. federal government to state and city governments as the initial step down, i.e., first-order. devolution, then further lowered to partner organizations in the nonprofit and private sectors as second-order devolution, and finally handed down to grassroots organizations that are disconnected from the state, such as RCOs in this case, as third-order devolution. Third-order devolution, as conceptualized in this Chapter, is the downward delegation of social responsibilities from large, well-established, publicly contracted organizations to their grassroots counterparts. This descending trajectory moves from federal to subnational governments to the non/for-profit sector; and then finally to organizations at the grassroots, at the lowest scales of multiscalar governance. This "tertiary downward offloading" is unexamined in refugee resettlement service provision, as well as social service provision more broadly.

Third-Order Devolution of Social Responsibilities, but Not Means: Lack of Resources and Legitimacy

RCOs take on some of the roles relinquished by their larger counterparts and aim to fill gaps in services left by the restructured and retrenched welfare state. However, the broadened range and expanded scope of services provided by RCOs are not posited as straightforwardly reflective of "agency" of these organizations, and not always positive. Importantly, in the "shadows of the shadows," no funding and no legitimacy come with the transfer of responsibilities. Second-order devolution to the shadow state entailed a reconfiguring of funding and regulatory systems so that a transfer of resources and authority, however circumscribed, would accompany the transfer of responsibilities and tasks. In contrast, the tertiary downward offloading to RCOs does not come

with means. Minimal federal resources target RCOs. In fiscal year 2008 for example, only about 1% or $7.15 million out of $655.6 million in funding for the U.S. resettlement program was allocated specifically for a program that targets RCOs and similar organizations, the Ethnic Community Self-Help Program (ECSHP) (Connolly, 2013, p. 20). Out of hundreds of RCOs potentially eligible for this program, only between 20 and 40 organizations are funded every year. Funding lasts only 2 years, and RCOs are expected to be self-sustaining after the initial 2-year grant period (U.S. ORR, 2017a). In fiscal year 2015-2016, 27 organizations in various states across the nation were granted ECSHP funding that ranged between $125,000 and $180,000 annually (U.S. ORR, 2017b). For those RCOs not awarded, no technical assistance from federal programming is sufficiently available for capacity building, grant writing, and fundraising that are key in sustaining organizations.

Issues of equity and justice are thus raised, as community-based organizations emerging out of poor refugee communities aim to assume important functions of the state, and pursue the mandates of federal resettlement policy without adequate resources and legitimacy. Grassroots groups, like RCOs, are passed over in a funding system defined by contractual relationships between federal entities and its shadow state. For public funding that is competitively granted, it is those larger and more established NGOs that are more likely to succeed in their application due to their institutional capacity and history in winning grants; medium- and small-sized organizations cannot compete (DeVita & Twombly, 2006, p. 265). RCOs applying for federal funding are required to have resettlement agencies or other established organizations as fiscal agents to provide financial oversight and management (Nawyn, 2006). Some scholars have suggested that RCO leaders feel “secondary or marginal” to their larger counterparts (Nawyn, 2006, p. 1521); this is an area for future research. Indeed, in Figure 4.1 depicting the conceptual

model, “relations with the state” is a third type of institutional response adopted by social service NGOs to conform to state constraints, but examination of this phenomenon as applicable to RCOs was beyond the scope of the dissertation.

Some scholars, using an institutionalist perspective, have argued that organizations must incorporate rationalized and institutionalized practices and structures to be able to establish legitimacy and gain resources, and then increase capacity and thus prospects for survival (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Organizations gain legitimacy by complying with institutionalized structures, “instead of the demands of their work activities” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 341). The shadow state illuminates that precisely; resettlement agencies conform to “structural and operational constraints” while compromising the types and scope of activities. RCOs, as depicted in this study, perhaps illustrate the other side of the theoretical coin. RCOs do not participate in, or perhaps cannot or are excluded from, institutionalized structures and are thus deemed to be behaving irrationally as an organizational actor and denied legitimacy; yet, their activities aim to meet the demands and needs of the community. Given this paradoxical situation, what remains to be examined is how RCOs and other migrant organizations re-constitute and evolve over time to navigate the pressures of institutionalization and commitment to community demands.

