

NARRATIVES OF REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT WORKERS: THE IMPACT
OF RECENT POLICY CHANGES ON REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

by

William Wesley Crooks, M.A., M.Ed.

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
with a Major in Adult, Professional, and Community Education
May 2019

Committee Members:

Clarena Larrotta, Chair

Joellen E. Coryell

Melissa A. Martinez

Jovita M. Ross-Gordon

COPYRIGHT

by

William Wesley Crooks

2019

FAIR USE AND AUTHOR'S PERMISSION STATEMENT

Fair Use

This work is protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States (Public Law 94-553, section 107). Consistent with fair use as defined in the Copyright Laws, brief quotations from this material are allowed with proper acknowledgement. Use of this material for financial gain without the author's express written permission is not allowed.

Duplication Permission

As the copyright holder of this work I, William Wesley Crooks, authorize duplication of this work, in whole or in part, for educational or scholarly purposes only.

DEDICATION

To Patty, my loving and very tolerant wife, who is the inspiration and the foundation of my life, and who has supported all my endeavors while accepting my madness.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation was created not just by me, but by many people whose participation and inspiration were essential. I would like to acknowledge those who were a part of this effort and who helped me complete my journey.

I am first most grateful to the study participants who took the time and effort to share their experiences and opinions on a controversial subject. Your stories and narratives formed the basis of this dissertation, and they were frequently provided through the emotional remembrance of your personal journeys and circumstances. Many of your feelings and views were voiced at a time in history when you felt a personal risk in doing so. Your participation was both brave and principled, and I am in your debt.

I would like to thank my wife Patty, who provided me the support and inspiration to seek my doctor of philosophy degree, and who put up with my weird hours and frequent absences, both mental and physical. I will make it up to you in the years ahead, I promise.

To all my professors in the Adult, Professional, and Community Education program who are the reason I am finishing this degree. To Dr. Ann Brooks who convinced me to stay in the program after a personal crisis and whose perspectives changed the way I think. To Dr. Joellen Coryell who exposed me to the international scope of adult education and who wonderfully prepared me for writing this dissertation. To Dr. Jovita Ross-Gordon who quietly provided me her remarkable insights and expertise in adult education, forming the foundation of much of my theoretical

knowledge. To Dr. Robert Reardon who helped talk me through a tough time. To Dr. Mattyna Stephens who taught me leadership and organizational change. To Dr. Gail Ryser who provided her wonderful support in helping me learn quantitative analysis, and to Dr. Duncan Waite, the professor of my first class, who opened my eyes to a different way of writing and who didn't frighten me away.

To Cohort 15, you are all a part of my life now and you inspired me to keep going. I looked forward to attending class because of you. Thank you for your kindness and your help—Autumn, Daniel, Danette, Don, John, Kevin, Merih, and Terrance. Good luck to all of you.

To my committee members—Dr. Joellen Coryell, Dr. Melissa Martinez, and Dr. Jovita Ross-Gordon—you have all provided your time and expertise in making this dissertation better. Your support, guidance, and feedback were invaluable. I truly enjoyed the experience because of you, and continue to understand that my journey is not over, but only beginning.

Finally, I want to thank Dr. Clarena Larrotta, my dissertation chair. I knew from the first day of your qualitative analysis class that I wanted you to be my chair. The clarity of your vision, the practicality of your approach, and your teaching style all made it possible for me to see the way ahead. Your insights, your patience, and your counseling helped guide along the path and allowed me to develop my ideas and bring my dissertation to completion. I cannot say thank you enough, and I am honored to be one of your students.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
ABSTRACT.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background and Context of the Study.....	3
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Research Questions.....	7
Purpose of the Study.....	7
Significance of the Study.....	8
Conceptual Framework.....	10
Researcher's Perspective	13
Dissertation Roadmap.....	14
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	16
Definition of a Refugee.....	17
Scope of the Refugee Problem.....	19
The Refugee Resettlement Process.....	20
International Process for Refugee Resettlement.....	21
U.S. National Process for Refugee Resettlement.....	24
Texas Process for Refugee Resettlement.....	28
Refugee Resettlement Organizations in the United States	30
Recent Changes in Policies Affecting Refugee Resettlement	32
Sentiments and Narratives Regarding Immigrants and Refugees.....	33
Anti-Immigrant Sentiments	36
Nativism and the Nativist Narrative	38
The Neoliberal Narrative	45
The Victim Narrative	47
Refugee Resettlement Workers.....	48

Refugee and Refugee Resettlement Worker Interactions	50
Resettlement Organization and Refugee Resettlement Worker Interactions.....	52
Gaps in the Literature.....	53
III. STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS.....	55
Qualitative Research	55
The Descriptive Case Study.....	56
Participant Selection	56
Data Collection Sources.....	59
Episodic Narrative Interviews.....	59
Artifacts.....	63
Researcher's Journal	65
Data Analysis	66
Paradigmatic Analysis of Narratives	67
MaxQDA Software	67
Overall Data Analysis Approach	68
Data Preparation and the Inductive Analysis.....	70
The Deductive Analysis.....	72
Trump Administration's Policies and Impacts	73
Ethical Considerations.....	73
Building Trustworthiness	76
IV. REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT WORKERS.....	78
Who They Are.....	79
How They Learned Their Jobs.....	91
What They Do.....	95
Management Tasks	96
Management and Worker Tasks	97
Worker Tasks	101
How They Feel About Their Work.....	107
Discussion	110
V. THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION'S IMPACT ON REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT.....	115
Impact Upon Refugee Resettlement Organizations.....	116
Reduced Refugee Admissions and Funding	119
Creation of a Quota Gap	129

Targeting Smaller Refugee Resettlement Offices.....	132
Altered Demographics of Arrivals.....	135
Increased Administrative Uncertainty, Reporting Requirements, and Audits	136
Increased Anti-immigrant and Anti-refugee Sentiment.....	138
Discussion on the Organizational Impacts.....	139
Impact Upon Refugee Resettlement Workers.....	140
Changed Worker Roles and Increased Individual Workloads	141
Increased Stress, Uncertainty, and Fear	143
Discussion on the Worker Impacts	154
Refugee and Immigrant Narratives Articulated by the Workers	157
The Nativist Narrative.....	158
The Neoliberal Narrative	160
The Victim Narrative	161
State of the U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program	163
VI. THE JOURNEY CONTINUES.....	165
Highlights of the Study	167
Research Question Three	167
Research Question Two	168
Research Question One.....	169
Contributions of this Study	170
Academic Literature.....	170
Adult Education	170
Policy	171
Narratives in Knowledge Construction and Policy.....	172
Refugee Resettlement	173
Recommendations for Refugee Resettlement Organizations	173
Focused Advocacy	173
Organizational Knowledge Management	174
A Planned Future	176
Implications of the Findings	176
Implications for the Workers	176
Implications for Resettlement Organizations.....	177
Implications for Policy Makers.....	178
Future Research	179
Replicating This Study.....	179
Impact Upon Refugees.....	179
Impact on the U.S. Economy, Security, and Society	180
Concluding Thoughts.....	180

APPENDIX SECTION.....	183
REFERENCES	196

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Data Collection Sources	60
2. Protection of Privacy and Identities	74
3. First-level Policy Effects and Subsequent Organizational Reactions and Impacts	118

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Camp Morehead south of Kabul, Afghanistan, 2007	1
2. Conceptual framework for the study	11
3. U.S. refugee resettlement process	24
4. Data analysis approach	69
5. Action-impact chain of events.....	117
6. U.S. refugee admissions by month for fiscal year 2018.....	129

ABSTRACT

This descriptive case study captured the narratives of seven refugee resettlement workers in Texas to examine the impacts of refugee policy changes upon them and their organizations. The research questions were: (a) How do refugee resettlement workers describe the effects of recent refugee policies on their practice and their lives? (b) What changes do the study's participants report in their refugee resettlement organizations? and, (c) What can be concluded about the state of refugee resettlement in Texas and in the nation? Data collected through interviews, artifacts, and a researcher's journal were examined using paradigmatic analysis.

Study findings showed a significant negative impact of current policies on refugee resettlement. The Trump administration has appreciably reduced refugee admissions and funding while promulgating anti-immigrant rhetoric. The reductions in refugee admissions and funding have resulted in downsizing, uncertainty, knowledge loss, and structural stress within resettlement organizations, with smaller agencies closing. Resettlement workers, often, former refugees themselves, expressed concern and distress regarding their futures and the futures of their clients. The tight coupling of refugee resettlement policies with resettlement organizations and workers via government agreements make them unusually sensitive to policy changes. Contributions to adult education and policy-making with recommendations for resettlement organizations are provided.

Keywords: adult education, refugee policy, refugee resettlement, Trump, workers

I. INTRODUCTION

Policy-wise, politically, socially, all of it is a perfect storm of things that are converging to create an enormous mess that ruins people's lives. We look at a situation and think, "Why can't we fix that...?" (Refugee resettlement worker, personal communication, September 9, 2017)

While a Major in the United States Air Force, I was stationed in Afghanistan from the end of July 2007, to the beginning of February 2008. Most of my time was spent at Camp Eggers in Kabul. My duties as a communications officer included managing computer and communications projects at some of the nearby camps. As a result, I convoyed once or twice a week from Camp Eggers to my project locations, places such



Figure 1. Camp Morehead south of Kabul, Afghanistan, 2007.

as the Camp Morehead Commando Training Center south of Kabul (see Figure 1). The convoy routes took us through various parts of Kabul and the surrounding countryside.

The destruction from so many years of war was apparent everywhere. There were few buildings undamaged, either in the city or in the areas outside of Kabul. I cannot say I know what life was like for someone in Afghanistan, but I saw sufficient misery and devastation to understand, only to the smallest degree, what forces of suffering and fear must be exerted for someone to flee their homeland. My experiences in Afghanistan, a country that has produced more refugees than any other country except Syria (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018a), were the beginning of my interest in the plight of refugees.

As I was exploring this topic further in the Fall semester of 2017, I had an informal conversation with a refugee resettlement worker when she made the remark presented at the beginning of this chapter. She expressed her frustration with not only the circumstances that create refugees but with the recent political events that have made it more difficult to help them. There are 68.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, the highest levels on record since World War II. These include 25.4 million people who have thus far been identified as refugees by the United Nations, over half of whom are under the age of 18 (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2016, 2018a). In 2017 and 2018, the United States, under the administration of President Donald J. Trump, implemented policies that have significantly decreased the number of refugees being accepted for resettlement (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b), expanded the number of refugees subject to detention, reduced access to counsel and rights of appeal, separated family members, triggered illegal refoulement of asylum seekers (Harvard Law School, 2017), and stoked national fears and nativism (Young, 2017).

After seeing first-hand, the “enormous mess” at the beginning of the refugee story in Afghanistan, and after observing the Trump administration’s actions affecting immigration and refugee policies, I elected to conduct an examination of the refugee resettlement process for my dissertation research. This qualitative descriptive case study examined the narratives of seven refugee resettlement workers, and through their narratives assessed how recent events have impacted these workers and their organizations. This introductory chapter will provide the background and context for the research, present the research problem, state the research questions, furnish the purpose and significance of the study, and identify the conceptual framework used for the research.

Background and Context of the Study

On January 25, 2017, President Donald J. Trump signed two executive orders that stepped-up security along the southern U.S. border, authorized the hiring of 15,000 additional immigration officers, directed the construction of a wall between the United States and Mexico, ordered increased enforcement of immigration laws within the U.S. interior, and implemented other measures aimed at increased immigration law enforcement (Trump, 2017a, 2017b). Two days later, President Trump issued a third executive order, one that severely restricted immigration from seven Muslim countries, suspended all refugee admissions for 120 days, reduced the refugee admissions quota for fiscal year 2017 to 50,000, and barred all Syrian refugees indefinitely (Calamur, 2017, para. 1; Trump, 2017d). The third executive order was reissued with revisions on March 6, 2017, (Trump, 2017c) after court challenges (Levasseur, 2017). The revised order

removed Iraq from the list of seven countries and revoked the permanent ban on Syrian refugees (Trump, 2017c).

President Trump's executive orders were not unexpected after a presidential campaign full of anti-immigrant rhetoric particularly against Mexicans and Muslims (Kteily & Bruneau, 2017). The increased focus on enforcement of immigration laws by the Trump administration, the president's refugee bans, and decreases in refugee quotas and funding have dramatically reduced refugee admissions to the United States.

During the calendar-year 2016, the final full year of the Obama administration, a total of 96,874 refugee arrivals were processed by the Department of State Refugee Processing Center (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b). During the first 12 months (January 20, 2017 to January 20, 2018) of the Trump administration, 29,725 refugees were processed (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b), less than one-third of the refugees admitted the previous calendar year. Worldwide, more refugees come from Syria and Afghanistan than any other countries, with 6.3 million and 2.6 million refugees respectively (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018a). Syrian refugees processed for entry into the United States declined 87% from 15,479 in 2016 to 2,002 in the first 12 months of Trump's administration; refugees from Afghanistan declined more than 77%, going from 2,930 to 655 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b). In September, 2017, the president's quota for refugee admissions for fiscal year 2018 was set at 45,000 (reduced from 110,000 for fiscal year 2017 set by President Obama) although only 22,491 refugees were admitted during fiscal year 2018 (Meckler, 2018; Refugee Processing Center, 2019b). The president's quota for fiscal year 2019 further reduced refugee admissions to no more than 30,000 (Trump, 2018). Concerns regarding refugees

as security risks and as economic burdens were no longer just the beliefs of a particular political group, but have become the basis for our national policy regarding refugees (Trump, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d). President Trump's anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim campaign rhetoric, his executive orders, and his reduced refugee admissions ceilings, among other policies, have significantly reduced refugee admissions.

The decrease in refugee admissions is affecting the voluntary agencies responsible for refugee resettlement. On December 1, 2017, the U.S. State Department informed refugee resettlement agencies that "offices expected to handle fewer than 100 refugees in fiscal year 2018 will no longer be authorized to resettle new arrivals" (Torbati & Rosenberg, 2017, para. 5). As a result, the voluntary agencies coordinated among themselves in an attempt to maintain geographic coverage as they shut down their associates' offices (Torbati & Rosenberg, 2017). World Relief, one of the voluntary agencies, closed "local offices in Boise, Idaho; Columbus, Ohio; Miami, Florida; Nashville, Tennessee; and Glen Burnie, Maryland. Collectively, these five offices have resettled more than 25,000 refugees over the past four decades" (Alto, 2017, para. 1). Additional refugee resettlement offices associated with the resettlement organizations have closed after December's announcement and the continued lower levels of refugee admissions (Adams, 2018; Alvarez, 2018; Ceballos, 2018) .

Of course, fewer offices means fewer workers. The closing of World Relief's offices resulted in the loss of over 140 jobs (Alto, 2017). The loss of jobs not only affects the individuals involved but may well "cause lasting and irreversible damage to U.S. referral and resettlement agencies by destroying their bureaucratic memory" (Gilbert, 2017, para. 6). The 100-refugee minimum per resettlement office imposed by the

Department of State for resettling new arrivals has the potential effect of eliminating refugee resettlement in states where fewer than 100 refugees per year are resettled. Using the calendar year 2017 as an example, 10 states received fewer than 100 refugees (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b). Any refugee resettlement office within these states would likely be closed, effectively excluding the initial resettlement of refugees within these states or requiring another resettlement office to pick up the workload.

There were other actions taken by the Trump administration that directly affected the U.S. refugee resettlement program. For a more complete list of the administration's actions affecting refugee resettlement programs, see Appendix A.

Statement of the Problem

The anti-immigrant narratives so prevalent in politics today, along with the actions of the Trump administration and its resulting policies, have negatively impacted the refugee resettlement program in the United States. Understanding the impact of the current administration's refugee policies on refugee resettlement organizations and the workers within them is the problem this qualitative study addressed. While the literature review reflects a series of events which have led us to this point, the political actions of the current presidential administration are relatively recent, within the last 27 months or so, and an examination of their impact upon the nation's refugee program and its resettlement workers has yet to be done outside of media reports. Refugee resettlement workers have been, and are currently being, dismissed from their positions; capturing their narratives and perspectives on recent events was urgent if we were to better understand the impacts of these latest policies and not lose those narratives and perspectives to history.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study addressed the statement of the problem through the analysis of the narratives of seven refugee resettlement workers in Texas, supplemented with academic literature and other data. The three research questions guiding this study were as follows:

1. How do refugee resettlement workers describe the effects of recent refugee policies on their practice and their lives?
2. What changes do the study's participants report in their refugee resettlement organizations?
3. What can be concluded about the state of refugee resettlement in Texas and in the nation?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to document the past and present experiences of refugee resettlement workers, that is, what was different from the past compared with the present. In particular, the study captured these workers' experiences, struggles, and perceptions as their organizations and their roles evolved under the pressure of a presidential administration that has changed, and perhaps begun to dismantle, the basis of their contributions to society, and for some, their livelihoods and their identities. Through the analysis of their narratives, this study reveals the changes within refugee resettlement organizations as viewed from the eyes of those who know these organizations at the level of operational execution. Finally, this research captured the events, reactions, and adjustments as they were happening, as these refugee resettlement workers and organizations underwent these changes.

The three research questions were structured to support this purpose. The first research question was designed to gain an understanding of the changes within the refugee resettlement workers' practices and lives, including what strategies they used to cope with these changes. In order to answer this question, the study examined past and present roles and experiences, and established what was ordinary and normal within their jobs and what their jobs are like now. The second research question extended these understandings to the changes and adjustments of the resettlement organizations and how those changes were understood by their workers. How these workers perceived these recent events and the impacts upon them and their organizations provided insight into how social narratives and their subsequent policy implementations shaped the knowledge construction of those affected. The third research question asked what conclusions can be drawn from the research and the workers' narratives regarding the larger perspective of refugee resettlement in the United States. This question allowed me to step back and examine what emerged from the totality of evidence I discovered about the state of the refugee resettlement program nationally.

Significance of the Study

In the calendar year 2016 the U.S. State Department received 96,874 refugee arrivals; that number decreased to 33,368 in calendar-year 2017, a decrease of 63,506 refugees. In calendar year 2018, the number decreased further to 22,874 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b). Not only were tens of thousands of refugees denied the opportunity to resettle in the United States, a nation of immigrants and their descendants, but the infrastructure for resettling them was idled and the process of dismantling that infrastructure is underway (Alto, 2017; Alvarez, 2018; Gilbert, 2017; Meckler, 2018).

The research of this phenomenon was timely; this research could not wait as the downsizing of refugee resettlement workers and the closing of refugee resettlement offices were already underway. Discovering the consequences of recent changes in refugee policies as these events unfolded allowed a view of this period of time from a series of contemporary accounts rather than from the “great, silent, motionless bases that traditional history has covered with a thick layer of events” (Foucault, 1972, p. 3).

According to the U.S. Department of State, “The United States is proud of its history of welcoming immigrants and refugees. The U.S. refugee resettlement program reflects the United States’ highest values and aspirations to compassion, generosity and leadership” (U.S. Department of State, n. d., para. 1). Some refugee resettlement workers saw recent policy changes as being at odds with the nation’s long-standing traditions of welcoming refugees and as contributing to the further awakening of anti-immigrant sentiment. Some workers supported these policies as a necessary adjustment in an era of global terrorism. By better understanding the impacts of the current administration’s policies upon refugee resettlement organizations and workers, policy makers can consider changes in the laws and the ways in which they are enforced for everyone’s benefit. Refugee resettlement organizations may find the study’s data useful in better understanding the impact of the administration’s policy changes upon their workers and upon their organizations’ abilities to execute their missions. Adult educators may find the data helpful in understanding how refugee resettlement workers construct or reconstruct political narratives and policies as a way of knowing and perceiving their realities, as reflected in their personal narratives.

Narratives are not only a representation of reality, but a means of constituting reality (Bruner, 1991). A characteristic of a narrative is its negotiability, that is, the ability of an individual to engage in “negotiation of different narrative versions” (Bruner, 1991, p. 17) of the same event, allowing an interplay of perspectives. Individuals accrue narratives, building them into coherent accounts of their own lives, and ultimately, forming cultures and histories (Bruner, 1991). As Polkinghorne (1991) points out, we narrate our stories, we do not write them; not all elements are under our control. A refugee resettlement worker will negotiate an interpretation of what is happening to them and their organizations, they will develop an explanation or story and they will accrue it and integrate it with their existing narratives. Thus, the effects of recent changes in refugee policies on refugee resettlement workers articulated in the first research question is the opportunity to examine how those effects might have been structured and integrated into the workers’ meaning-making.

Conceptual Framework

The framework for this study, shown in Figure 2, begins at the bottom of the figure with the socially-constructed refugee narratives. These are the prevalent narratives regarding immigrants and refugees found in the literature: the nativist narrative, the neoliberal narrative, and the victim narrative. These narratives influence the political climate which, in turn, affects the laws and policies in place. The laws and policies govern who a refugee is, how they are treated, the determination of annual refugee arrival quotas, funding, and the processes followed by government and refugee resettlement organizations. It is the narratives of the refugee resettlement workers, shown in the center of Figure 2, that this study intends to capture and which will be influenced by the

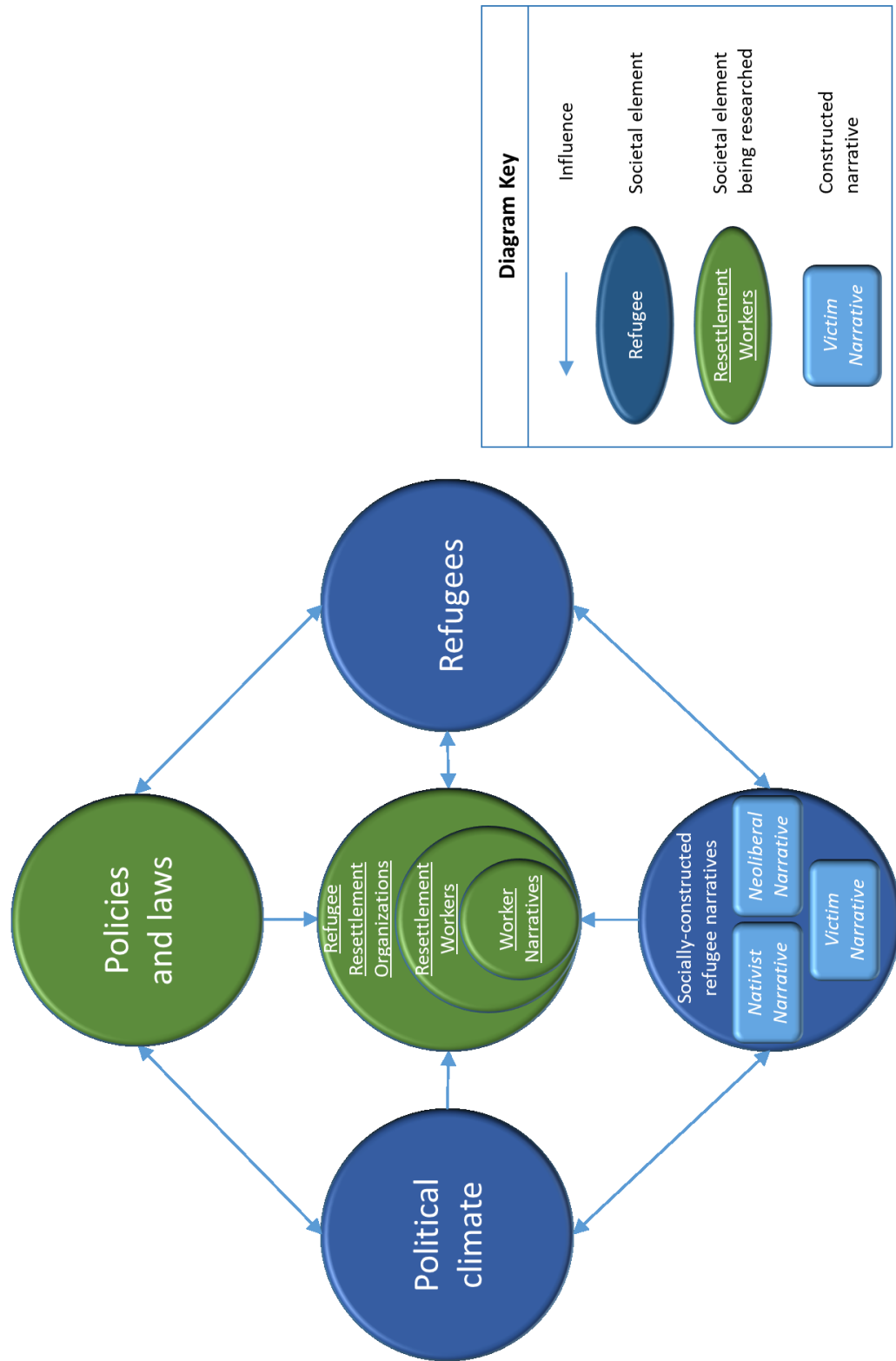


Figure 2. Conceptual framework for the study.

other elements within this figure. The experiences and needs of the refugees themselves will influence the behavior of the resettlement organizations and their workers. The socially-constructed narratives that influence the political climate will also influence the way in which a resettlement worker thinks and behaves and what community problems may arise in the resettlement process. The resettlement organization will require specific behaviors from the resettlement worker, assign duties, demand reports, and provide the worker's caseload. Thus, the refugee resettlement worker is influenced by all these factors.

The dominant narratives regarding immigration and the social construction of what constitutes a "refugee" shape the political climate, and subsequently, the policies and laws as well as their enforcement. The socially constructed narratives affecting the political climate and policies "...are a force in themselves and must be considered explicitly..." (Roe, 1994, p. 185). Compelling policy narratives regarding immigration must be "cognitively plausible, dramatically or morally compelling and, importantly, they chime with perceived interests" (Boswell, Geddes, & Scholten, 2011, p. 1). Such narratives and their claims also draw on the knowledge of experts, and thus, such knowledge claims become the basis of a particular narrative and its influence in shaping the political climate and policy making. Boswell et al. (2011) call these *narratives of steering*, those narratives used specifically for influencing policy-makers in areas with multiple perspectives and with a high level of complexity (p. 4).

Depending on their own leanings and interests, and their perceptions of the political opinions of their base of supporters, policy-makers accept specific narratives that subsequently influence the policies and laws regarding immigration and refugees. "No

one believes that public opinion always determines public policy; few believe it never does” (Burstein, 2003, p. 29). Socially constructed narratives shaped by the media, the echo chambers of the Internet, and perhaps even Russian Internet trolls, influence the political climate and for whom votes are cast. Of course, the resulting policies, laws, and enforcement guidance all influence the refugee resettlement process, from the responsibilities and funding of resettlement organizations to who is defined as a refugee.

Researcher’s Perspective

My positionality in this research is that of a citizen of the United States, a white male, a husband, a father, and a retired military officer. I have no unique background or family ties with refugees, although I am acquainted with an asylee from the Middle East. I do not have an anecdote or story about an encounter with a refugee or immigrant that most other U.S. citizens would not have. I have no underlying motivation to research refugee resettlement workers or organizations other than this: I believe it is right to help those in need, those with less fortune or power than ourselves. It is wrong to demonize a refugee or to create dread and distrust of their cultural or racial differences as a matter of policy. The language of fear and intolerance that continues to permeate our political dialogues is divisive and un-American—it is important to live by the national principles we purport to uphold.

I am therefore interested in seeing a viable and just refugee resettlement program in the United States. I am concerned about immigration and refugee policies based on fear and prejudice that negatively impact our ability as a nation to assist those fleeing violence and persecution. As a student in the Adult, Professional, and Community

Education program I wished to better understand the links between social narratives, policy, and the individual narratives of those impacted by those policies.

My role in this study was that of researcher as learner. Over a period of six months, I completed 141 hours of volunteer work with a refugee resettlement organization to gain an understanding of how these programs operated and to acquire knowledge regarding the duties of resettlement workers. I used field notes as part of my researcher's journal to better comprehend the culture of these organizations and the events I observed as I learned the ins and outs of the programs.

I was also in the role of researcher as researcher. I remained ethical, disclosed my intentions, and identified myself and my purpose to others. I followed the requirements of my institution and its Institutional Review Board (IRB). Study participants were volunteers, able to refuse to answer any question and able to remove themselves from participation in this research at any time. All my participants were provided, and signed, a consent form for this research. I made my best effort to remain objective and base conclusions on data from the study participants and the literature.

Dissertation Roadmap

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. The first chapter was the introduction to the study and provided the reader with context and research questions focusing the dissertation study. What follows this chapter is a review of the literature in chapter two providing background and theory to anchor the research. The literature review includes an overview of the refugee resettlement process, a discussion of social narratives affecting refugee resettlement, and a brief examination of the interactions between the workers and their organizations and clients. Chapter three, "Study Design

and Methods,” describes the design of the study and the methods used for data collection and analysis. This chapter includes how the data were protected, ethical considerations, and how trustworthiness was built into the study. Chapters four and five discuss the findings of the research. Chapter four, “Refugee Resettlement Workers,” describes who refugee resettlement workers are, how they learned their jobs, the work they do, and how they feel about refugee resettlement. Chapter five, “The Trump Administration’s Impact on Refugee Resettlement,” examines the three research questions, and analyzes how current policies have impacted refugee resettlement organizations and workers. Chapter five also discusses the overall effects of recent policies on the refugee resettlement system. Chapter six, “The journey Continues,” highlights the research’s findings, discusses contributions of the study, proposes recommendations for refugee resettlement organizations, presents the implications of the findings, and suggests areas for additional research.

The appendix section contains additional material not included in the main portion of this document. Of particular interest is Appendix A, which describes the specific actions of the Trump administration affecting refugee resettlement and what the first-level effects were. Other appendixes include a definition of terms and the materials used to recruit and interview participants.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this literature review is to provide context for the research conducted for this study. The subject of refugee resettlement is global, complex, and multifaceted, and this literature review must of necessity focus on specific aspects of the process. In order to provide the needed context, much of the information in this literature review is from agency and government documents, reports, and websites as well as from news articles and other online sources.

This literature review is organized into seven sections. The first section, “Definition of a Refugee,” presents the legal basis for the definition of a refugee and how that definition varies among the key participants in the refugee resettlement process. The next section, “Scope of the Refugee Problem,” provides an overview of the refugee issue worldwide. The third section, titled “The Refugee Resettlement Process,” gives a definition of refugee resettlement, and outlines the processes and organizations responsible for resettling refugees in the United States. The fourth section, “Recent Changes in Policies Affecting Refugee Resettlement,” provides an overview of recent refugee policies. The fifth section, titled “Sentiments and Narratives Regarding Immigrants and Refugees,” reviews public opinion regarding immigrants and refugees and develops three narratives affecting how society and policy makers view refugees. The sixth section, called “Refugee Resettlement Workers,” provides perspective on the qualifications of refugee resettlement workers and their interactions with their own organizations and with refugees. The seventh and final section is titled “Gaps in the Literature,” and provides what was learned from the literature review and what gaps exist in the current literature.

Definition of a Refugee

While popular media and individuals use the term *refugee* in a number of ways, there are particular usages under international treaties and U.S. law that drive how refugees are defined, identified, processed, and resettled. This study uses the U.S. definition of a refugee; however, even within the literature the definition of a refugee differs from one source to another. For example, when the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) uses the term, it can include individuals which may not be included under the U.S. definition. Therefore, three relevant definitions of the term refugee are shown that the reader must keep in mind when statistics or information about refugees are presented from various sources.

The 1951 “Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees” and its 1967 “Protocol on the Status of Refugees” are the foundations of UNHCR’s and the United States’ definition of a refugee. The 1951 Convention, Article 1A (2), defined a refugee as:

a person who... owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or unwilling to return to it (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 18).

UNHCR’s mandate from the United Nations General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council is to provide protection to refugees and includes a definition of “refugee” expanded beyond the 1951 Convention. Consequently, in addition to the 1951

Convention's definition, the UNHCR also "recognizes as refugees persons who are outside their country of nationality or habitual residence and unable to return there owing to serious and indiscriminate threats to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalized violence or events seriously disturbing public order" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 19).

The United States, under Title 8 of the U.S. Code, and based on the definition from the 1951 Convention, defines a refugee as:

Any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, or in such circumstances as the President after appropriate consultation...may specify... (Refugee Act of 1980, 2016, p. 23)

This definition allows the U.S. president to designate particular groups as refugees that would otherwise fall outside of the 1951 convention's definition and allows the president to remove that designation at some point in the future. It should be noted, the UNHCR uses the definition of a refugee from the prospective resettlement country when recommending resettlement, and not its own definition. A person who meets the U.S. definition of a refugee but applies for this status from within the United States or at a U.S. port of entry with a different status or without any status is called an *asylee*. The

United States processes asylees differently than refugees (American Immigration Council, 2015); this literature review does not address the processes for asylees.

Scope of the Refugee Problem

At the end of 2017, 68.5 million people worldwide had been forcibly displaced from their homes by “persecution, conflict, or generalized violence” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018b, p. 2). Of this number, 40 million were homeless within the borders of their own countries and consequently defined as *internally displaced persons*. Another 3.1 million were asylum seekers, those claiming refugee status but who had not yet been evaluated by a country of asylum or by the UNHCR. The remaining 25.4 million are refugees, those who fled their country due to “a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion” (United Nations, 2017, para. 3; United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018b), the highest number on record since the founding of the UNHCR in 1950 (Edwards, 2017). Of the 25.4 million refugees, 5.4 million are Palestinian refugees registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East; the remaining 19.9 million refugees fall under UNHCR’s protection mandate (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018b).

Of the 19.9 million refugees under UNHCR’s mandate, 6.3 million came from Syria and 2.6 million came from Afghanistan, the two highest refugee-producing countries, accounting for nearly 45% of UNHCR refugees (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018a). Both countries are engaged in prolonged conflicts involving the United States and its coalition partners, including Operation “Freedom’s

Sentinel” and NATO Operation “Resolute Support” in Afghanistan, and Operation “Inherent Resolve” in Iraq and Syria. Operations “Freedom’s Sentinel” and “Inherent Resolve” are combat operations and are part of the global war on terror (Lamothe, 2014; North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2017; U.S. Department of Defense, 2017). Another 2.4 million refugees came from South Sudan (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018b), the site of multiple civil wars where U.S. military operations were limited to the protection and rescue of U.S citizens (Lynch, De Luce, & McLeary, 2016; Patnkin, 2016). These three countries were the source of 57% of non-Palestinian refugees in 2017 (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018b).

The Refugee Resettlement Process

Resettlement of refugees is defined as “the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them—as refugees—with permanent residence status” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 3). International, national, and state immigration laws form a complex amalgamation of definitions, procedures, and funding meant to host, classify, investigate, relocate, and resettle refugees.

The process for identifying, investigating, admitting, and resettling refugees in the United States is largely sequential. It usually begins with the UNHCR who identifies refugees under their mandate of protection, screens them for resettlement as an appropriate durable solution, and submits them to the United States for resettlement consideration. The United States, after determining the applicant is eligible for refugee status and resettlement, offers the refugee the resettlement opportunity. If the refugee accepts, he or she is transported to the United States and is assigned to a volunteer

refugee resettlement agency (VOLAG) for resettlement. The VOLAG, with the cooperation of federal, state, and local governments and other private organizations, carries out the resettlement process.

Once the UNHCR submits an applicant for resettlement to the United States, the entire process is overseen by the Department of State with a hand-off to the Department of Health and Human Services 91 days after the refugee enters the United States for resettlement. However, the process involves many other federal agencies, notably the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The Department of Homeland Security makes the final determinations of refugee status and eligibility for resettlement in the United States. A more detailed description of the refugee resettlement process follows.