Other scholars, espousing a radical view of organizations, have contended that detachment from the state and from federal funding is precisely the way out of the non-profit industrial complex (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012; Smith, 2007). Only by cutting the ties can the nonprofit sector regain autonomy, and retrieve and recover its role as an actor in civil society that intercedes with both the state and market; this applies not just to political NGOs and advocacy groups but also to social assistance organizations that have an advocacy arm. Autonomy enables nonprofit organizations to advocate, build community, empower themselves, and claim rights of

full citizenship for their constituency, without being at the behest of the state. However, findings in this study give some pause to that contention and raise questions. Organizational autonomy entails innovative strategies and vision: for example, diversify funding streams; intensify fundraising; strengthen coalition-building; expand the constituency base; branch out to using legal channels; harness the media. Such strategies are within reason for many NGOs that establish themselves within the western paradigm of organizations, at least to some extent, but less so for RCOs. RCOs often operate with only a bare bones structure, strained leadership and volunteerism, and an organizational way of life that is not based on western models of bureaucracy, all while also with a mandate both difficult and far-reaching. It seems an empirical question whether organizational autonomy is viable in the first place for refugee community organizations specifically, when they are so fundamentally lacking in resources and legitimacy and regarded as operating so far outside socially accepted, institutionalized norms of organizational structure and practice. There is perhaps a question of whether RCOs can spend time advocacy and rights-claiming when they have the more pressing necessity to first secure basic needs and well-being for the most vulnerable amongst their already vulnerable constituency.

Theoretical propositions in this study open new lines of inquiry that consider in more detail and in greater scope the tripartite relationship between the state, state-contracted/funded NGOs, and state-detached NGOs, and the varied and intersecting ways that such relationships manifest on the ground and their consequences. It seems it is not so much autonomy or "detachment" per se that defines the relationship between grassroots RCOs and the state, but a sideways, indirect relationship. RCOs expand the types and scope of their activities, insofar as state-funded organizations limit theirs as they respond and conform to demands of the state.

Absent federal funding and lacking direct institutional ties to the state, grassroots RCOs nevertheless join their state-contracted counterparts in constituting the shadow state, but into the deeper recesses as its own shadow.