While the process is complex and thorough, this overview starts with the international process and moves to the national and state processes. As this research took place within the state of Texas, the refugee resettlement process in Texas is briefly discussed.

International Process for Refugee Resettlement

The UNHCR has three *durable solutions* for persons of concern, whom they define as “refugees, asylum-seekers, returnees, stateless persons, and, in many situations, internally displaced persons...” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 414). A durable solution is one where the circumstances of the person of concern can be satisfactorily and permanently resolved. The three durable solutions supported by UNHCR are (a) repatriation, (b) integration into the country or area of asylum, or (c) resettlement outside the country or area of asylum (p. 410). Thus, a person is flagged for possible resettlement by the UNHCR as a potential durable solution. Refugees cannot

apply for resettlement nor can they pick their country of resettlement (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2017). Less than one percent of those identified as refugees by the UNHCR are submitted for resettlement outside their country of asylum (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

The potential country of resettlement (called the *contracting state*) is the entity that determines if the person of concern is a refugee in accordance with the 1951 Convention, any regional agreements, and their own laws. The UNHCR determines final refugee status under its mandate for protection only in specific circumstances. This process is called the *refugee status determination*.

Certain persons are excluded from being refugees by the UNHCR during refugee status determination even if they fall under the appropriate definitions—those who have committed specific crimes or have acted “contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 19), for example, are excluded as refugees. Exclusion criteria can also vary by country.

The international resettlement process managed by the UNHCR consists of the following baseline steps (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 302):

- (1) Identification of refugees in need of resettlement consideration;
- (2) Assessment of individual resettlement need;
- (3) Preparation of a resettlement submission;
- (4) UNHCR submission decision;
- (5) Resettlement country decision;
- and (6) Pre-departure arrangements and monitoring.

These steps are complex to execute, and records are kept on all persons of concern when registered with the UNHCR. In order to be eligible for resettlement consideration by a contracting state, the UNHCR must have determined the person to be a refugee, must

have assessed all durable solutions, and must have determined resettlement as the most appropriate durable solution. Exceptions can be made for non-refugees, such as stateless persons or family members. (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 304). Registration details in the UNHCR's *proGres* computerized registration database are verified for each refugee identified for resettlement. The *proGres* database includes biometric data to improve the security and veracity of the person of interest's information (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011).

After a preliminary resettlement assessment, the refugee is interviewed, along with family members and children. Facts are gathered for each case and priorities are applied by the UNHCR. A Refugee Resettlement Form or an electronic entry into *proGres* is prepared and reviewed, and the UNHCR makes a submission to a potential resettlement country. The time between registration as a person of concern by the UNHCR, and a refugee resettlement submission to the United States can vary considerably. However, approximately 20% to 30% of all refugees are in refugee camps—the average stay in such a camp is 17 years (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2017b), representing the circumstance with perhaps the longest wait. An additional 18 to 24 months is required for acceptance by the United States after a UNHCR submission; the refugee remains in place during this time (U.S. Department of State, 2017). The Worldwide Refugee Admissions Processing System (WRAPS), a computer system operated by the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration's (PRM's) Refugee Processing Center (RPC) is electronically interfaced with *proGres*. UNHCR refugee submissions to the United States, for the most part, are made electronically through the *proGres*–WRAPS interface. WRAPS is used to

process and track refugees in various countries to the U.S. for resettlement (Refugee Processing Center, 2016, para. 1).

U.S. National Process for Refugee Resettlement

The General Accountability Office produced a graphic which depicts, at a high level, the refugee resettlement process within the United States (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 9). That graphic is presented as Figure 3 to serve as a basic roadmap to assist the reader in following the process.

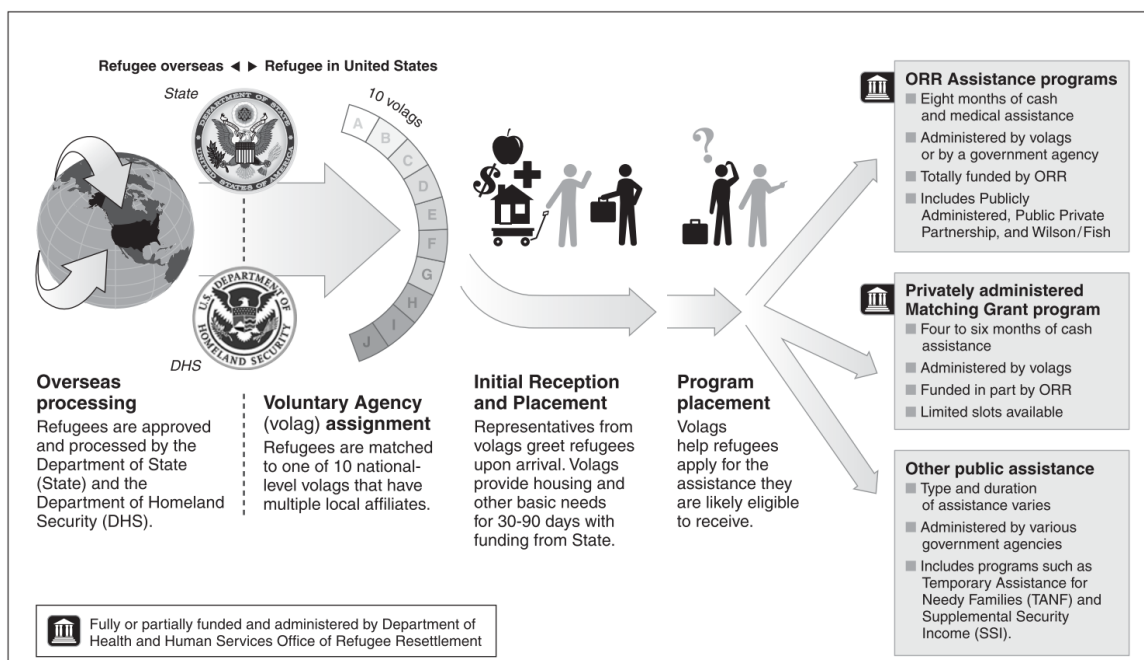


Figure 3. U.S. refugee resettlement process. Reprinted from “Refugee assistance: Little is known about the effectiveness of different approaches for improving refugee’s employment outcomes” by the U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 9. This a work of the U.S. government and not subject to copyright protection in the United States.

The United States resettlement of refugees after World War II was on an *ad hoc* basis until the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980. The act codified the definition of a refugee in U.S. law consistent with the 1951 Convention and set the current U.S. refugee system in place (Brown & Scribner, 2014).

The majority of refugee resettlement requests are received through WRAPS from UNHCR submissions. However, there are other avenues for submission. In addition to the UNHCR, U.S. embassies and certain non-governmental organizations are also able to submit resettlement requests. Family members who are already in the United States can also submit direct applications. In addition, Congress can authorize direct application programs such as U.S.-affiliated Iraqis or the Central American Minors programs. Regardless of the source, once a case reaches the U.S. Refugee Assistance Program, all refugees are processed the same way (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

The U.S. Refugee Assistance Program (USRAP) is managed by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), but multiple federal agencies are involved in the refugee resettlement process. This includes the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, which is part of the Department of Homeland Security, and the Office of Refugee Resettlement, which is part of the Department of Health and Human Services. Each applicant is subject to a security screening process that includes agencies such as the Department of State, Department of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Counterterrorism Center, Terrorist Screening Center, and two U.S. intelligence agencies. Only the U.S. Department of Homeland Security has the authority to determine if an applicant qualifies for refugee status and will be offered admission to the United States. (U.S. Department of State, 2017). The United States does not admit refugees with only a records review; all applicants are interviewed by a DHS officer (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2014, p. 5).

The presidential administration consults with Congress annually regarding the refugee admissions program and presents the president's proposed admissions program and quotas, sometimes called the *presidential determination*. "This proposal includes information on refugee admissions levels, groups of refugees of special humanitarian interest to the United States, and processing priorities" (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2014, p. 3).

While still overseas, the applicants' case files are prepared by one of nine Department of State-funded Resettlement Support Centers or their sub-offices located around the world. At each Resettlement Support Center office, "caseworkers interview the refugee and his or her family, take photos, check the facts in the file, collect initial information to begin the security clearance process, and collect other biographic information to be presented to a DHS officer" (U.S. Department of State, 2017, para. 14).

If an applicant passes the security checks, including the use of biometrics if available, the applicant and his or her family undergo a medical examination to screen for diseases of significant public health risk such as tuberculosis. After the medical examination and clearance, refugees are provided a three-day orientation about U.S. culture, customs, the resettlement process, and their responsibilities to find work, become self-sufficient, abide by the laws, and learn English (U.S. Department of State, 2017). All of this happens within the country of asylum before the refugee travels to the United States. Once DHS approves an applicant (and his or her family, if applicable) for resettlement, and the refugee accepts the offer, then the refugee travels to the United States.

Travel to the United States is arranged by the United Nations International Organization for Migration and initially paid for by the U.S. Refugee Assistance Program; the refugee must sign a promissory note to repay the U.S. government for travel costs within five years. The Department of State considers this “an important step for refugees seeking to establish a credit history” and “one of the first steps that refugees take toward financial self-reliance, a key emphasis of the USRAP” (U.S. Department of State, 2017, para. 22).

Refugees arriving in the United States are placed with one of nine private resettlement volunteer agencies known as VOLAGs, or with the Iowa Bureau of Refugee Services. All ten agencies have signed a cooperative agreement with the Department of State (Iowa Department of Human Services, 2017b; U.S. Department of State, n.d.). These agencies, through their local affiliates, are responsible for assuring a group of core services are delivered to the refugees. For the first 90 days, these services are funded by the Department of State’s Reception and Placement Program; after 90 days they are funded through the Office of Refugee Resettlement, part of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The Office of Refugee Resettlement Cash and Medical Assistance Program reimburses states for 100 percent of eligible services provided to refugees. These eligible services include Refugee Cash Assistance, Refugee Medical Assistance, and the Unaccompanied Refugee Minors Program. There are also joint federal-state programs such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and Medicaid, public-private partnerships, and Wilson-Fish programs (Refugee Council USA, 2017). Wilson-Fish programs are an alternative to state-administered refugee resettlement programs that emphasize “early employment and economic self-sufficiency by integrating cash

assistance, case management, and employment services and by incorporating innovative strategies for the provision of cash assistance” (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2013, para. 3). Between September 30, 2010, and September 29, 2014, 12 states and San Diego County operated Wilson-Fish programs; 9 of the 12 states withdrew from the program by 2015 (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2017). The Wilson-Fish program is used, or planned for use, by the states that have formally withdrawn from the federal resettlement program and is currently active in 13 states with several others transitioning to the program (Barnett, 2018). If a state withdraws from the federal resettlement program, it means the state stops administering federal funds, including Medicaid funds, and stops providing any state funds for resettlement.

Texas Process for Refugee Resettlement

In fiscal year 2015, a total of 7,479 refugees were resettled in the state of Texas (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b), a state with an historically high refugee resettlement rate. However, on September 21, 2016, Kara Crawford, the State Refugee Coordinator for the Texas Health and Human Services Commission, sent a letter to Mr. Robert Carey, the Director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement, notifying him that Texas would “exit the Refugee Resettlement Program” and would provide benefits for “120 days beyond October 1, 2016, or until January 31, 2017” (Largey & Lopez, 2016, para. 13). The threat to withdraw was predicated on the demand the Office of Refugee Resettlement unconditionally approve Texas’ updated state refugee plan “which would require national security officials to ensure that refugees do not pose a security threat to Texas” (Abbott, 2016). Governor Greg Abbott further clarified:

Despite multiple requests by the State of Texas, the federal government lacks the capability or the will to distinguish the dangerous from the harmless, and Texas will not be an accomplice to such dereliction of duty to the American people.

Therefore, Texas will withdraw from the refugee resettlement program. (Abbott, 2016, para. 5)

It might be noted the Office of Refugee Resettlement has no authority over refugee security checks—they are the purview of the Department of Homeland Security. Asking the Office of Refugee Resettlement to ensure the refugees pose no security threat was a request outside their purview and unanswerable, thus ensuring Texas would have justification for withdrawing from the program.

On September 30, 2016, the state of Texas withdrew from the federal Refugee Resettlement Program and no longer administers any aspects of refugee resettlements within Texas. Texas also withdrew Medicaid funding, forcing resettlement organizations to find alternatives for refugee health care upon arrival. In addition, Texas attempted to ban the entry of Syrian refugees into the state, but their lawsuit was dismissed by a federal judge; Texas is appealing the ruling (Ura, 2017). Only one Syrian refugee resettled in Texas in fiscal year 2018 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b). The federal government has designated four nonprofit agencies, each assigned a region within the state, to administer the programs once administered by the Texas Health and Human Services Commission. Those agencies are (a) the Midland International Rescue Committee, (b) the Catholic Charities of Fort Worth, (c) the Refugee Services of Texas, and (d) the YMCA of Greater Houston. According to the Office of Refugee Resettlement

the regional structure under the four nonprofits will remain in place until proposals are received and accepted under the Wilson-Fish program (Lopez, 2017).

Refugee Resettlement Organizations in the United States

The nine private VOLAGs acting as resettlement agencies (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012) are (a) the Church World Service, (b) the Episcopal Migration Ministries, (c) the Ethiopian Community Development Council, (d) the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society (now known as HIAS), (e) the International Rescue Committee, (f) the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, (g) the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, (h) the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, and (i) the World Relief Corporation. A tenth resettlement organization which is state-operated, the Iowa Bureau of Refugee Services, was started in 1975 as the “Governor’s Task Force” in response to the Tai Dam refugees from Vietnam who had crossed into Cambodia seeking asylum. The Governor’s Task Force settled 300 Tai Dam refugees in Iowa in 1975 (Iowa Department of Human Services, 2017a). The Iowa Bureau of Refugee Services is considered a “national volunteer agency” or VOLAG under the Code of Federal Regulations (Refugee Resettlement Program, 2017) even though they are state-operated.

Of the ten organizations, one is state-operated, three are secular, and six are religion-based, although the religious organizations are prohibited from proselytizing (U.S. Department of State, n.d.). Each week, representatives of these agencies meet and review case files from the Resettlement Support Centers. The agencies match the refugees in the case files with their own capabilities, capabilities of their local affiliates, the refugees’ family members already in the United States, as well as other needs. Once an organization agrees to sponsor a case, and the United Nations International

Organization for Migration arranges transport, a representative of the resettlement agency or their affiliate meets the refugee and his or her family at the airport and takes them to housing set up as an initial living arrangement. During the first three months after arrival, the Department of State's Reception and Placement Program oversees the refugees' initial resettlement, providing a one-time lump sum per refugee to help cover expenses (U.S. Department of State, n.d.). Refugees are required to apply for permanent residence after one year and after five years they are eligible for citizenship (U.S. Department of State, n.d.). There were approximately 350 local refugee resettlement agencies or affiliates in 2015 associated with the nine private VOLAGs (Darrow, 2015).

The State Department accepts submissions from domestic nonprofits annually for participation in the refugee resettlement program, including the current VOLAGs, as part of an open competition (U.S. Department of State, 2017). The list of approved VOLAGs therefore can change from year to year. In addition to the nonprofits selected by the U.S. Department of State, a host of other nonprofit agencies participate in refugee resettlement. Some of these agencies are small and limited to a city or community while others are regional or national in scope. These agencies may serve all immigrants and not just refugees. Services provided by the agencies include legal services, emergency shelter, help on income taxes, health care and counselling, assistance in learning citizenship materials, and English language instruction. There are also a number of nonprofit organizations with the words "refugee" or "immigrant" in their names promoting political agendas or points-of-view as think-tanks and research centers and have no role in refugee resettlement.

Recent Changes in Policies Affecting Refugee Resettlement

Over the last 28 months the Trump administration has changed a number of policies affecting refugee resettlement. A complete list of the Trump administration's actions affecting refugees can be found in Appendix A. On January 27, 2017, President Trump issued an executive order that severely restricted immigration from seven Muslim countries, suspended all refugee admissions for 120 days, reduced the refugee admissions quota for fiscal year 2017 to 50,000, and barred all Syrian refugees indefinitely (Calamur, 2017, para. 1; Trump, 2017d). This executive order was reissued with revisions on March 6, 2017, (Trump, 2017c) after court challenges (Levasseur, 2017) removing Syrians from a permanent ban among other changes.

In September, 2017, the Trump administration set the refugee quota at 45,000 for fiscal year 2018, down from the 110,000 for fiscal year 2017 set by the Obama administration and the lowest refugee ceiling since 1980 (Meckler, 2018). President Trump then set the fiscal year 2019 refugee admissions quota to 30,000 (Trump, 2018), a new low for the program. On September 24, 2017, the Trump administration via presidential proclamation, placed 11 countries under near-total suspension for admissions, and set higher vetting standards requiring officials to rescreen refugee applicants who have already been screened (Kaleem, 2017; Meckler, 2018; Trump, 2017h). In December 2017, a federal district judge directed the Trump administration to resume family unification admissions and admissions of those from the 11 countries who have legitimate relationships with people or entities in the United States (Meckler, 2018).

On December 1, 2017, the U.S. State Department informed refugee resettlement agencies that “offices expected to handle fewer than 100 refugees in fiscal year 2018 will

no longer be authorized to resettle new arrivals” (Torbati & Rosenberg, 2017, para. 5). As a result, the VOLAGs coordinated among themselves in an attempt to maintain geographic coverage as they shut down their associates’ offices (Torbati & Rosenberg, 2017). World Relief closed “local offices in Boise, Idaho; Columbus, Ohio, Miami, Florida; Nashville, Tennessee, and Glen Burnie, Maryland. Collectively, these five offices have resettled more than 25,000 refugees over the past four decades” (Alto, 2017, para. 1). Additional refugee resettlement offices associated with the VOLAGs will likely shut down after December’s announcement and the continued lower levels of refugee acceptance. The closing of World Relief’s offices resulted in the loss of over 140 jobs (Alto, 2017).

Many of these changes implemented by the Trump administration are based on the administration’s perception of how Americans feel about immigrants and refugees. To better understand these policy changes, the following sections are presented to explore American’s sentiments regarding immigrants and refugees and the social narratives driving those sentiments.

Sentiments and Narratives Regarding Immigrants and Refugees

An immigrant is a person of foreign birth who has come to the United States with the intent of taking up permanent residence (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2018), a definition that includes refugees. This does not include students, tourists, or other visitors who do not intend to stay—these are considered nonimmigrants by the Department of Homeland Security (Department of Homeland Security, 2016). As refugees begin the resettlement process, for the most part they are indistinguishable from other immigrants

to the local communities where they are resettled. Refugees are generally subject to the same sentiments expressed by the native population towards other immigrants.

The Pew Research Center polled Americans in 2015 and found 78% of Americans reported immigrants in their communities. Overall, 48% of Americans saw immigrants as having a positive impact on U.S. society, while 37% saw the impact as negative and 16% said there was not much effect. Those with a lower level of education and those who identified as Republican said the impact of immigrants was generally negative, whereas those with a higher level of education or who identified as Democrat or independent thought the overall impact was positive. Half of all Americans believed immigrants were making crime and the economy worse. Immigrants from Europe and Asia were viewed more positively than immigrants from Latin America or the Middle East. Most Americans felt immigrants were not adopting to American customs or learning English fast enough. More Americans (51%) saw immigrants as a strength rather than a burden (41%) for the nation (Pew Research Center, 2015).

It is worth noting, however, U.S public opinion polls over the last 60 years have shown Americans are generally opposed to admitting large numbers of refugees. In 1958, 55% of Americans were opposed to admitting Hungarians fleeing from Communism, 62% opposed accepting Indochinese refugees in 1979, and 71% disapproved of accepting Cuban refugees in 1980. “In October 2016, 54% of registered voters said the United States does not have a responsibility to accept refugees from Syria, while 41% said it does” (Krogstad & Radford, 2017). Public opinion polls seem to indicate Americans are against accepting refugees fleeing from regimes officially opposed by the U.S. government.

A study by Prins and Toso (2012) showed in rural Pennsylvania, Western European and African immigrants were seen as welcome while those from Asia and Latin America were less so. The level of acceptance was correlated with the level of perceived integration; those who were seen as accepting of the local culture and were perceived as well-assimilated were also seen as more welcome. When asked in a Pew Research poll if having an increasing number of people of different races, ethnicities, and nationalities made their country a better place to live, 56% of the U.S. responders agreed it did (Poushter, 2017). The attitude of Texans towards immigrants and refugees reflects many of the national attitudes.

On May 7, 2017, Texas Governor Greg Abbott signed Texas Senate Bill 4 into law with all 114 Republican and no Democratic state senators and representatives voting for the law (LegiScan, 2017). The law made Texas the first state to mandate local law enforcement comply with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement detainer requests. The law also allowed private citizens to initiate investigations of alleged sanctuary cities and permitted individual officers at all levels to inquire about someone's immigration status. In addition, the law provides governor's grants to offset the cost of enforcing immigration law or enforcing detainer requests (Simpson & Dominguez, 2017).

On August 30, 2017, U.S. District Judge Orlando Garcia found portions of the law were likely unconstitutional. Governor Abbott said the decision made "Texas communities less safe" (Sacchetti, 2017, para. 5).

The Texas Politics Project at the University of Texas at Austin conducts polls to measure the state's political climate. In June, 2017, with a $\pm 2.83\%$ margin of error, a majority of Texans either strongly supported or somewhat supported insuring police

officers have the right to question immigration status and requiring local law enforcement to cooperate with immigration authorities. In the polls dated February, 2017, 45% of Texans strongly supported or somewhat supported a ban on Muslim immigration with 56% in favor of a temporary Muslim immigrant ban. In the October, 2016 poll, 50% of Texans said Texas should not accept Syrian refugees (University of Texas at Austin, 2017).

The cautious acceptance of immigrants as a strength for the country as reflected in the Pew poll (Pew Research Center, 2015) along with the 56% of Texans favoring a ban on Muslim immigration paints a mixed and volatile picture of the resettlement environment for refugees. Despite a generally positive view of diversity with large numbers of Americans viewing immigrants as positive or as having no effect on significant issues, anti-immigrant attitudes are often expressed by many Americans.

Anti-Immigrant Sentiments

Anti-immigrant rhetoric and opinions have always existed, but prior to the events on September 11, 2001, immigration was generally not seen as a major security issue. Of the 11 hijackers on September 11th, five of them were in violation of U.S. immigration law (Alden, 2016, p. 20). President Donald Trump's executive orders all emphasized the enforcement of immigration laws as a means of enhancing the public's safety and security and protecting the public from terrorists and criminals (Trump, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d). "Long before he was president, Trump intentionally stoked these fears" (Chacón, 2017, p. 244). Both Presidents Barrack H. Obama and Donald J. Trump inherited a relatively new Homeland Security Department from President George W.

Bush with an inherent emphasis on law enforcement and not immigration services (Chacón, 2017).

President Trump's rhetoric and actions after taking office generated fear among immigrant communities and abuses by the law-enforcement culture of Homeland Security:

His rhetoric of unconstrained severity matters a great deal, and not just because the Administration's tone fuels a climate of fear. The words have consequences. The bombastic enforcement promises, when combined with seeming indifference to certain constitutional rights and administrative realities, have apparently encouraged agents at the lowest administrative levels to exercise their own power in a manner insufficiently constrained by law. (Chacón, 2017, p. 244)

The rhetoric in the 2016 presidential campaign, President Trump's executive orders and memoranda, and policy documents from Secretary John Kelly of the Department of Homeland Security all provided a consistent message of enforcement predicated on the federal government providing security and safety from terrorists and criminals by preventing the entry of illegal aliens or enhancing their removal (Kelly, 2017a, 2017b; Trump, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017f). Despite the public's relatively positive attitude towards immigrants and the generally-accepted positive impact to the economy (Penn Wharton Budget Model, 2016), "anti-immigrant organizations such [as] the Federation for American Immigration Reform and NumbersUSA have been instrumental in disseminating skewed statistics and misinformation about immigrants and lobbying for stricter immigration legislation" (Young, 2017, p. 228).

Many anti-immigrant sentiments are the result of increased *nativism* and the consistent narratives of fear promulgated by right-wing organizations such as the Tea Party Movement (Campbell, 2016; Davidson & Burson, 2017; de Oliver, 2011; Mohl, 2016; Prins & Toso, 2012; Sabia, 2010; Scribner, 2017; Tope, Pickett, & Chiricos, 2015; Young, 2017). Nativism and the nativist narrative are discussed in the following section.

Nativism and the Nativist Narrative

The political use of the term nativism in the United States defines the act of protecting one's culture against outsiders, concerning oneself with how "American" a person is (Davidson & Burson, 2017, p. 42). Higham (1955) defined nativism as "the intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e. 'un-American') connections" (as cited in Huber, Lopez, Malagon, Velez, & Solorzano, 2008, p. 41). Nativists may consider themselves patriots or use patriotism to mask their prejudices (Sabia, 2010) and are often in opposition to immigrants who possess different values, speak a different language, or who are perceived as an economic threat or as a drain on the economy (Davidson & Burson, 2017). Sabia (2010) argued nativism is a form of racism activated by fearful nationalism. The Know Nothing Party is one of the earliest nativist movements, active in the 1840s and 1850s, creating opposition to Irish and Catholic working-class immigrants (Young, 2017). Nativism is not new.

Sánchez (1997) argued the latest resurgence of U.S. nativism began in 1992 during the Los Angeles riots. The riots resulted from the acquittal of the policemen who were videotaped beating Rodney King, a Black motorist. Sánchez (1997) noted Reginald Denny, a White truck driver whose assault during the riots was caught on videotape, was

only one of 30 victims attacked on that street corner. Of the remaining 29 victims, 28 were people of color, including:

...a Mexican couple and their one-year-old child, hit with rocks and bottles; a Japanese-American man, stripped, beaten and kicked after being mistaken for Korean; a Vietnamese manicurist, left stunned and bloodied after being robbed; and a Latino family with five-year-old twin girls, who each suffered shattered glass wounds in the face and upper body. (Sánchez, 1997, p. 1010)

Sánchez (1997) maintained while nativism was linked to racism, racial discourse had evolved from biological categories to misinformed prejudice. However, he was clear about the trend he perceived: “Signs, therefore, point to a resurgence of a nativism unparalleled in this country since the 1920s” (p. 1013).

If nativism can be considered a variant of racism, can we look at it through a critical race theory lens? The answer is yes. Romero (2008) examined the role of critical race theory and the emerging Latina/o critical race theory with her analysis of the Chandler (Arizona) Police Department’s immigration raids in 1997. Huber et al. (2008) developed the theory of *racist nativism* based on the philosophical underpinning of White supremacy as viewed within the framework of Latina/o critical race theory. While Huber et al. (2008) provided a number of interrelated examples, one in particular parallels the tone in the 2016 presidential campaign:

The policies [directed at undocumented immigrants, particularly Mexicans] are informed by cultural deficit theory and, we argue, by the ideology of white supremacy... Negative portrayals of Mexican immigrants—as dangerous criminals,

invaders, enemies, and, most extreme, as sub-human animal-like beings—are disseminated to the American public (and accepted) via the media. (p. 46)

During the campaign, the 2016 Republican presidential candidates employed similar anti-immigrant and xenophobic campaign rhetoric: Donald Trump spoke of anchor babies and Muslim Trojan horses, Dr. Ben Carson used the term “rabid dogs” when referring to Syrian refugees, and U.S. Senator Ted Cruz (Republican, Texas) proposed patrolling and securing Muslim neighborhoods (Kteily & Bruneau, 2017, p. 87).

An alternate theoretical perspective was provided by de Oliver (2011) who argued the neoliberal drive for globalization has muddied the “otherness” narrative of traditional racism and discouraged metanarratives of national exceptionality. While racism and narratives of national exceptionality have served economic interests in the past, the expansion of global economic markets along with their lower labor costs and multi-racial consumers have now made racist narratives bad for business. He maintained the geographical distinction of being “legal” or “illegal” is the remaining characteristic feature of privilege for the White non-wealthy in the neoliberal world. This notion remains popular as it still connects to past racist narratives without interfering with the business of globalization (de Oliver, 2011) and provides anti-immigration groups a political foothold. Thus, the maintenance of an anti-immigration narrative now depends upon the authorization of one’s presence within a geographic space and the danger posed by those alien elements who illegally enter that space.

Martínez (2012) explored a similar geographic perspective, noting the anti-immigration bill in Arizona was an attempt to carve out a White geography in order to preserve the “epistemology of Whiteness” (p. 180). Martínez (2012) argued this was a

form of critical race theory and signaled the establishment of an apartheid-like system in Arizona. Martínez (2012) also considered a power-threat theory where the increasing number of Latinos now threaten White privilege more than Blacks. While de Oliver (2011) saw the nativist anti-immigrant path leading away from racism and towards a more geographic and legal construct, Martínez (2012) incorporated both racism and geography within the possibility of an Arizonian form of apartheid.

Whether nativism is viewed through a neoliberal lens that supports globalization while maintaining anti-immigrant sentiment, or through a critical race theory lens that maintains White supremacy and privilege, or as a White epistemology maintained through a geographic construct, the results of these narratives are similar. These narratives are racist in both appearance and implementation. They take the shape of anti-immigrant rhetoric and action, primarily against people of color who pose a perceived threat, whether it be criminal, terroristic, or economic, to the principles (and privileges) of the dominant culture and the national identity, which in the United States, are both predominately White (Huber et al., 2008). All of the underpinning theories may be correct to some extent; the only significant difference being the motivations of the believer—those motivations are mostly founded in fear.

Fear is the *basis* of nativism: fear of terrorism, fear of criminals, fear of losing one's job, fear of having one's culture disappear, fear of the unknown "other." Fear is also the *result* of nativism and the current anti-immigrant policies, often deliberate and intended, not simply consequential (Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2014; Campbell, 2016; Chacón, 2017; Davidson & Burson, 2017; de Oliver, 2011; Hafiz, 2017; Huber et al., 2008; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Martin, 2017; Martínez, 2012; Mohl, 2016; Prins & Toso,

2012; Rein, Hauslohner, & Somashekhar, 2017; Romero, 2008; Sabia, 2010; Scribner, 2017; Tope et al., 2015; Young, 2017).

Nativism and Fear. The climate of fear among immigrants is not new. The Obama administration's policies of designating recent arrivals as a priority for removal included harsh treatment and family detention for immigrants fleeing from Central America's heightened violence in 2013-2016, disrupting established immigrant communities within the United States causing fear as to whether the government could tell good immigrants from bad ones (Chacón, 2017). Workers, fearing deportation, were afraid to stand up to their bosses (Hafiz, 2017). Local laws such as the one in Hazelton, Pennsylvania, that penalized employers and landlords who hired or rented to illegal immigrants caused fear among both legal and undocumented immigrants (Prins & Toso, 2012). "Two years later and less than 20 miles from Hazelton, Luis Ramirez, a 25-year-old undocumented Mexican immigrant, was beaten to death by six white teenage boys" (Prins & Toso, 2012, p. 437). Immigrant mothers were afraid the government would come and take their newborn babies (Sabia, 2010).

Nativist Americans also operated under fear; fear of subordination of the English language, fear of foreigners draining public resources, fear regarding the dilution of their American culture, and the fear immigrants are competing directly with natives for jobs (Davidson & Burson, 2017). "In the pre-neoliberal twentieth century, anti-immigration proponents had periodically promoted fear of ideological subversion of the progressive mission of democratic capitalism" (de Oliver, 2011, p. 988). Democratic capitalism was seen as vulnerable to sinister and corrupting elements; the foreign-born were often perceived as the manifestation of that corruption in the form of "agitators" (de Oliver,

2011). Nativists are afraid of migrants and Muslims and exhibit distain for the “other” (Scribner, 2017). Nativists have fears of insurrection and invasion, fear of culture change, and fear of losing their racial and ethnic heritage (Sabia, 2010).

Donald Trump used these nativist fears and the nativist narrative that reinforced them as one means of getting the vote (Chacón, 2017; Martin, 2017; Scribner, 2017; Young, 2017). Trump’s election to the Presidency is one consequence of the latest nativist upsurge.

State Anti-Immigration Laws and Nativism. In 2010, a number of new state laws began appearing as a reaction, in part, to a perceived immigrant crisis and the inability of Congress to address it. In April, 2010, Arizona passed SB 1070, a law that expanded police powers, prohibited hiring or assisting immigrants, and denied state benefits to those believed to be undocumented. A stated intent of Arizona’s law was to place sufficient pressure on unauthorized immigrants so as to make them self-deport, or at least leave the state (Mohl, 2016). Arizona has a history of other anti-immigrant laws and actions. In 1997, Chandler, Arizona, began Operation Restoration, wherein Chandler police officers stopped anyone who appeared to be an immigrant and demanded documentation. More than 400 people were detained including many Latinos who were U.S. citizens. The city of Chandler was eventually sued and forced to pay fines. In 2002 the Civil Homeland Defense organization and the Minuteman Project, two anti-immigrant groups, came to Arizona to help the U.S. Border Patrol seal the border. In 2004 and 2006 other Arizona laws were passed requiring proof of citizenship to vote, denying bail for unlawful immigrants, and other similar measures. In 2007, Arizona bill HB 2779 was passed requiring employer verification of citizenship status. Anti-

immigrant enforcement policies, particularly those of the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office gained national attention (Magña, 2016). Such actions and legislation helped to inspire the Alabama anti-immigrant law, HB 56 (Mohl, 2016).

In June, 2011, Alabama passed its own immigration law, HB 56. Mohl (2016) noted, "In the severity of its 2011 immigration law, Alabama became the 'poster boy' for recent American nativism" bringing "back memories from a half-century earlier, when state-sponsored racial discrimination targeted African Americans" (p. 42). The nativist narrative justified the law, including the classic blaming of Latinos and other immigrants for economic woes and consumption of government services giving cover to the politicians involved in drafting and passing HB 56 (Mohl, 2016).

The parallels of the civil rights struggle in the south, including Alabama, and the emergence of the Alabama anti-immigrant law have some speaking of a "new Selma" and the rise of state-sponsored discrimination against people of color (Campbell, 2016). Such "Juan Crow" laws (Mohl, 2016, p. 48) are "driven by racist and nativist politicians" (Campbell, 2016, p. 26).

The consequences of these state-level laws have already been mentioned. "Many immigrant communities are under strain due to the hostile political environment that has increased financial and emotional stress" (Ayón, 2017, p. 5) due to state-level laws that affect both documented and undocumented immigrants. It is in this environment, refugees fleeing for their lives, are attempting to resettle and begin again.

The Nativist Narrative. The nativist narrative offers patriotism along with the perception of the dangerous refugee and the fear such a perception creates, thus justifying xenophobic exclusion and othering of immigrants. President Donald Trump's executive

order issued on January 27, 2017, restricting entry from seven Muslim countries, including refugees, and excluding refugees from Syria indefinitely, contained the word “terror” or a variation (e.g., terrorism, terrorist) 21 times, the word “security” 29 times, and the word “refugee” 13 times (Trump, 2017d). The tone and the language in the document clearly sent the message Muslim refugees are a security threat associated with terrorism. This document from the highest office in the country is rife with nativist sentiment and serves to reinforce an association between refugees, terrorism, and fear, a popular precept among conservatives, particularly with regard to Iraqi and Syrian refugees (Smith, 2017). The justification for Texas pulling out of the refugee resettlement program is also founded on the political stoking of nativist fears.