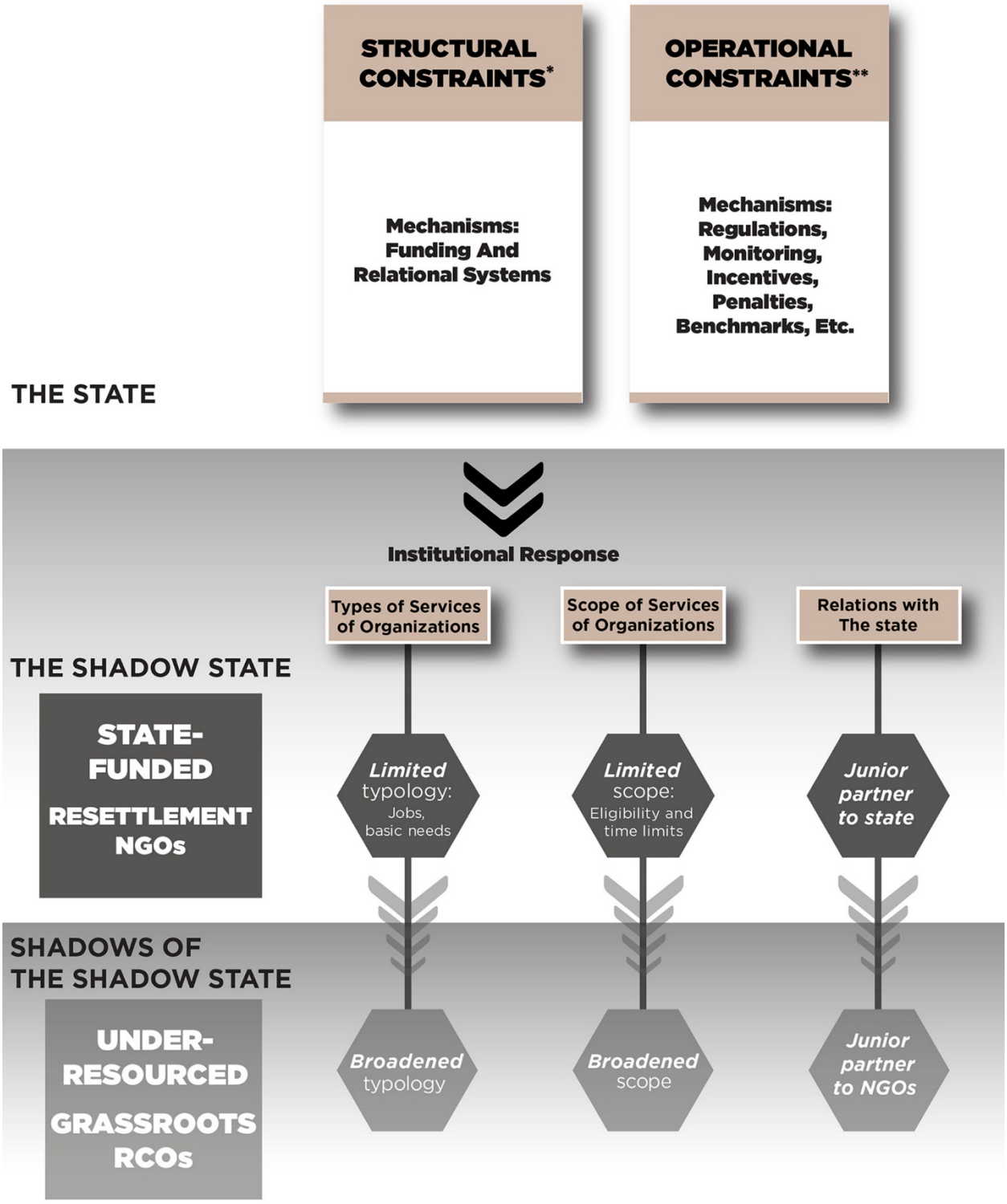

Figure 4.1. Shadows of the shadow state: A theoretical framework.
* Based on Wolch 1990. ** Based on literature on street-level bureaucracy and related research.

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CONCLUSION

This dissertation, broadly, provides insights about refugee-driven resettlement in the United States, specifically in terms of resettlement geographies and refugee-run community organizations, to complement scholarship that has focused primarily on policy-driven perspectives or has used a standpoint based on policies and institutions. In this Conclusion section, I first discuss the relevance of refugee resettlement to social work and then summarize the main findings, implications, and limitations of the dissertation research.

With regards to the field of social work, this dissertation, in a general sense, helps make inroads to more directly connect social work research with the interdisciplinary field of refugee studies, and particularly resettlement policy and community practice with refugees in the United States. Social work is integral to many domains of resettlement, such as anti-poverty and social welfare policy for refugees, including social services provision, case management, outreach, and prevention services, mental health counseling, resettlement organizations' management and administration, policy implementation, and community practice. Social workers have a marked presence in on-the-ground resettlement, providing assistance for resettled refugees and their new communities. Yet, the social work perspective and social work academic research on refugee policy, particularly in the United States, is largely absent. Social work research on refugees more broadly is relatively small in scope, with attention mostly to health and mental health but less to policy practice and community practice. The practice perspective and values of social justice and equity that are integral to social work have much to offer refugee studies, towards developing policies and programs and forwarding critical theories, as relevant not only for the initial phases of resettlement but also for the more complex and dynamic processes of socio-economic adaptation and empowerment of refugee communities in the long run.

Part One: "New Resettlement Destinations"

Part One of the dissertation provides new insights regarding "new resettlement destinations," and presents important implications for future research but also some limitations. Policymakers consider onward movements of refugees from locations of initial placement upon arrival as a problematic deviation from policy. Chapter 1 contributes to the empirical and theoretical knowledge about resettlement geographies in the United States. Policy-driven resettlement in the United States uses a strategy of dispersal in determining initial placement, and findings indicate that refugees are placed relatively evenly across various regions around the country and in locations with relatively small concentrations of existing immigrant populations and high unemployment rates. The onward migration patterns of refugees look different. Results indicate movement away from the West, primarily into locations in the Midwest, with fast-growing immigrant populations, and with exclusionary local immigrant policy, understood as reflective of anti-immigrant sentiment; while low-wage labor did not yield significant results, contrary to expectations.