The Neoliberal Narrative

Another narrative socially constructing the concept of “refugee” is neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is a set of beliefs that “include the conviction that the only legitimate purpose of the state is to safeguard individual liberty, understood as a sort of mercantile liberty for individuals and corporations” (Thorsen, 2010, p. 203). “Neoliberalism could also include a perspective on moral virtue... Individuals are seen as being solely responsible for the consequences of the choices and decisions they freely make” (Thorsen, 2010, p. 204). Individual responsibility and accountability are highly prized. Refugees receive an introduction to neoliberalism in the United States as they begin their travels from their country of asylum, paid for with a loan from the government which the refugees are expected to begin repaying in six months; refugees are even required to pay for their own excess baggage (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2014). The neoliberal narrative also justifies the requirement that a refugee must get a job within

six months of arrival (American Immigration Council, 2015), regardless of education, language, or job skills, while at the same time refugees seeking employment are portrayed by the nativist narrative as taking jobs from Americans. Refugees are constructed as participating in the “American Dream,” getting a chance to start over, empowered by their will and the meritocracy of their new capitalistic home. Such a meritocracy requires an economically empowered person, one who is pulling oneself up by the bootstraps, moving from burden to empowerment. Economic empowerment can be difficult with low education levels and poor English skills or even high levels of non-transferrable educational credentials with little or no ability to transfer job skills. Indeed, “the overall goal of ORR’s assistance programs is to help refugees attain self-sufficiency” (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 10). “Achieving economic self-sufficiency is the cornerstone of the U.S. resettlement program and getting a job is the first step toward that goal” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2014, p. 10).

While refugees are eligible for government assistance programs, the neoliberal tenets of individual economic accountability and “mercantile liberty” (Thorsen, 2010, p. 203) create the perception that support for refugees is an unfair burden to taxpayers and must be minimized or eliminated. Fewer refugees means fewer funding dollars; In 2017 President Trump announced his administration was considering “reducing the number of refugees admitted to the country over the next year to below 50,000...the lowest number since at least 1980” (Davis & Jordan, 2017, para. 1), a preview of future actions. The result of fewer dollars for refugees will likely increase the emphasis by the VOLAGs and their affiliates in getting refugees a job. Ironically, the neoliberal tenet of the free market economy that tends to keep labor rates down because of competition, is the same

mechanism that drives nativist fears of immigrants negatively impacting the labor market. The push-pull of these forces constructs the image of the immigrant as an economic threat, adding to the menacing portrayal of the refugee-terrorist.

The Victim Narrative

By definition, a refugee coming to the United States for resettlement is fleeing persecution and violence so significant UNHCR has made the determination that resettlement outside the country of asylum is the only suitable durable solution. This frames the refugee as a victim to be helped. Six of the nine VOLAGs are religiously-based, while the other three are charities, all with core values to assist the vulnerable and the helpless. The Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, an affiliate of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, says it “is committed to being a voice for the most vulnerable in our community, striving to provide appropriate and timely services to assist families and individuals in times of crisis” (Archdiocese of San Antonio, 2016, para. 5). The International Rescue Committee says it “responds to the world’s worst humanitarian crises and helps people whose lives and livelihoods are shattered by conflict and disaster to survive, recover, and gain control of their future” (International Rescue Committee, 2017, para. 1). Victim narratives are required in the refugee and asylum-granting processes, and they operate not only on a legal level but an emotional one. Fears exist that the victim role forced upon refugees reduces their identity and can be limiting, as well as promoting paternalistic policies for refugee resettlement (Mayo, 2012). As victims, refugees require oversight, the opposite of self-sufficiency. Narratives that socially construct these contradictory images of a refugee consequently construct conflicting demands on refugee resettlement workers.

The victim narrative, then, is not complete without an embedded humanitarian sub-narrative, in this case, refugee resettlement. Whether the humanitarian hero, the resettlement worker, subjugates the victim and relegates them to the role of an unfortunate who needs perpetual help (Yoxall, 2018), or allows the victim to re-emerge as a new hero through the neoliberal narrative, self-reliant and self-sufficient, is a matter of opinion and policy. Thus, the dualities of dominance and rescue, master and hero, or victim and agency all find their way into cultural interpretations of how refugees should be viewed as a matter of social policy, creating additional dualities.

Refugees are a financial and cultural burden but yet are victims of persecution and need support. Refugees are an encumbrance on the welfare system, yet they take jobs away from native-born Americans. Refugees must work and assimilate but they are excluded as others, different in culture and religion. We are a nation of immigrants and a melting pot, but we try to keep refugees, the most vulnerable of immigrants, out of our states because they are a security threat. The resettlement process is molded by these conflicting narratives and influences the behaviors of the refugee resettlement workers who must deal with the inherent stress such contradictory perspectives bring while trying to help others in need.

Refugee Resettlement Workers

While *refugee resettlement worker* is a broad term that could be applied to anyone in the long chain of agencies involved in hosting, investigating, processing, and resettling refugees, in this study the term is meant to signify those individuals in the resettlement country who participate directly in the refugee resettlement process (see Appendix B). Refugee resettlement workers are the ones on the front lines delivering services to newly

arrived refugees in the United States after admission and processing. These workers are employees or volunteers of the VOLAGs, their affiliates, or other charitable or nonprofit agencies and are in direct contact with refugees and their families, acting as active agents in their resettlement.

A refugee resettlement worker's formal education can range from high school to graduate school with specific certifications and licenses required as determined by the hiring agency. The responsibilities for a Reception and Placement Case Manager with the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) in Raleigh, North Carolina, include providing "support to new refugees served by the USCRI–North Carolina Field Office. Through the provision of direct services, the Reception and Placement Case Manager will arrange services for new refugees and support them during the resettlement period" (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2017a, para. 2). Qualifications include a high school diploma, strong foreign language abilities, interpersonal skills, preferred experience in case management or social work, proficiency in Microsoft Office, and a dedication to human rights (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2017a) among others. A Case Aid on the same job site, who assists the case worker, has no educational requirement, but experience in resettlement is preferred as are language skills (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2017a). A job advertisement from the Refugee Services of Texas for a Community Wellness Coordinator, expected to counsel displaced individuals with a history of trauma, requires the applicant to have a four-year degree, to be a Licensed Clinical Social Worker, to possess fluency in Spanish, to have experience with trauma services, and to possess two years of case management experience (Payroll Paycom LLC, 2017). Catholic Charities of Northwest Florida's job

posting for an Immigration and Refugee Specialist requires Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) accreditation and offers a salary between \$25,000 and \$28,000 annually (Indeed, 2017). BIA accreditation is “when the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) gives permission to a specially qualified non-lawyer to represent aliens on behalf of a recognized organization” (Board of Immigration Appeals, 2015, p. 2). Formal education and accreditation of refugee resettlement workers can vary broadly, and at least in most cases, workplace learning is a key component of their knowledge construction.

The conceptual model for this study shows five elements that influence the refugee resettlement worker. Those five elements interact with each other as well as the resettlement worker. Those elements are (a) the refugees, (b) socially constructed narratives, (c) the political climate, (d) the policies and laws, and (e) the refugee resettlement organization. This literature review has already discussed the socially-constructed narratives, the current political climate, and the refugee resettlement process as laid out by law and affected by recent policies. The remaining portion of this section will briefly discuss the influences of the refugees and the resettlement organization.

Refugee and Refugee Resettlement Worker Interactions

Refugee resettlement can be a frustrating activity, putting resettlement workers in potential conflict with refugees. Failed transactions can cause degradation of the relationship, as can cultural incompatibilities and miscues, differences in expectations, and political disputes (Gold, 1987). Resettlement workers are often placed in the role of being the expert on life in the United States, a problematic role for both the refugee and the worker. Depending on the culture of the refugee, the worker may not meet the refugee’s expectations and may fail to provide the expected expertise, while at the same

time the resettlement worker may feel frustrated or inadequate (Gold, 1987; Steimel, 2016). Refugees in particular can be socially constructed as passive receivers of knowledge and aid (an element of the victim narrative), but in fact refugees want to be solicited for their expertise, unique experiences, and the context of their lives (Steimel, 2016).

Cultural misunderstandings and paternal oversight can result in bad behavior from the refugees—missing appointments for job interviews, poor attendance in training programs, and suspicion of authority as represented by the resettlement worker. When Russian refugees felt they were not getting the resettlement services and employment opportunities they deserved, they tried to bribe their caseworkers, a common practice in their culture (Gold, 1987). Vietnamese refugees, many who found support from the local Vietnamese communities, often felt the refugee resettlement agency was offering a poor job program as a means of exploiting their labor and offering useless skills (Gold, 1987). Suspicion of authority, cultural ways of getting things done, and communications difficulties can greatly impact the success of the resettlement effort (Baker, 1981; Gold, 1987).

Resettlement workers, often frustrated by communications difficulties and refugee perceptions of ineffectiveness, engaged in providing counselling or therapy, concentrated on socialization, or performed other endeavors in order to improve their image of competency (Gold, 1987). The primary expectation of being an expert on all things American has its obvious limits, since no resettlement worker has such a comprehensive understanding, nor is there a universal American culture (Steimel, 2016). Listening to the refugees themselves, learning cultural differences, and respecting their knowledge

provides a learning experience for handling refugee expectations and needs. Steimel (2016) noted, "...by presenting both staff and refugees as co-experts and as co-producers of resettlement knowledge, organizational staff and refugees can communicate to one another and about resettlement in more useful ways" (p. 14).

Resettlement Organization and Refugee Resettlement Worker Interactions

As with any organization, the refugee resettlement organization requires the resettlement worker to meet its needs, which include ensuring a refugee becomes self-sufficient, following the organization's accounting and reporting procedures, and performing the tasks the organization requires, such as transporting refugees, offering legal advice, or helping them enroll in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. In the example of the Case Manager for USCRI in Raleigh, North Carolina, no unique educational prerequisites were needed for the position (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2017a), meaning the case manager must learn most everything on-the-job, save the language skills. The other jobs discussed above required certifications, formal training from institutions and, in one case, licensing from the state. However, in all the examples, workplace learning has a role, and the refugee resettlement worker must rely on the organization to provide the training and experience necessary to perform the job of resettlement. Reading organizational policies, receiving training and mentoring from one's supervisor or peers, or observing others perform their jobs become the source for satisfying organizational demands. VOLAG affiliates are required to execute the terms and conditions of the VOLAG's contract with the U.S. State Department, thus requiring the workers to know and follow the contract's terms.

When a resettlement worker meets a family of refugees at the airport, that family's resettlement process within the United States begins. Many years may have passed from the time the refugees left their former home until their arrival into their new country. All the shock, trauma, hopes, and trepidations of these newly arrived refugees are placed into the hands of the resettlement worker who themselves must deal with the pressures of external influences, organizational demands, and the refugees' expectations and needs to make the refugees' resettlement a success.

Nevertheless, these tensions surrounding "knowing" in refugee resettlement organizations highlights the current dominance of the conduit metaphor...and the need for a more complex understanding of the processes of knowing present in...refugee resettlement organizations... (Steimel, 2016, p. 14)

Gaps in the Literature

This literature review has discussed many aspects of refugees and refugee resettlement. It began with the definition of a refugee, outlined the refugee resettlement process, provided an overview of recent refugee policy changes, examined popular sentiments regarding immigrants and refugees, and discussed three socially-constructed narratives affecting refugees: the nativist narrative, the neoliberal narrative, and the victim narrative. Finally, the chapter described refugee resettlement workers, with a brief discussion of the influences of refugees and the resettlement organization on the resettlement worker.

The concerted effort by those opposed to immigration and refugee resettlement to reduce refugee admissions and to decrease the size and cost of the infrastructure that assists those refugees in resettling in the United States has been manifested through the

Trump administration's refugee policies and actions. These actions to reduce the infrastructure have their foundation set upon a combination of nativism and neoliberalism. This effort has been successful, at least partially, in that it has dramatically reduced the number of refugee admissions, forced the closing of resettlement organizations, and caused the firing of refugee resettlement workers.

The refugee resettlement process and Trump administration's source documentation were largely available only through government agency websites and on websites from resettlement organizations. This literature review focused on refugee resettlement workers and not refugees. Extensive academic literature was available on many aspects of refugees and refugee stories, and much literature was available on aspects and techniques of social work with regard to refugees. Almost no literature was found specifically on the refugee resettlement workers as employees and volunteers within refugee resettlement organizations and as components of the nation's refugee resettlement program. While there was literature on refugee resettlement organizations, the amount of academic literature clearly weighed in favor of refugees and social work.

The following chapter presents the study design and methods used for this research. It includes participant selection, data collection sources, the data analysis approach, ethical considerations, and building trustworthiness within the study.

III. STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS

This qualitative study examined the narratives of seven refugee resettlement workers from Texas who were actively engaged in resettling refugees. Of the seven interviewed, three were supervisors or managers and four were front-line workers. Their stories were captured using episodic narrative interviews, the solicitation of artifacts (such as objects, photographs, or documents), and a researcher's journal. The narratives provided a means of exploring the impacts of recent changes in federal and state refugee policies upon the refugee resettlement workers and their organizations.

This chapter includes the rationale for choosing a qualitative approach to conducting this study and furnishes the details for the chosen methodology. In addition, the chapter also presents the characteristics of the study participants, how they were selected, how data were collected and analyzed, and how trustworthiness was insured. Ethical issues are discussed as well as the mitigations used for potential risks associated with participating in the study.

Qualitative Research

This study used a qualitative research approach. Flick (2009) defines qualitative research as "Research interested in analyzing the subjective meaning or the social production of issues, events, or practices..." (p. 472). Qualitative research can help one understand "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). Patton (2015) lists seven contributions qualitative inquiry can make to knowledge-generation: illuminating meaning, studying how things work, capturing stories to understand people's perspectives and experiences, elucidating how systems function and their consequences

for people's lives, understanding context and how and why it matters, identifying unanticipated consequences, and making case comparisons to discover important patterns and themes across cases (pp.12-13). This research used a descriptive case study and benefited from qualitative inquiry by better understanding the perspectives and experiences of people within a changing system and the consequences and impacts of those changes.

The Descriptive Case Study

A case study is an “in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). The case is considered the unit of analysis, that is, the bounded system, and it can be an individual or an instance of a group or class. Case studies are appropriate for researching topics which focus on a particular subject, event, or phenomenon, which are descriptive or require thick description, which reveal phenomenon or relationships, and which contain experiences rooted in context (Merriam, 2009). Within this study, the seven refugee resettlement workers were an instance of a group and were the unit of the analysis. By describing “a phenomenon within its real-world context,” this case study is considered descriptive, as opposed to explanatory or exploratory (Yin, 2018, p. 286). Having collected the narratives of seven refugee resettlement workers, I was able to create a composite of findings and relate the collective story of the state of refugee resettlement as affected by recent policy changes.

Participant Selection

Participants were selected using the purposeful sampling strategy of criterion-based case selection (Patton, 2015, p. 267). Refugee resettlement workers, for the purpose of this research, were defined as employees or former employees of a VOLAG, a

VOLAG affiliate, or other non-profit organization providing refugee assistance in resettling in Texas. Former employees were included as potential participants within the sampling criteria because of the downsizing occurring with resettlement organizations where offices were being closed.

Refugee resettlement workers were selected at two levels: (a) those who frequently and directly interacted with refugees as a part of their work, at least on a weekly basis such as a caseworker or caseworker's assistant, and (b) those who were supervisors or managers of refugee resettlement workers and who directly interacted with refugees frequently or occasionally, at least once a month. Supervisory-level personnel were specifically included because those who were part of the organization's leadership team were more likely to have insight as to why organizational changes were made or how those changes impacted the organization.

In addition to the two levels already described, all participants also met the following criteria: (a) they were engaged in refugee resettlement work for at least two years; (b) they were engaged in refugee resettlement work before the Trump administration (before 20 January 2017) for a period of at least one year; (c) they were not engaged in counselling refugees for trauma or other psychological issues; and (d) they were full-time employees of the resettlement agency, or they were part-time employees that worked at least 20 hours per week on average. These criteria were used in order to collect narratives from workers who had experience before and after the actions taken by the Trump administration, who had been conducting refugee resettlement activities long enough to know the process, and who participated in these activities as a matter of course. Those who performed counselling for psychological

issues were excluded because this broadened the study beyond its stated scope by potentially extending the study to the refugees.

The participants had to work within a refugee resettlement organization. In addition to the requirements already mentioned above (VOLAG, VOLAG affiliate, or other non-profit organization providing refugee assistance) the other criteria for selection were (a) the organization must have a refugee resettlement mission as a primary focus, (b) the organization must have been in existence at least two years before 20 January 2017, and (c) must have at least three paid workers on staff. These criteria were required to ensure the organization was focused on refugee resettlement and had experience before and after the Trump administration, as well as having existed long enough for its workers to meet the worker participant criteria above. The criterion for the minimum number of workers within an organization existed to have the minimal pre-conditions for a formal supervisory position. The minimum number of workers for this study was deemed to be six, with at least two of the six being supervisors.

The geographic limits of the study (and hence, the locations of the participants) was the state of Texas which includes several refugee resettlement organizations. A total of 71,848 refugees were resettled in Texas in the calendar years 2007 through 2017 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b) providing an ample network of potential organizations. Study participants were recruited via e-mail, telephone, and personal visits. All the participants volunteered for the study, all met the criteria stated above, and all formally consented to participate. Appendix C shows the flyer used for first-contact of potential participants.

The seven participants in this study were recruited and interviewed over a period of approximately six months in 2018. Three of the participants were managers or supervisors and four were workers. The ages of the participants ranged from 23 to 48 years old. The refugee resettlement work experience of the participants ranged from 5 to 13 years. Five of the participants were foreign-born, with four of the five being former refugees. All participants were U.S. citizens. All but one spoke two or more languages. All participants were full-time employees of a refugee resettlement organization in the state of Texas when they were interviewed.

Data Collection Sources

Data for this research were obtained from multiple sources and participants to improve trustworthiness of the data through triangulation (Merriam, 2009) and to enhance the researcher's understanding of how participants make meaning (Patton, 2015). A summary of data collection sources is shown in Table 1. The data collection methods for this study were episodic narrative interviews, artifacts, and a researcher's journal. Each of these data collection sources is discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

Episodic Narrative Interviews

Narratives are the primary means of acquiring culture and knowledge and are a means of organizing experience within human memory (Bruner, 1990, 1991). Narratives tend to be sensitive to "what is canonical and what violates canonicity in human interaction" (Bruner, 1990, p. 77). Episodic narrative interviews were a primary data collection method for this research and were audio recorded and transcribed.