Findings from Chapter 1 suggest that, similar to immigrants more broadly who move to "new immigrant destinations" (Marrow, 2011), refugees in the current post-911 era of resettlement relocate into "new resettlement destinations." That parallel is significant and points to new lines of inquiry into comparative examinations of the economic and socio-political conditions that explain the diversifying geographies of refugees vis-a-vis immigrants and particularly undocumented immigrants. First, future research could examine how local markets for low-wage, low-skill migrant labor may have different consequences for resettled refugees, who are eligible to work in the United States and receive job placement services via federal policy, compared with their undocumented immigrant counterparts who are restricted from employment. Second, future studies could investigate how local immigrant policies and local

sentiments of inclusion and exclusion may have nuanced expressions for refugees who are state-sponsored migrants, compared with undocumented immigrants who are criminalized. Such studies would contribute to current debates in migration research about federal-local tensions in immigrant policing (Varsanyi, 2008; Wright & Ellis, 2000), because the policy mandate of refugee integration at the federal level conflicts with anti-immigrant policies at local levels.

Some limitations in Chapter 1 need to be considered and may be addressed in future studies. This analysis was based on the Bhutanese refugee population in the United States as a case study, thus warranting further application and testing on other diverse populations. The methodology used was community-based data collection and approaches based on "community knowledge mapping." Future studies could refine these methods to enhance reliability and measurement. In addition, future studies could apply in-depth examinations, such as ethnographic approaches and quantitative longitudinal analyses that use individual-level data, to more fully understand and contextualize "new resettlement destinations."

Part Two: Shadows of the Shadow State and Types and Scope of Services of Refugee Community Organizations

Part Two of the dissertation — empirical and conceptual analyses of the types and scope of services of Refugee Community Organizations (RCOs) and theoretical analysis on the "shadows of the shadow state" — presents key findings and important implications for social work and future research, as well as notes some limitations. RCOs provide practical assistance and supports for refugees that parallel social services, and RCOs expand the scope of services and increase access, as suggested by the findings in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. In Chapter 4, the theoretical analysis makes the case that, as state-contracted resettlement agencies limit the types of services and narrow the scope of those services, caving in to structural and operational

constraints imposed by the state, RCOs take up those compromised functions by providing a wide range of services and expanding the scope of narrowed services. The "shadows of the shadow state" is conceptualized as a theoretical framework that takes into consideration the expanded services and roles of RCOs as part of the institutional network of refugee resettlement and as impacted by welfare state restructuring and retrenchment.

Findings from the qualitative analyses of Part 2 of the dissertation open new lines of inquiry and raise questions relevant to refugee studies, to social welfare and resettlement policy, and to social work practice with refugees and their organizations. First, at the abstract and more general level, findings expand how migrant organizations are conceptualized. RCOs emerge as actors in the social welfare domain, thus complementing and nuancing previous scholarship on migrant organizations that has examined them primarily as actors in political advocacy, transnational processes, immigration and resettlement processes, and socio-cultural adaptation (Bloemraad, 2005; Halm & Sezgin, 2013; Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2017). Second, the critical perspectives posited in Chapter 4 raise issues of organizational legitimacy and capacity. As RCOs acquire some of the roles relinquished by their larger counterparts and aim to fill gaps in services, many responsibilities for serving refuges are transferred to them, but they receive no legitimacy or funding to assist them in taking on new roles. Importantly, issues of social justice and equity are raised, as organizations emerging out of poor refugee communities aim to assume important functions of the state without adequate resources and legitimacy. Third, findings link with scholarship on multiscalar governance that points to "lower" scales of governance being placed in organizations at the grassroots level as a crucial part of the networked, multi-sector framework for public policy (Percival, 2009; Sommerville, 2001; Whitehead, 2007). Future studies could examine how existing "political opportunity structures" and allocation of resources

may facilitate or impede the organizational capacity of RCOs and thus their role in participatory governance. Fourth, findings raise questions about implementation and outcomes of the various activities of RCOs. Studies are needed to examine how issues of privacy, confidentiality, power dynamics, worker discretion, standards of care, and accountability may play out at the grassroots level for RCOs, given that their structure, mandates, processes and organizational capacity are different from those of their institutionalized counterparts.

The limitations of the qualitative analyses of the dissertation, relating to methodological approaches and substantive focus, require some consideration. Analyses primarily relied on interviews and focus groups and used directed content analysis as the methodological approach. The verbal, explicit expressions and narratives of informants yield rich data, but ethnographic approaches, including observation and researcher participation, may yield deeper and more contextualized insights. Furthermore, content analysis that used a directed approach drew upon existing terms and concepts to inform the coding schemes and to structure the analysis, but analytical strategies that draw upon grounded theory may generate new perspectives and unexplored notions may emerge from data. Also, the sample included 35 RCOs in 30 states across the country, but analysis considered the Bhutanese organizations in the sample as a whole and did not focus on differences across locations. Knowledge about RCOs would thus be enhanced with future analyses that pay attention to how RCOs may differ based on location or local context, and specifically based on local policies and opportunity structures that may differentially impact organizational capacity and functions. As a final point, because this is a case study of one refugee group, studies that examine more diverse migrants organizations would greatly advance understanding.

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APPENDIX

Interview Protocol

This interview protocol is based on the Organizational Profile Interview Guide by Anocha et al. (2006) as part of the 'Instruments of the social capital assessment tool.' That Interview Guide had three main sections for leadership, members and non-members; only the leadership component was adapted in this study.

Sections E, F and D.z were added, Sections A.2 and A.4 were expanded.

Topic: Bhutanese refugee organizational profile and activities for jobs and integration

Informant: Bhutanese refugee organization leader

Leadership Interview Guide

A. Origins and Development

A.1. How was your organization created? Who was responsible?

A.2. What kinds of activities is the organization involved in?

***Activities**, expanded/modified*:

A.2.a. Jobs / Economic Integration / Self-sufficiency

1. How, if at all, does your organization support members in getting jobs or in being self-sufficient
2. Are jobs a priority?
3. What are some challenges?
4. What are some successes?

A.2.b. Adaptation / Social integration

1. How, if at all, does your organization support members in adapting to the American community?
2. Is adaptation a priority?
3. What are some challenges?
4. What are some successes?

A.3. In what ways has the organization changed its structures and purpose? What is the main purpose of your organization today?

A.4. *Excluded here but expanded in section 2D Linkages.*

B. Membership

No questions asked in this section from Interview Guide.

C. Institutional capacity

C.1. How would you characterize the quality of **leadership** of this organization?

Probe for:

- stability, number of leaders/availability
- diversity/heterogeneity of leadership (gender, age, class/caste)
- quality and skills of leaders
- relationship of leaders to the community

C.2. How would you characterize the quality of **participation** in this organization?

Probe for:

- attendance
- decision-making process (e.g., with community or only leaders)
- dissemination of information
- inclusion and diversity/heterogeneity of participation (gender, age, class/caste)

C.3. How would you characterize the **organizational culture** of this organization?

Probe for:

- policies and procedures
- conflict resolution

C.4. How would you characterize the **organizational capacity** of this organization?

Probe for:

- specialized activities
- supervising and contracting consultants
- preparing financial reports for banks, donors, and government
- reacting to changing circumstances
- developing specific plans for the future
- reflecting on and learning from previous experiences

D. Linkages

This section was expanded by structuring questions into four types of links specific to refugees:

D. a. local organizations

D. b. government agencies

D. c. federally contracted resettlement agencies or Volags

D. d. refugee organizations (Bhutanese and other refugee/migrant organizations)

D.z. *Exploratory question about links (this section added)

D.z.1. What groups or organizations have been helpful to your organization? To your community?

D.a. Links with local community organizations

D.a.1. How would you **characterize** your organization's relationship with other organizations? When do you feel the need to collaborate or link with them?

D.a.2. Do you have links with organizations **outside the neighborhood**? Which ones? What is the nature of those links?

D.a.3. Do you feel **sufficiently informed** about with other organizations' programs and activities? What are your sources of information?

D.a.4. Have you attempted to **organize or work with** other organizations to achieve a mutually beneficial goal? If so, which activities?

D.b. Links with government

D.a.5. Could you **describe your relationship** with the government? Have you had experience in trying to get government assistance? What was your experience? Please describe one example.

Follow up:

D.a.5.i. Which level of government do you find most cooperative (local, state, federal)

D.a.5.ii. Has the government made particular requests of your organization?

D.a.6. Is your organization **linked** to any government program? Which ones, and why those particular programs? What is your role?

Follow up:

D.a.6.i. Are there certain characteristics of these programs that make it easier or more difficult for your organization to work with them?

D.a.7. Do you feel **sufficiently informed** about government programs and activities? What are your sources of information?

D.a.8. Have you attempted to **give inputs** to the government? What were the circumstances? What have been the results? What kinds of challenges did you have to deal with?