Table 1

Data Collection Sources

	Episodic Narrative Interviews	Artifacts	Researcher's Journal
When / How Often	Two in-person interviews for each participant. One participant had 3 interviews.	Prompted for artifacts during the first interview. Artifacts were discussed during the second interview.	Entries done during or immediately after participation as a volunteer, after each interview, and weekly as needed.
Type of Data	Narratives / stories. Total of 15 interviews, approximately 635 minutes total.	Photographs, pictures of Internet memes, a poster, and other objects. There was a total of 13 artifacts from 6 participants. One participant did not provide any artifacts.	Organizational and cultural constructions, observations, important events, personal thoughts, reflections, and plans. Forty-five pages of research notes were created.
Purpose	Elicit critical events and important impacts on refugee resettlement related to refugee policy changes. Develop context.	Prompt memory, enhance narratives, improve researcher's understandings.	Improve researcher's understanding of resettlement organization's culture and workings. Capture thoughts, reflections or understandings; plan future activities.
Method of Capture	Audio recording and subsequent transcription. One interview was notes-only due to environmental noise.	Photographs of pictures or Internet memes; photographs of objects.	Electronic notes using Microsoft Word.

“Episodic interviewing is a particular narrative interview technique or genre that elicits descriptions of particular episodes or features in the interviewee’s daily life” (Bates, 2004, p. 18). Episodic interviews attempt to improve the structure of an open,

narrative interview by using elements of the semi-structured interview and can be useful in reducing the amount of irrelevant data. In the episodic interview, narratives are solicited about specific experiences, asked for and presented as narratives, with the ability to insert question-answer sequences for clarification and to keep the narratives on track (Flick, 2009). “In the episodic interview, the range of experiences is not confined to those parts that can be presented in a narrative. As the interviewer you have more options to intervene and direct it through a series of key questions...” (Flick, 2009, p. 190). This approach is appropriate for collecting narratives bounded by specific experiences; the intent of the research questions was bounded by refugee resettlement experiences, and while this study sought to elicit the comprehensive and contextual experiences and sentiments of narrative interviews (Flick, 2009), the use of an episodic interview approach focused the interview on the episode (subject at hand) and not the biographic (Flick, 2009). Of course, conducting episodic narrative interviews for the study relied upon recruiting participants.

While the method of initial contact with a potential participant varied, our first discussion was an informal conversation about the research, where I was able to determine if the potential participant met the study’s criteria. During this conversation, I provided a brief explanation of who I was and the purpose of my research. I also asked about their roles in their organization and how long they had worked in refugee resettlement. Two potential participants were eliminated during the initial conversation because they did not meet the criteria for the study. I provided the remaining candidates with an envelope containing the recruiting flyer, the informed consent form, the artifact prompt, and a copy of the sample questions (see Appendices D, E, and F) for both

interviews. All of the participants were given several days to review the materials before being asked if they would like to participate. When someone agreed to participate, after a brief explanation of informed consent, they signed the consent form and were provided a copy. We also scheduled their first interview and agreed on a location.

I interviewed all the participants twice using the sample interview questions in Appendices D and F as guides, modifying or adding questions as needed for clarification and exposition in line with the episodic narrative interview methodology. The first interview for each participant focused on eliciting important episodes, critical events, and stories related to recent refugee policy changes. I also used the first interview for context setting—the role of individual within the organization, relative experience, and so forth. Near the end of the first interview, I scheduled the second interview and I elicited one to three artifacts from the participant—objects, photographs, or documents—for the participant to bring to the second interview. I used the second interview to ask questions about the artifacts as well as to ask questions about the participant’s political and refugee resettlement philosophies and the challenges they faced.

I chose to use two interviews instead of one to avoid tiring participants with one long interview, to be able to elicit the artifacts in a way that allowed discussion regarding the nature of the requested artifacts, and to use smaller time blocks as a means of improving participant availability. All of the interviews were face-to-face. Some were conducted at the organizational site and some were not. I scouted several locations near the participants’ work sites before conducting the interviews should they feel uncomfortable discussing resettlement issues at work and wish to conduct the interviews elsewhere. Of the 15 interviews, eight were conducted at a location other than the facility

where the participant worked. All participants chose the locations for their interviews and were interviewed in a place where they felt safe and comfortable.

The interviews lasted from 12 minutes to one hour and two minutes, averaging 42 minutes in length. Two recording devices were used to mitigate any technical problems. In every case, I sat across or diagonally from the participant during the interview, with no more than a table's width between us. Noise was a problem in some locations, and I used audio software to filter the noise to improve the recording for transcription after the interviews. At the end of the first interview, the time and place for the second interview was scheduled, and both a verbal and written prompt was used to request artifacts for the second interview. All second interviews were conducted as scheduled, save one which had to be rescheduled. Artifacts brought to the second interview were discussed and photographed during the interview.

Artifacts

During my informal discussion with a refugee resettlement worker, as noted in the introductory chapter, she dashed off momentarily and came back with a handful of website screen shots, copies of news articles, and portions of documents she had saved. She presented these artifacts to me as a way of educating me and explaining some of the issues around refugee resettlement. I realized at that moment these document-artifacts were not just a way of helping me better understand refugee resettlement, but they were a representation of what she had used to construct her understanding of the events and problems we were discussing. What she chose to present to me were key elements in her own knowledge construction.

As a result of this revelation, I asked my participants for one to three artifacts in the first interview, to be discussed in the second interview, as a means of better understanding the narratives the participants presented. While the artifacts produced in my informal discussion were documents, I saw no reason to restrict such artifacts to only documents but elected to include photographs or objects that may have meaning to the participant. Photographs can supplement interviews by evoking memories, deep recall, and stories that provide a credible source of data (Patton, 2015). Objects and documents such as small gifts, collectibles, certificates, meeting minutes, mission statements, historical documents, and others can deepen qualitative analysis (Patton, 2015). Any objects presented by the participants were photographed for analysis later. The artifacts elicited from the workers were used as a means of encouraging participant reflection and as a means of eliciting additional narratives, supporting recall, and triangulating data during a second interview (Patton, 2015).

Participants were asked to provide artifacts that represented changes in themselves or their organizations as a consequence of the current refugee resettlement policies in effect or represented their opinion or political view on current U.S. refugee resettlement policies. The artifact elicitation was presented both orally and in writing to the participant near the end of the first interview as part of an appointment reminder (see Appendix E) for the second interview.

Of the seven participants, six provided artifacts as requested while the seventh participant did not. A total of 13 artifacts were collected consisting of printouts of four Internet memes, five objects, one photograph from the Internet, one poster, and two personal photographs. One participant provided a multi-page document, but did not

allow the document to be examined or copied due to concerns about confidentiality. Thus, the document was counted as an object since it was not analyzed and only the table of contents was permitted to be photographed.

Researcher's Journal

During this research, I worked 141 hours as a volunteer within a refugee resettlement agency. I worked two four-hour shifts per week for approximately five months. I worked in four areas of the agency allowing me to learn various processes, acquire an understanding of the culture and environment of the organization, and gain the familiarity and trust of the other workers (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2015). This trust assisted me in gaining access to some of the study participants.

I used a researcher's journal to document interviews, personal thoughts, reflections, and plans. An entry was made after each interview documenting the interview environment and reflecting upon what was said, what went well, and what could have been improved. An entry was made at least weekly during active research, and otherwise when needed, with reflections of the past period's activities as well as plans for the next few weeks. It was used to further refine my perspectives and biases as an adjunct to the analysis of the other data. The use of a reflective research journal helped me to identify and examine personal assumptions, clarify beliefs, improve methodological rigor, and revise and refine the research (Ortlipp, 2008).

While working as a volunteer, I used my researcher's journal to record field notes consisting of observations and important events, as well as organizational and cultural constructions. Fraenkel et al. (2015) defined field notes as "notes researchers take about what they observe and think about while in the field" (p. G-3). I made an entry into the

researcher's journal during or immediately after each volunteer session as advised by Merriam (2009) who affirmed field notes should be created during or as soon as possible after the observations.

The focus of the field notes entries was the normative behaviors and culture within the resettlement organizations as well as the tasks I performed as a volunteer. While "narrative analysis" requires cultural content (Polkinghorne, 1995), an "analysis of narratives" must by necessity have a cultural context as well, since "in most human interaction, 'realities' are the results of prolonged and intricate processes of construction and negotiation deeply imbedded in the culture" (Bruner, 1990, p. 24). The field notes provided a record of my observations regarding the organizational culture of the resettlement agency. My analysis used the field notes portion of the researcher's journal and my volunteer experiences as a basis for cultural context.

A third interview with one of the supervisors was conducted to review and discuss organizational impacts I had observed or gleaned from the interviews as a means of triangulation. That interview was also used to capture his organization's structure. Due to the background noise, this interview was not recorded, but notes were taken instead and transcribed into the researcher's journal immediately thereafter.

Data Analysis

I used a data analysis technique called paradigmatic analysis of narratives to analyze all the data sources. While my data analysis could have been done manually, I used MaxQDA software, a qualitative analysis tool, to help make my evaluation easier. In order to better understand my analysis process, the following paragraphs provide an explanation of paradigmatic analysis of narratives and the MaxQDA software.

Paradigmatic Analysis of Narratives

Polkinghorne (1995) maintained there are two types of analysis regarding narratives: analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. The first, analysis of narratives, seeks paradigmatic data in a diachronic or synchronic temporality. The purpose of paradigmatic analysis is to examine the data and to locate common themes, categories and concepts. Paradigmatic analysis is based on narratives as a way of knowing. “Paradigmatic-type narrative inquiry gathers stories for its data and uses paradigmatic analytic procedures to produce taxonomies and categories out of the common elements across the database” (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). The analysis can be a search for previously derived concepts or “one in which the concepts are inductively derived from the data” (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 13) thus making it suitable for both deductive and inductive analysis. Paradigmatic analysis not only discovers the categories and themes but seeks to establish the relationships between them. This type of analysis generally parallels Creswell’s (2016) procedures for coding data and images, although Creswell’s final step, “Develop a narrative story that ties together all of the themes” (Creswell, 2016, p. 158) leans more towards Polkinghorne’s narrative analysis. Because Creswell provides detailed steps and Polkinghorne provides only general discussion, I used a modified version of Creswell’s approach.

MaxQDA Software

I used MaxQDA software, version 2018-2 Analytics Pro as a tool to aid me in my analysis. In order to use MaxQDA software to do a qualitative analysis, all text and images to be analyzed must be put into an acceptable electronic format the software can understand. MaxQDA facilitated my analysis of the data by allowing me to mark textual

passages in the data and then create and store labels or *codes* describing the highlighted text. The software also allowed me to categorize and consolidate codes, and provided a simple means of changing and further manipulating the codes and the data. I was able to retrieve marked passages by selecting a specific code from a list of codes. In addition, I used the software to search for words, word clusters, and words-in-proximity to other words, affording a means of locating elements for potential coding. MaxQDA also provided the ability to highlight a portion of an image and apply a code, thus allowing me to integrate image and textual codes into a single coding system. Finally, MaxQDA was used to help develop a conceptual map of the categories and themes. The software imports all the data to be analyzed and saves all the coding and analysis into a *project*. In this way I can create a project and save it for further analysis. MaxQDA does not really do any of the analysis itself; it simply provides a way to document it.

Overall Data Analysis Approach

All the data were evaluated using paradigmatic analysis. The interviews, artifacts, and the researcher's journal were inductively analyzed using codes derived from the data. The codes were subsequently categorized and consolidated into themes. I then conducted a deductive analysis of the interviews and artifacts using the three refugee narratives from the literature review as *a priori* codes. This served to determine the penetration of those socially constructed narratives within the workers' interviews, to identify worker biases, and to provide an additional means of triangulation.

Finally, all relevant actions by the Trump administration affecting refugees were listed in detail (see Appendix A) and were correlated with the emergent themes from the paradigmatic narrative analyses. The themes, which were the first-level effects of the

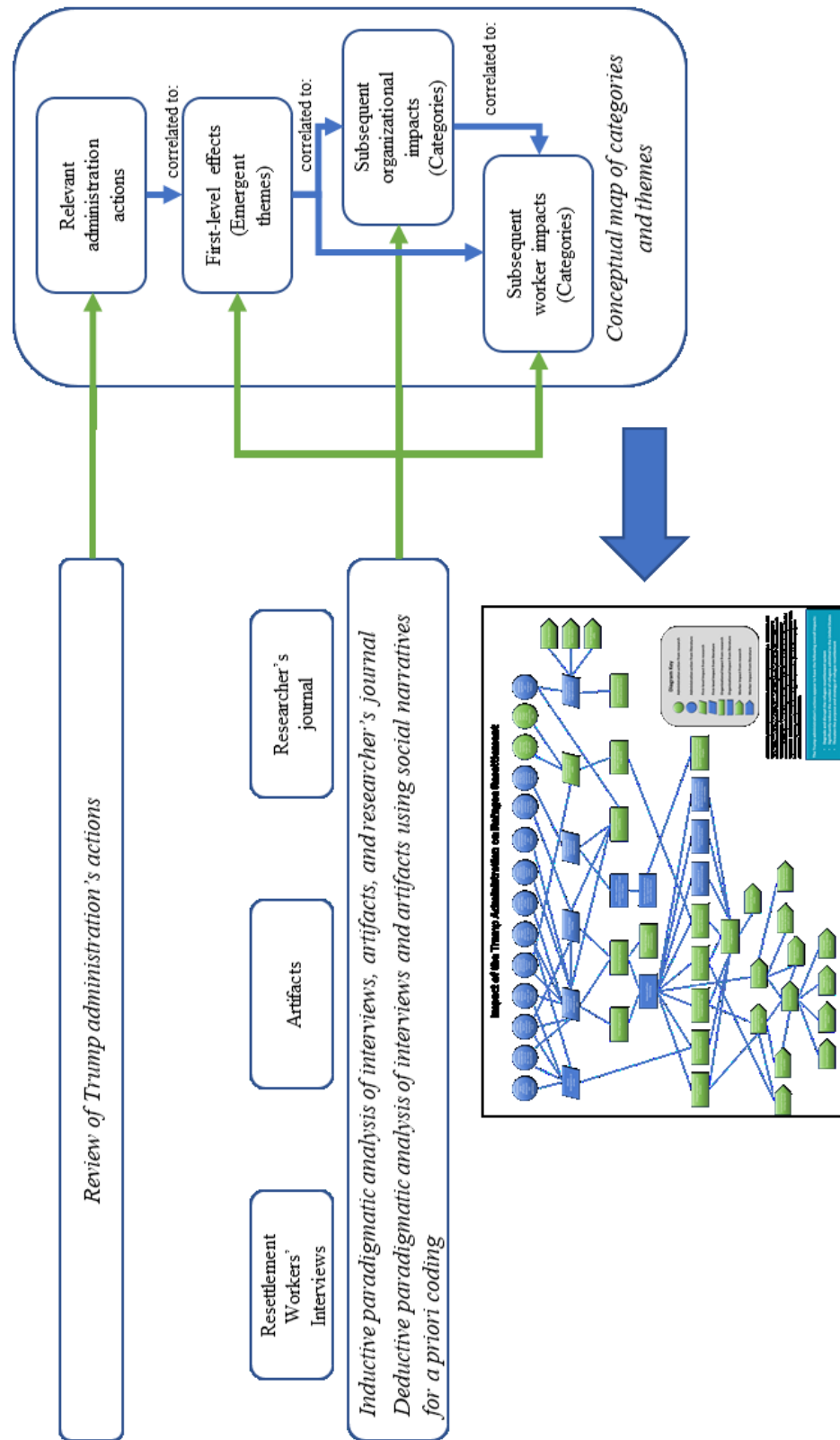


Figure 4. Data analysis approach.

administration's actions, were then correlated to both organizational and worker impacts, providing traceability from the Trump administration's actions regarding refugees to the impacts upon the organizations and workers. I represented these correlations using a conceptual map, produced to provide an overview of the relationships between the actions and the impacts. This overall process is depicted in Figure 4.

Data Preparation and the Inductive Analysis

I used the following steps, derived from Creswell (2016, pp. 152-164) and described in the following paragraphs, to prepare the data for analysis and to conduct the inductive paradigmatic analysis of the interviews, the artifacts, and the researcher's journal. Steps three through six, and part of step seven were executed within the MaxQDA software after the data were prepared and imported as described in step one.

Step 1—the setup. All interviews were transcribed using a clean verbatim standard into Microsoft Word and reviewed and corrected by comparing the transcripts to the original recordings. All pictures (including photographs of artifacts) were either in electronic format already or were scanned as images. All pictures were put into the Joint Photographic Experts Group (JPEG/JPG) file format. The researcher's journal was created electronically using Microsoft Word. Once all documents and images were in an acceptable electronic format, they were imported into a new MaxQDA project.

Step 2—read through each text. All texts were re-read. Any striking information was noted on a separate piece of paper as I read the texts and was used for coding in the next step.

Step 3—code each text and tag each image. I *lean coded* the text (developed labels in my own words) with the appropriate use of *in vivo* (labels in the words of the

participant) or other codes derived from the material. This coding was in “chunks” of text in textual materials. Quotable text was identified as well. Any themes that begin to emerge were noted. Images were tagged directly on the image through the software, as needed. A constant-comparative approach was used while coding was conducted to reduce the number of redundant codes. Creswell (2016) suggests no more than 20 to 30 codes for this step. For this research, not including the *a priori* coding, a total of 38 codes were developed inductively.

Step 4—list all the codes. While this is the fourth step in Creswell, the codes were already available in the software. Therefore, this step consisted of reviewing the codes in the software by printing a listing of codes and the brief explanation attached to each.