Follow up: What was your organization's:

- D.a.8.i. role in planning
- D.a.8.ii. role in operation
- D.a.8.iii. role in maintenance

D.a.9. Has your organization been **invited to participate** in any of the various government development planning processes? What do you think about these planning mechanisms?

D.a.10. In general, how do you assess your organization's **actual influence** on government decision-making at the local level?

D.c. Links with resettlement agencies or Volags

D.c.11. Could you **describe your relationship** with resettlement agencies? Have you had experience in trying to get resettlement agencies' assistance? What was your experience? Please give one example.

Follow up:

D.c.11.i. Has resettlement agencies made particular requests of your organization?

D.c.12. Is your organization **linked** to any resettlement agency program? Which ones, and why those particular programs? What is your role?

Follow up:

D.c.6.i. Are there certain characteristics of these programs that make it easier or more difficult for your organization to work with them?

D.c.13. Do you feel **sufficiently informed** about resettlement agencies' programs and activities? What are your sources of information?

D.c.14. Have you attempted to **give inputs** to resettlement agencies? What were the circumstances? What have been the results? What kinds of challenges did you have to deal with?

Follow up: What was your organization's:

- D.c.14.i. role in planning
- D.c.14.ii. role in operation
- D.c.14.iii. role in maintenance

D.c.15. Has your organization been **invited to participate** in any of the various planning processes of resettlement agencies? What do you think about these planning mechanisms?

D.c.16. In general, how do you assess your organization's **actual influence** on resettlement agencies' decision-making at the local level?

D.d. Links with (i) other refugee/migrant organizations and (ii) other Bhutanese organizations

D.d.17.i. How would you **characterize** your organization's relationship with other refugee/migrant organizations? When do you feel the need to collaborate or link with them?
D.d.17.ii. How would you characterize your organization's relationship with other Bhutanese organizations? When do you feel the need to collaborate or link with them?

D.d.#. *Excluded, not applicable.*

D.d.18.i. Do you feel **sufficiently informed** about with other refugee/migrant organizations' programs and activities? What are your sources of information?
D.d.18.ii. Do you feel sufficiently informed about with other Bhutanese organizations' programs and activities? What are your sources of information?

D.d.19.i. Have you attempted to **organize or work with** other refugee/migrant organizations to achieve a mutually beneficial goal? If so, which activities?
D.d.19.ii. Have you attempted to organize or work with other Bhutanese organizations to achieve a mutually beneficial goal? If so, which activities?

2E. *Secondary Migration (this section added)

2E.1. How would you **explain in- or out-migration** in cities in your state? In your state? Based on your knowledge of the community, what are reasons for in- or out-migration?

2E.2. Could you describe the **types of individuals or families** most likely to move in or out?

2E.2. How do you think the **relocation has affected jobs? Adaptation or integration?**

2E.3. How would you describe the **timing** of in-out-migration, or the differences in migration in the early versus late stages or resettlement?

2F. *Leaders' understanding and appraisal of policy (this section added)

2F.1. What do you think the goals of US refugee policy are?

2F.2. Where did you get your information about this?

2F.3. How would you evaluate **initial placement** in meeting these goals?

2F.4. How would you evaluate **refugee services** in meeting these goals?

2F.5. How do those goals relate to the mission and activities of your organization?

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EDUCATION

PhD	**University of Washington**	Summer 2017
MSW	**Arizona State University**	May 2010
BA	**University of the Philippines,** BA in Communication (Journalism)	April 1999
AS	**Mental Health Services, Community College of the US Air Force**	April 2009

RESEARCH INTEREST AND DISSERTATION

Interests

Refugee studies & social work with refugees; resettlement policy; community engaged research; discourse analysis; policy analyses; citizenship theory; multiple methods

Dissertation

Refugee-Driven and Policy-Driven Resettlement: Examining Resettlement Geographies and Service Provision of Refugee Community Organizations

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE AND AWARDS

Fahs Beck Fund for Research, New York Community Trust 2016-2017
Dissertation grant for data collection and analysis.

Minimum Wage Study, Research Assistant Winter 2016-present
Qualitative coding of interviews with low-wage workers, as part of broader research of the impact of minimum wage ordinances in metropolitan Seattle.

University of Minnesota School of Public Affairs, Hubert Project, Fellow Winter & Spring 2016
Collect data and prepare material for online education on refugee resettlement policy and the non-profit sector

Community Leadership Institute, Puget Sound Sage Seattle, Fellow Fall & Spring 2015
equity agenda on strategic local and regional boards and commissions.

Peace Research Institute -- Oslo, Migration Conference Travel Award August 2015

University of Bergen, Norway, Research Summer School Summer 2014
Global Development Challenges: Differentiated citizenship: governing populations beyond territorial state borders

UW Cities Collaboratory, Research Assistant 2013-2015
Transdisciplinary research on place, public scholarship and technology, as part of the urban research consortium's graduate student collective.

UW SSW Office of Academic Affairs, Research Assistant 2013-2016
Literature review on Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in social work education, collective impact, social justice for UW SSW. 2013-2014

Social Development Research Group, Research Practicum
Statistical analyses of over-time change (1990-2005) in residential mobility. 2012-2013

Graduate Opportunity & Minority Achievement Program, Fellow 2009-2010

Arizona State University School of Social Work, Research Assistant
Conducted web-based data collection and data management for research study on scholarly index for the social work field.

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed Publications

Gonzalez Benson, O. (2017) Refugee community organizations as actors upon resettlement. *Forced Migration Review*, *University of Oxford Press, 54.*

Brown, M., **Gonzalez Benson, O.,** Thompson, J., Keel, R., J. Porter & Mahoney, E. (2017). Seeking Northlake: Place, technology, and public as enabling constraints for urban transdisciplinary research. *Cities, 60.*

Gonzalez Benson, O. (2016). Refugee resettlement policy in an era of neoliberalization: A policy discourse analysis of the Refugee Act of 1980. *Social Service Review, 90*(3), 515-549.

Gonzalez Benson, O. (2016). Refugee resettlement and the non-profit sector. University of Minnesota Hubert Project. Url: http://www.hubertproject.org /hubert-material/406/

***Benson, O.** & Hodge, D. (2015). Refugees and spirituality: An underutilized asset for health and wellness. *Scientific Journal of Social Work, 1*(2), 882-894.

***Benson, O.,** Sun, F., Hodge, D.R. & Androff, D. (2012). Religious coping and acculturation stress among Bhutanese: A study of resettled refugees in the US. *International Social Work*, 55(4), 538-553.

Hodge, D.R., Lacasse, J.R., & ***Benson, O.** (2011). Influential publications in social work discourse: 100 most highly cited articles: 2000-2009. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(4).*

Publications: Revise & Resubmit and Under Review

Ibrahim, Q., Hantoosh, K., **Gonzalez Benson, O**., et al. *(2017 Revise and Resubmit).* Challenges of social work education in the Arab region: Students' Perspectives on 13 universities in 10 Arab nations. *Journal of Social Work Education.*

Gonzalez Benson, O., Park, Y. & Adhikari, B. Resettled yet stateless: Elderly monoglot refugees in the US as limit case to citizenship. *Under Review: Human Rights and Social Work.*

Publications in Preparation

Gonzalez Benson, O. & Androff, D. Human rights and U.S. refugee policy. *In preparation.*

Gonzalez Benson, O. & Wasif, R. Media discourse and refugee policymaking in the US: Responding to the Syrian 'refugee crisis.' *In preparation.*

Brown, M., **Gonzalez Benson, O.,** Thompson, J., Keel, R., Porter, J. & Mahoney, E. Co-producing transdisciplinary urban research: A doctoral student collective perspective. *In preparation.*

Gonzalez Benson, O., Kosterman, R., & Guttmannova, K. Residential mobility among Asian American immigrants. *In preparation.*

PRESENTATIONS

Limit case to citizenship: Resettled yet stateless elderly monoglot Bhutanese refugees in the US
Society for Social Work and Research Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2017.

Refugees' labor geographies: Policy-driven versus refugee-driven geographies of resettlement
Society for Social Work and Research Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2017.

Refugee organizations and intersections with health and social service practitioners.
National Refugee Health Conference, Buffalo, New York, June 2016.

Refugee policy in a neoliberal era: A policy discourse analysis of the Refugee Act of 1980.
Society for Social Work and Research Conference, Washington DC, January 2016.