Step 5—group the codes to eliminate redundancy. The codes were grouped to eliminate remaining redundancy and to consolidate similar codes and categories. Redundant codes were minimal because of the use of a constant comparative process while coding.

Step 6—develop higher level categories and themes. This step varied from Creswell’s approach in that a more categorical analysis was done along with a thematic one. On the first coding pass, both categories and themes emerged from the data.

Step 7—create a conceptual map of the categories and themes. I used both MaxQDA and Microsoft PowerPoint to create a relationship map to develop and help visualize the relationships between the Trump administration’s actions and the themes and categories that emerged from the coding. A total of seven themes surfaced from the coding and served as a means of connection and traceability between the Trump administration’s actions and the impacts (code categories) as discovered in this research

or in related literature. Developing the conceptual map was an iterative process, and this step was executed multiple times.

Step 8—write one or more findings for each category or theme. This varies from Creswell’s methodology as the intent of this research was not to tell a story, but to analyze the impacts of policy on refugee resettlement workers and organizations. Each round of analysis required refining the findings, synthesizing the data better, and modifying the relationships as they appeared. This step fed the overall findings of the study and clarified the findings within each analysis stage.

The Deductive Analysis

The deductive analysis was done after the initial inductive analysis. Three *a priori* codes were developed under a category titled “Immigrant/Refugee Narratives.” The codes were “Victim Narrative,” “Neoliberal Narrative,” and “Nativist Narrative.” This analysis was done entirely within the MaxQDA software, and consisted of reviewing all of the interviews and artifacts, and labeling applicable text with one of the three codes if elements of the narratives were found.

All three of the socially-constructed refugee narratives in the framework were found in the participants’ interviews. Six of the seven participants mentioned an aspect of the nativist narrative, with two of the six agreeing with some facets of the narrative. The neoliberal narrative, a foundational narrative for refugee resettlement usually manifested as self-sufficiency, was mentioned by all seven participants. The victim narrative, also a foundational narrative for refugees, was mentioned by five of the seven participants. The “Nativist Narrative” code had 57 marked passages, the “Neoliberal Narrative” code had 24, and the “Victim Narrative” had a total of 12 marked passages.

Trump Administration's Policies and Impacts

A survey of news sites and the Federal Register along with whitehouse.com was conducted in mid-February 2019 to find specific actions taken by the Trump administration that impacted refugee resettlement. In some cases, such as the defunding of the Lautenberg/Spector amendment for fiscal year 2019, the individuals affected were technically parolees, not refugees, who essentially are protected in the United States until their home country is no longer a threat. However, the parolees can apply for refugee status and are often processed by refugee resettlement organizations. Therefore, the Lautenberg/Spector defunding was included in the list of administrative actions. The list in Appendix A contains the date of the action, the name or short description along with the reference citations, a longer description, and which first-level effects the action created. The first-level effects and the themes from the paradigmatic analysis were aligned to contain the same wordings and meanings, to allow the actions of the administration to be linked to the downstream impacts. A relationship analysis (step 7) was done using the code co-occurrence model in MaxQDA and Microsoft PowerPoint to consolidate codes and draw the relationships. The diagram was used as the basis for selecting and creating the narratives for the impacts along with the MaxQDA codes.

Ethical Considerations

This research had a number of ethical considerations to protect the participants and their organizations as well as other individuals included in the materials and documents. As an ethical researcher, I followed the requirements applicable to doing research with humans. I disclosed my identity and my intentions as a researcher and followed the requirements of law, of my institution, and the university's Institutional

Review Board. Study participants volunteered to take part in the study. They were able to refuse to answer any question and knew they were able to remove themselves from participation at any time. All the participants were provided with an informed consent form for their review and approval, and signed the form before engaging in this research.

Table 2

Protection of Privacy and Identities

Possible Risk To...	Type of Information	Type of Possible Risk	Procedures to Mitigate Possible Risks
Participants (individuals)	Names and locations / addresses of participants or other personally identifiable data	Physical or mental harm or loss of privacy	There is no value in revealing participants' names or other personally identifiable data in this study. Names were not used. All other personally identifiable data were not used. Country of origin was not used. Artifacts identifiable to the individual were not included. Composite narratives were used.
	Participants' organization or position		The participants' organizations or positions are not named. A participant's position is only identified as a worker or supervisor.
	Recognizable images of participants		There is no value in revealing recognizable images of the participants within photographs. Images of participants were not used. Consent was obtained for all individual participants.
Nonparticipants (such as refugees)	Same as participants.	Physical or mental harm or loss of privacy	Same as participants, except for consent. No country of origin will be disclosed even within worker or supervisor narratives.
Participant organizations	Name or location of resettlement organization.	Organizational disruption, loss of credibility, loss of funding	Organizations, their locations, or the number of organizations involved are not disclosed other than the organizations are located in Texas. Size and other demographic information are not disclosed.

Protection of data was a priority. This research produced no hard-copy data. Electronic data, including interviews and transcripts of interviews, were secured with a password or stored on removable media and placed under lock and key. These sources are only available to the researcher and the dissertation committee chair.

Another intentional strategy to protect the identity of the study participants was the employment of composite narratives, using “data from several individual interviews to tell a single story” (Willis, 2018, p. 1). For the purpose of this dissertation, the method used to construct composite narratives was to selectively combine the text flagged with the same code from the analysis. For example, if a composite narrative discussed fewer refugee arrivals, portions of the participants’ interviews coded “Reduced Number of Clients” were used to build the composite narrative. The only narrative in this dissertation not based on the interviews is the story at the beginning of Chapter VI – this narrative was developed from field notes and personal experience. Individual pseudonyms were not used.

Table 2 (National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, 1978) provides additional information with regard to protecting participants, nonparticipants, and participant organizations within this study. The table shows who is to be protected (Possible Risk To...), what information is considered damaging (Type of Information), the potential harm a disclosure of the information might cause (Type of Possible Risk), and the protective actions performed by the researcher within the study (Procedures to Mitigate Possible Risks).

Building Trustworthiness

Guba and Lincoln (1989) proposed four constructivist criteria for trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility is the congruence between the participants' voices and the researcher's representation of them (Patton, 2015). I ensured credibility by presenting study findings utilizing composite narratives from the interviews of the study participants. Transferability is the ability of a reader or another researcher to transfer the findings to a similar situation (Patton, 2015). I enhanced transferability through the use of background information to establish the context of the study and the development of detailed descriptions (in so far as confidentiality and privacy allowed) (Shenton, 2004). Dependability refers to the process being "logical, traceable, and documented" (Patton, 2015, p. 685). Dependability was provided through the use of well-documented methodological descriptions allowing the study to be repeated and adopted to a similar setting (Shenton, 2004). Confirmability is parallel to objectivity, the ability to interpret the data as a result of linking findings to the data in discernible ways (Patton, 2015). I accomplished confirmability through triangulation of information, bracketing of researcher's bias, and keeping a researcher's journal to assist in separating the researcher's inner thoughts from the actual findings (Shenton, 2004).

In addition, I kept abreast of political and policy developments through media reports as the research was carried out as well as periodically reviewed the literature for new studies in this area. Approximately 40 media articles were discovered in early March, 2017, as I was beginning the development of this research. In December, 2018, a search of the Texas State University's Alkek Library using the search term "impact of

Trump immigration policy” with a date limit of 2016 to 2018 and full text available yielded a total of 1,963 results with 147 academic journal articles. The search term “refugee resettlement in the United States” with the same limitations resulted in 5,560 results with 1,292 academic journal articles. Additional news articles, editorials, and other online sources provided a rich cache of information for additional data triangulation.

IV. REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT WORKERS

The purpose of this study was to determine the impact of the Trump administration's policies and actions upon refugee resettlement workers and their organizations. In order to do that, I wanted to begin by first exploring who these workers were, and what they did while performing their jobs. This chapter portrays the seven refugee resettlement workers in this study with excerpts from their narratives and information from my research journal.

The narrative vignettes I present in this chapter are composites from the individuals' interviews with changes for readability and context, and are representative of what the study participants had to say. This was done, in part, to protect the identities of the participants who agreed to volunteer for this study under the condition of anonymity for themselves and their organizations. Surprisingly, the refugee resettlement community, even in a large state like Texas, is relatively small, making some of the participants recognizable from specific individual narratives.

Other advantages for using composite narratives in addition to protecting the participants' identities justify this practice. These include allowing "researchers to present complex, situated accounts from individuals, rather than breaking data down into categories" and contributing "to 'future-forming' research, by presenting findings in ways that are useful and accessible" (Willis, 2018).

This chapter presents five sections; the first section is titled "Who They Are" and describes some of the personal characteristics of this group of workers. Next, the section "How They Learned Their Jobs" depicts how the workers gained the knowledge and skills needed to execute the tasks they do as part of their work. "What

They Do” is a description of the work of refugee resettlement. The fourth section, “How They Feel About Their Work” shows how the workers reacted emotionally to the situations and responsibilities found in refugee resettlement. The fifth and last section of the chapter is titled, “Discussion” and examines issues relevant to the findings in this chapter.

Who They Are

There is neither a single type of person that does the work of refugee resettlement, nor is there a single type of job. Some workers only interface with refugees for the purpose of explaining or administering financial assistance or providing program information. Some workers are instructors or tutors who teach refugees about their new home, its laws and its culture, or who teach them English. Other workers are intimately involved in the refugees’ lives, helping them to learn the tasks of everyday living in their new country.

Thus, refugee resettlement workers are teachers, guides, mentors, helpers, and friends who must maneuver between the “state’s neoliberal practices” (Sattar, 2011) and the needs of their clients. Several common characteristics, and some differences, emerged in the narratives of the participants in this study. It should be remembered refugees have left their homes, their cultures, their friends, and members of their families in order to escape violence, persecution, torture, and death. “For them, the decision is not between leaving or staying, but between leaving or dying” (Baxter, 2018, p. 20). Refugees often arrive with few possessions, exhausted after their long travels, with little or no understanding of their new home, its culture, or its language. A refugee resettlement worker must deal with traumatized, frightened, and often difficult or

stubborn refugee clients, government bureaucracies, the requirements of their resettlement organization, the expectations of the community, and the demands of their own families.

These pressures, often conflicting, make refugee resettlement work challenging. Despite the stresses, a common characteristic among refugee resettlement workers was a desire to help others and the deep satisfaction it provided. These vignettes show the workers' concern for the well-being of others and the fulfilment they find in helping:

Going back to the altruism, you have to be in it because you like to help people, because that's what your job is. I like to help people even in my personal life. Helping people, it's a blessing job. It's amazing! ...if you think you are doing something for humanity, and you're here to do good things for others, then you are in the right place. I want to serve the community, so because of that goal, I ended up here.

The first time I met any refugees, it was as a volunteer. I did some home visits and we became friends. After a while, I found myself volunteering more than 40 hours a week. Most of my volunteer work consisted of taking them to the doctors, reading the mail, helping them with the computers, opening accounts, showing them how to pay bills, and taking them shopping to the stores and to the pharmacy. After a few months, I needed a job and I found myself working full time as a refugee resettlement caseworker. I'm still a caseworker and I never want to change my position. I like being with clients. I wish that we had more people and could help more people.

Every time I saw my refugee client, I felt like I was able to do something. I was able to change something. I don't do it for "good points," or anything like that, but I am happy to say that I get to do this work. It's also a lot of fun because I get to help those new arrivals. I was once like that, like them, when I first came here. So that's a pleasure. When I tell my stories, I always feel like I'm blessed to be in this place, to help people.

A search of the interviews showed the word "happy" appeared a total of 22 times when the workers were discussing either their jobs or their clients, providing an indication of how much refugee resettlement workers felt gratification in helping others.

When asked what skills or characteristics a refugee resettlement worker should have, all of the participants named patience or calmness as a key quality. Dealing with clients means dealing with those who make demands and have individual agency but often do not understand the culture or resettlement process. Patience is the tool the workers use to transition the understandings of their clients to their new realities.

Sometimes you do have to be the one that shifts a refugee's perspective. Yes, women are allowed to work. Yes, women can have their own bank accounts. Yes, women can divorce their husband. You can't be afraid to share the information because they need to know it, even if you think something might be culturally insensitive to them. So, the first thing is patience. You should be patient.

You need to be nice to everyone because the clients are coming from somewhere with a different language, different culture, different religion, and different environment. We need to know how to deal with this. We need to be calm. If you

want to be a successful caseworker, you should have patience, you should have built a trust and confidence with your client.

You're going to be dealing with people who may not have the same language abilities as other people as far as speaking English, so patience is very important. Sometimes, you must have patience because you deal with different types of people. There are people who are very quiet. There are people who run fast. There are people who you tell them something a hundred times and they don't want to learn it because they rely on you. All I'm going to say is to be patient. To be patient and to have good feelings towards people because they are different.

...sometimes clients will make you angry because they are going through a lot of things, sometimes a lot of depression...especially men. They keep thinking, "How I'm going to manage? How am I'm going to do this?" You really have to be patient with them.

The experiences expressed in these vignettes align with Gold (1987) as discussed from the literature review, where frustrations between workers and clients can form as a result of cultural differences and miscues. From the narratives, the antidote to these frustrations is patience and the acceptance that individual agency, stress, and cultural differences will be a normal part of the relationship.

Accepting those differences and working with the clients despite those differences is part of being open-minded. Several of the resettlement workers mentioned open-mindedness as a desirable characteristic in their job, where preconceptions about people and their countries can be undesirable and untrue, as noted in the narratives below.

You can't come in with the preconceptions of what you see on the international news or even what you see in the United Nations' refugee pamphlets or what they have on their websites. Somebody could have been one of the richest people you would ever know and they lost it all. It's not that everybody's from a camp or living in the sticks or anything like that. It's anybody can become a refugee and that's the scariest things to realize.

I would also say, regarding someone's background or culture, try to be nonjudgmental and not be thrown off by whatever the media or whatever the news says. It's important to know what's going on, but make sure you choose your sources correctly, not to be confused by blanket terms or blanket allegations against one culture, or how it is over there and think you're an expert. I think you have to be more open-minded and culturally sensitive, because my culture is different from their culture.

As mentioned in the vignettes, the open-mindedness applies primarily to the refugees' countries and their cultures. This open-mindedness towards other cultures stands in opposition to the nativist narrative.

While closely related to open-mindedness, respect for other cultures was also a desirable characteristic mentioned by several of the workers. Respect and understanding for other cultures are illustrated in this story:

What it really boils down to is you've got somebody from another culture who speaks another language from another country and you're trying to help them assimilate here. Sometimes I took my children with me to show them how I deal with the clients. I've taken them with me two or three times. I took them to see an

African family and an Asian family, so they could see different cultures and different people. Because working here requires a lot of passion, and time, and cultural understanding to be able to work with refugees.

This particular worker felt relating to other cultures was important enough to be a lesson he passed on to his children. In addition to being open-minded about other cultures, many of the workers felt cultural open-mindedness also translated to being open-minded about individuals.

Several workers felt people should be judged individually and not stereotyped. They also felt the choice of who should be allowed to resettle in the United States should be based on the needs of the individual, as this story discusses:

I don't think you should judge people by their color, their nationality or anything like that. They're just people. The same thing applies to immigrants or refugees. They're all human beings. Just take a minute in order to understand what is behind the refugees themselves. All of them, they come in with different dramas. They have seen a lot, and they've been through a lot. Don't ever judge a book by its cover. Maybe when they're choosing who should be able to resettle as a refugee, they need to choose people that need help. Think humanly. Think about who needs more help than another, not going by their color or their country.

Treating others as a fellow human over treating them as a member of a particular culture or as a citizen of a particular country approaches the idea of *moral cosmopolitanism*.

Moral cosmopolitanism is defined as the view that “all persons stand in certain moral relations to one another: we are required to respect one another’s status as ultimate units of moral concern” (Pogge, 1992, p. 49).

The idea of moral cosmopolitanism is, in many ways, a counterbalance to national sovereignty (Pogge, 1992) and the nativist narrative. This is not to suggest refugee resettlement workers are or are not cosmopolitan, but some of them do see human need as a priority over national boundaries. This view is also reflected in their empathy and concern for others as shown in these vignettes:

Nobody wants to leave their land, their family, their memory of childhood, their belongingness and then go to a new and strange place. Honestly, it hurts to see people living like—you've never been through that. I'm telling you. When people come through the airport leaving everything behind them, leaving their families, leaving their jobs, leaving everything and come here to start again, they are really hurting. It is something very tough for these people, they've been through a lot.

Love your job and do the best you can for people. I believe in something. I believe if I help someone then someone is going to help me or help my family if I'm not there. I wonder why there are a lot of problems in the world, a lot of hate, a lot of wars, a lot of killings. Because people inside them, they have this kind of love. I always ask myself "If people help each other would there be no problems in this world?"

Despite many workers being open-minded, respecting other cultures, and judging people as individuals, for some workers politics seemed to be an area where beliefs were already solidified. Most of the resettlement workers had a general distaste for politics and generally claimed to avoid the subject. Others expressed concerns about what they were seeing with regards to the refugee program:

I'm all for the stricter vetting because how are all these people coming in here and they have all these resources? I've had clients that didn't want to get jobs and yet they didn't have any problem paying their rent, they didn't have any problems getting furniture, not through our donations but furniture that they went and bought. They didn't want to work because they were doctors back home, they have all this money saved up and it baffles the mind, how are you a refugee when you have tons of money and you're living the high life here? You don't even have to work and you can furnish your apartment with all this expensive furniture and have brand new cars.

As with many political opinions, this one is likely part of this worker's identity construction, and represents a belief seemingly contradictory to working in refugee resettlement. However, a disinterest or distaste in politics among resettlement workers was more common:

I don't follow politics as closely as I should or anything like that... Sometimes, even recently, I stick my head in the sand when it comes to politics, because I already have my own beliefs. Politics in general, are just like, and excuse my French, just like a strip dancer. Every day they have a different mood and every day they have a different agenda. I don't really have anything to say about it, it's just the unfortunate thing that's happening. I'm not good with politics because, for me, it's a lot of talking, it bothers me. It's a headache. Can we skip this question?