The impossibility of home: Bhutanese elderly refugees as exception to citizenship
Peace Research Institute - Oslo, Norway, August 2015

Refugee resettlement, labor and American citizenship
University of Bergen, Bergen Summer Research School, Norway, July 2014

Refugee community organizations in U.S. resettlement policy: Marginal participation?
Refugee Studies Center Annual Conference, December 2012
University of Oxford, United Kingdom

Capacity building with refugee organization leaders: A training workshop as case study
Arizona Refugee Resettlement Annual Conference, Tucson AZ, September 2011
Arizona Department of Economic Security Refugee Program, Phoenix AZ

Hindu religious coping and acculturation stress among newly resettled Bhutanese refugees
New Approaches to Trauma: Bridging Theory and Practice, November 2010
Arizona State University, New College of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences, Phoenix AZ

From camps to hometowns: United Nations Community Development Approach
Global Engagement Summit, April 2010
Northwestern University, Evanston IL

Hindu religious coping and mental health among Bhutanese refugees
Intellectual Intersections: A Multidisciplinary Graduate Student Conference, January 2010
Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff AZ

TEACHING INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE

Interests

Macro practice; Social work and community practice with refugees and immigrants; Mental Health Assessment; Social theory; International social work; Military social work

Experience

Macro Practice: Community & Organizational Change, *Instructor* Winter 2017
Responsible for teaching materials: readings, lectures, class activities. Required generalist MSW course.

Macro Practice: Community & Organizational Change, *Co-Instructor* Winter 2017
Responsible for teaching materials: readings, lectures, class activities. Required generalist MSW course.

Empowerment Practice with Multiethnic Communities, *Teaching Practicum* Winter 2016
Responsible for teaching materials: readings, lectures, class activities, along with Instructor. Elective generalist MSW course.

Community Building with Refugee Organizations, *Invited Lecturer* January 2016
Responsible for guiding students in community building with refugee organization, along with Instructor. Elective generalist MSW course.

Research Methods: Discourse Analysis, *Invited Lecturer* 2016
Mental Health, *Invited Lecturer,* Required BASW course.
Macro Social Work, *Invited Lecturer*
SW Practice with Refugees, *Invited Lecturer,* Required BASW course.
Feminist perspectives in Multicultural Practice, *Invited Lecturer* 2015
Shoreline Community College, Seattle. Required undergraduate course.

Introduction to Social Work, *Teaching Assistant* Fall 2015
Social Welfare Policy, *Teaching Assistant* Winter 2014

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Association of Social Work Board 2011-present
Writer
Research and write question items for social work licensing examination.

Daymark Recovery Services, Wilkesboro NC 2010-2012
Community Innovations, Lumberton NC
Clinical Supervisor, Intensive In-Home Services
Supervised clinical team in planning & providing therapy, intervention, assessments, education, crisis response for at-risk youth and families; Coordinated with schools, probation officers & community for treatment.

Family Works Psychological Center, Goldsboro NC 2010-2011
Education and Training Specialist
Conducted state-approved CEUs and training for mental health workers and medical personnel of long-term health care facilities in four counties. Created instructor modules, materials, documentation, measures.

Catholic Social Services Refugee Program, Phoenix AZ 2009-2010
Program Developer and Case Manager Intern
Created Job Readiness Training: instructor module, student materials, tools. Case management & reception, including needs assessment and provision. Spearheaded training program for nonprofit leadership for refugee leaders.

U.S. Air Force, Mental Health and Family Advocacy, Phoenix AZ 2005-2009
Active Duty
Conducted assessment, intervention support, education, crisis response, prevention and outreach classes; Co-facilitated therapeutic groups; Program management: staff development & scheduling; documentation.

Pacific Daily News in Guam; Asia Journal of Culture & Commerce, Voice & Viewpoint, and Filipino Press in San Diego CA 2001-2005
News Writer, Reporter
Wrote and researched news articles (daily, feature, investigative).

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS & SERVICE

ACADEMIC SERVICE, UW School of Social Work

Faculty Recruitment Committee, Student Representative	2015-2016
Graduate and Professional Student Senate, UW SSW Representative	2013-2015
Curriculum Committee, Student Representative	2012-2013
Dean's Speaker Series, Committee, Member	2012-2016
Social Justice Committee, Member	2012-2016
Society for Social Work and Research, Member	2015-present

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Bhutanese Nepali Community in Columbus (BNCC), Columbus OH	2015-present
Bhutanese Community Resource Center (BCRC), Seattle WA	2012-present
Bhutanese Community in Arizona (BCA), Phoenix, AZ	2009-present
Non-profit community organizations of Somali, Iraqi and Burmese refugee communities in Phoenix AZ	2009-2012

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