Three workers asked to skip questions about politics, but later circled back and gave some of their political opinions. Even if they didn't want to discuss current politics, the subject was on their minds.

Several participants said emotional intelligence and the ability to read people were key aspects of being a refugee resettlement worker. This was, according to the account below, something that came with experience and could not be taught:

Working with refugees requires emotional intelligence. It's emotional IQ is what it is. I would say it's something that's learned to an extent but it's not learned in training seminars. It's something else. It's learned through the experience of being with people and observing people and interacting with people. Some people have interpersonal skills where they're able to communicate well and read people. It's doesn't come from a sociology degree or a degree in social work that takes many hours to get your Master's after interning for nothing. It's none of that. You have to be very, very intuitive because you're working with people.

This person thought emotional intelligence consisted of thinking with your heart:

You don't want someone to just come to work here without heart, without understanding or passion... I want people to also think with their hearts. Bad and good are everywhere, but what are we going to accept? Are we going with politics to decide how to feel about someone or are we going with our heart?

The question at the end of the vignette actually touches on one branch of the four-branch model of emotional intelligence—using emotions to facilitate thought, which includes using emotions to prioritize thinking (Mayer, 2004). A rephrasing, then, of the last question in the vignette might read: Which emotions do we use when working with

refugees, those entangled by politics or those evoked by charity and compassion? This worker chose the latter, revealing their priority of what they thought was important.

Even though many of the workers chose to view refugees as individuals and not stereotype them based on their native country, several of the workers displayed pride in being an American as the narrative below shows. This brief narrative was fashioned from the interviews of three workers who were all foreign-born and are now U.S. citizens:

I really have a wonderful life here. I chose a picture of the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution as my artifact because when I read “We the People,” I think people come first regardless of their race, color or national background. “We” is what makes America. It’s not just one individual, one color, or one thing, it’s “We.” It represents my value as an American. I tell my clients, “How far can you see things?” It’s not like here in America you are going to be secluded, or a second-class citizen, or something. It’s true. I mean that’s what I love about this country.

Other similarities across many, but not all, of the workers included having spiritual or religious beliefs, attention to detail, a desire to lead a peaceful life, and a desire for human unity. Significant differences among workers included the degree to which they politically supported the actions of the current administration, and for foreign-born workers, experiencing discrimination and prejudice in the United States.

Two of the workers (one native-born, one foreign-born) agreed with some of the current administration’s policies. These workers were concerned not only about national security issues but about abuse of the system. They characterized abuse of the system in two ways. One, refugees were arriving who were not truly in fear of their lives, but were

here to take advantage of the American economy in order to make more money. The second means of abusing the system was to receive government benefits, such as Temporary Aid for Needy Families or Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for disabilities, while obtaining work in the underground economy where their income was not reported or taxed. The workers claim to have first-hand knowledge of this systemic abuse. Here is a vignette to illustrate these two points.

I have been working here a long time, and I see a lot of corruption with refugees and with the whole resettlement program. There are people coming here that probably shouldn't be refugees. These are people that come here and after a year or two, once they get their green card, they go back to their country to go on vacation. How can you go on vacation to the place where you're in fear for your life? I only bring this up because I don't want to sound like I'm against refugee resettlement, but I've just been around it long enough to see how there's real refugees and there's people that I don't think should be here. Again, I say this with firsthand knowledge, that a lot of these people are coming here, getting on SSI and working. They're working full-time jobs and they're getting paid cash. I know people that are doing that and they're still getting benefits because they're hiding that income. Some are claiming disability but they're not really disabled. They're working and then they are still getting money from the government. I don't want to say they are living like kings but they're cheating the system, and we're paying for it. The taxpayers are paying for it. I don't really have a problem with the numbers being reduced as long as the program's getting better.

While not questioning the veracity of this worker's narrative, it is worth pointing out it contains elements of a nativist sub-narrative, that of the *welfare queen*. The welfare queen script contains a number of components, including the brown skin of the protagonist (unspoken but often assumed), the receipt of undeserved benefits, and an unwillingness to uphold a core set of American values (Gilliam, 1999). Thus, the telling of the above story may reflect actual events that have been constructed into a narrative better fitting the beliefs of the storyteller.

A solution to the system abuse problems, as well as concerns about terrorism, was suggested by another worker as illustrated in the following narrative:

Better vetting of refugees is about justice for everyone. Yes, it's about justice for everyone. Sometimes I feel there's no justice because of bad actors. Nonprofit agencies like us do most of the job of resettlement. We are the first contact with this person when they arrive in the United States. We know more and more and more about the clients every day. The government they don't know, they have paper, only paper. I recommend we become involved with security or law enforcement agencies, like the police, or FBI, or whatever. If they need to ask about any of our clients...what they do, where they work, they should ask us because we know. I believe if this works, it is going to be more helpful to the refugee program as well as to the state and country.

Clearly these two stories show not every refugee resettlement worker is supportive of all their clients. Interestingly, both of these workers also conveyed altruistic behavior and expressed empathy for the refugees. Perhaps empathy is required to do the job of refugee resettlement, but the victim narrative attached to it may not be

enough to deconstruct other strongly-held beliefs. I felt these concerns, and others, were unpopular within the workers' resettlement organization and were being shared with me because I might bring them to light. Resettlement organizations should have a way to surface and address these types of concerns to ensure the overall program maintains its integrity.

Refugee resettlement workers expressed a number of common characteristics and individual differences about who they are within their narratives. Differences also showed up in the interviews regarding how they learned their jobs. The next section briefly discusses what the workers said about their training.

How They Learned Their Jobs

This section examines how these seven workers learned the skills and knowledge needed to do their jobs. Their narratives varied considerably in this regard; some claimed no training at all was ever provided while others said their organization provided classes in certain topics and engaged in conferences with other resettlement agencies. Many of the workers noted in the beginning, training was nonexistent, but over time things improved:

When I first started five years ago, there was no training and you were just thrown out there on your own. "Good luck! Figure it out!" Once you get into the role, five years later, it's becomes easier because you know more. I think we have better training procedures and more shared information now. They started these classes recently for Microsoft Excel, which is fine. They also provided HIPAA training and how we need to maintain the confidentiality of our client's medical information. We also had training about child abuse and abuse of

women. Whenever we get these kinds of trainings, we must reflect on what our clients need so we can educate them as well.

Not only does this narrative talk about training the workers in subjects they need to do their job, such as knowing how to use Microsoft Excel, but it refers to worker training that may also be beneficial to their clients.

Even though the training had improved, all seven of the workers said they learned their job on their own, either through their own experiences or with the help of their coworkers. Some workers were under pressure to learn their jobs quickly when they were new, even when resources to do so were scarce.

Our directors would call us in if we had any trouble with executing our areas of responsibility and talk to us. When I started as a caseworker, I had someone train me for a few days and then I started doing the job and learning it myself. Until you do the actual work, you'll never learn it even though you read about it or someone tells you. You have to do it. For example, once the refugees receive their Social Security card, we're supposed to fill out this specific documentation and send it back to them. Well, I hadn't been doing that because no one told me I had to do it or maybe I forgot. Then when I found out, I had to go back to all these old files and do the paperwork. A lot of things happened like that. If you asked six people and you got six different answers. There was no real good training.

This story illustrates an issue with the training approach of workers learning things on their own or relying on someone else's knowledge, which may or may not be accurate. One worker claimed "I have yet to receive any formal training in the seven-plus years

that I've been here. I never sat sidesaddle with another caseworker to show me the ropes. Even to this day, it's pretty much been that way” indicating some workers were completely reliant on experiential learning. There is a cost to the organization in the time spent resolving problems that were created because an employee didn't know what to do and had no authoritative resources to reference.

Two of the managers and three of the workers mentioned procedures and references were now available within their organization to address this issue:

When I started working here there were no procedures, but in 2012 and every year after, if there was a change, they printed binders for everyone, so we do have binders. They contain things like what you're supposed to do and guidelines for working with the client. For example, it explains how to deal with the children, or how to deal with problems in the clients' homes. It also contains information about things like car seats— everything we do now. Sometimes we are audited and they ask us questions like, “What would you do in this scenario?” So, we have to have answers. I have three binders in my desk. We also have electronic manuals on a shared server. Some of the things we do are in areas where we don't have any manual or training plan. So, I think we need more training. I'm not only talking about myself but also about my coworkers.

While information, training, and formal procedures have become more common, not everyone was aware of all the resources available:

Here you must be self-sufficient, let me put it that way. You teach yourself by yourself; this is the way it is here. Because there is no computer system like the

one at Social Security where they just put things into the system and it tells you whether someone is eligible or not. Here you have to learn by yourself.

As a result of these inconsistencies in training, all of the workers seemed to rely on their coworkers for assistance to varying degrees. In addition to internal resources for knowledge and training, three of the workers noted their organization interfaced with other refugee resettlement agencies, usually in the form of conferences or meetings, in order to learn from each other.

These conferences or meetings included examining and comparing procedures and organizational structures with other agencies, techniques for advocating for both the clients and the organization, and discussions about coordinating actions across agencies. Organizations also interfaced with their VOLAG to ensure they were following expected procedures.

In 2014 our managers visited with some of the staff from another resettlement agency and realized that we had been doing some things wrong. In 2016, I went to a four-day workshop where I saw how the local community was interacting with their refugee resettlement program. They wanted to interact with the refugees to show them they were welcome as new Americans. Another conference in 2017 was two days of training on how to advocate for our client through the media. We also talked about how we can do more work with the city and raise awareness. It was wonderful—I really liked it. We spoke with a congressman also.

These conferences not only gave one organization ideas about how to reorganize to do things better, but provided information on improving community support for the refugees.

The workers learned their jobs in refugee resettlement primarily using a combination of learning from more knowledgeable coworkers and learning from their own experiences. The resettlement organizations improved their training opportunities and available reference materials, but some workers learned their jobs entirely on their own even when information was available, indicating, in some cases, poor communications regarding available knowledge resources. Conferences were used a means of cross-checking and comparing internal structures and procedures, and as a way to learn skills relevant to refugee resettlement but outside the organization's skill set, such as a specific approach to community relations. The next section discusses what the workers actually do in the work of refugee resettlement.

What They Do

The worker's narratives, along with my volunteer experiences and research journal, identified a number of broad tasks which, in some combination make up a specific worker's practice. Most of the tasks workers perform are traceable back to the government's policy and the cooperative agreement with the U.S. State Department:

I feel like everything is vertical communications. The policy itself is always going to be top down. It's going to be from the U.S. government—here's the grant, this is how it's written, this is what we want you to do. Then from there, the VOLAG will take it down to the agency. From the agency, they'll take it down to us. As far as

when it comes to implementation and how we as an agency or program do it, we're going to do something in response to that downward-directed requirement.

This section is organized by tasks done by management, tasks done by both management and workers, and tasks usually done by the workers. The increased requirement for workers to execute multiple roles, and to step into a void when needed due to downsizing, makes the tasks performed by the workers and managers overlap. Workers are often asked to step out of their formal roles to help one another. One might be doing a monthly budget one minute and then moving furniture or shopping for a new arrival's groceries the next. The items listed in the following paragraphs are primarily for VOLAG affiliates, and smaller resettlement offices may not do all these tasks.

Management Tasks

Within the roles of managers or supervisors, refugee resettlement workers are expected to manage others, respond to information requests, provide reports to higher authority, and create or implement their organization's policies and procedures. As managers or supervisors, they assign tasks, conduct performance reviews, and develop training plans for those they supervise. Managing others also includes hiring qualified workers, ensuring space and resources are ready for new workers, and deciding who will be laid-off or let-go.

VOLAGS often ask VOLAG affiliates to provide information as a one-time report, normally in response to a governmental request for information. The affiliate must provide an accurate and timely response to the VOLAG. The VOLAG affiliates also provide regular reports of activities on a periodic basis to the VOLAGs and to their own management team, such as monthly activity reports or budget revisions.

Directors or supervisors in resettlement agencies set overall policies, procedures, priorities, and tasks. The policies and procedures are communicated and implemented to ensure the requirements of the laws, regulations, and the government contracts are followed, as well as to provide guidance for the day-to-day operation of the organization. This task also includes working with human resources to design jobs and roles, and making adjustments to the organization's structure to expand, contract, or reorganize the agency for improved efficiency.

Management and Worker Tasks

Depending on the organization, a number of tasks are performed by some combination of manager and worker. These tasks include engaging in organizational communications; interacting with other agencies; advocating for the client; managing donations; developing budgets and handling funds; completing paperwork, case notes, and reports; scheduling tasks; performing or participating in audits; helping other resettlement workers; managing case workloads; managing volunteers; and learning new things.

As with most groups, the managers and workers engage in organizational communications. This task refers to formal and informal communications with peers, subordinates, and superiors within the refugee resettlement agency. Periodic meetings, such as staff meetings, occur weekly or monthly. One organization conducts all-hands meetings on important issues when leadership feels everyone needs to hear an announcement directly from management or participate in a decision. As resettlement organizations have downsized, according to one manager, this type of horizontal communications has increased.

There is a significant amount of interaction with other agencies, not only at the management level, but at the worker level as well. This includes interacting with other refugee resettlement organizations through formal conferences and meetings to exchange information or to coordinate broad actions. In some cases, one organization may provide a service to its clients another organization does not, and they interact to coordinate that service for the clients. This also occurs when a client relocates, and information regarding the client must be transferred to the responsible agency. At the workers' level, this task includes interactions with federal, state, and local governmental agencies such as the Social Security Administration or state employment services. Caseworkers are intimately involved in assisting their clients in their interactions with private agencies as well in order to obtain services such as medical care or Internet access.

Advocating for the client refers to two types of advocacy. The first is done by management—formal political or community advocacy of refugee resettlement approved by the organization. The second type of advocacy is generally done by the caseworker to ensure their clients are provided with the benefits and assistance to which they are entitled, and are treated in all ways according to the law.

Managing donations is another task performed by a refugee resettlement organization. Refugee resettlement agencies accept donations of money and items useful to newly arrived refugees, such as furniture, linens, or toiletries. These items must be accepted (often picked up), stored, inventoried, distributed, and accounted for under refugee programs such as the Matching Grant program, used in lieu of Refugee Cash Assistance (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2018). This requires a place to store the donations, vehicles to deliver them, and people to carry them from the truck to the

refugee's domicile. This task also includes coordination with the caseworkers and the refugees to ensure useful items are chosen and delivered in a timely fashion, including delivering and assembling furniture for newly arriving refugees.

Resettlement organizations develop budgets for their operations and handle funds. The funds are not only monies for the agency but include funds disbursed for their clients such as Refugee Cash Assistance. This task includes organizational record-keeping, tracking of funds, and ensuring eligibility requirements for funding programs are met. Budgets are often recalculated and submitted to the VOLAGs as circumstances change during the year.

Workers complete paperwork for their organization and their clients. This includes maintaining case files, applying for benefits, tracking payments, developing case notes, doing internal audits and documenting the results, managing donations, and other required recordkeeping. Files have to be protected and archived according to law. This task also includes intra-agency management reporting and the support of information exchanges such as done under the Lautenberg Amendment (now currently unfunded). Workers deal with both paper and electronic files and systems.

Each worker manages their own calendar, scheduling tasks and appointments according to the priorities of their position and of the organization. Resettlement workers, as with workers in many organizations, are required to handle diverse tasks and unexpected problems, and resolve any priority or scheduling conflicts.

Resettlement workers perform internal audits, developing checklists and checking records for missing items or entries to ensure they are in compliance with organizational

requirements and the law. Workers also participate in audits from their VOLAG or a government entity authorized to audit their records under their contract.

Resettlement workers assist each other. This includes taking the time to help each other learn unfamiliar tasks and as well as assisting other workers in performing tasks. I observed workers helping each other by picking up clients and transporting them to an appointment, delivering donated items, and acting as a translator for a caseworker who was unable to speak a particular language. Coworkers were a primary source for other workers in acquiring new knowledge and developing new skills. Managers are often involved in helping other workers learn, or providing information on policy and processes.

Managing case workloads is a joint manager-worker task. Managers are involved in tracking potential arrivals, assigning new arrivals to a caseworker, balancing workloads, reporting arrivals to the VOLAG, and tracking case progress. The workers inform the managers of their current caseload or any issues with their cases.

Managing volunteers is also an important task. Volunteers can provide translation resources otherwise unavailable to the organization, help with manual tasks, and they can assist and supplement the workforce. Managing volunteers includes performing background checks, scheduling and tracking their time and activities, providing a work environment such as a place to sit and a computer, teaching them what they need to know to help the organization, overseeing their work, and checking to ensure their work is up to standards.

As with most jobs, both managers and workers must take the time to learn new things. Refugee workers need to continuously update their knowledge of law, cultures,

organizational procedures, and other applicable subjects. Learning activities include personal and cultural experiences as well as on-the-job training and more formal classes.

Worker Tasks

The tasks in this section are done primarily by the workers. Managers and workers often assist one another; many managers have been caseworkers or instructors and are knowledgeable in these tasks. Worker tasks discussed in this section are receiving new clients; obtaining initial housing; interpreting and translating for the client; teaching the client English; finding employment for the client; gaining support for clients from their anchors or from their new community; and assisting, teaching, guiding, and mentoring clients. The last task—assisting, teaching, guiding, and mentoring clients—consists of several subtasks and will be discussed at length.

The task of receiving new clients is sometimes referred to as *reception*. The resettlement workers meet the refugee and his or her family at the airport upon arrival. The group that arrives together is usually referred to as a *case* and a case can be one person or a family. It is not unusual to have a case with seven or more people arriving at the airport. Friends, family members, or other members of the refugees' new community may be there as well to welcome them. The resettlement workers must account for infants and small children, luggage, and of course the number of refugees being received. Vans or cars with appropriate child seats and space must be coordinated and available for pickup. The newly arrived refugees are welcomed, their baggage loaded, and then driven to their initial housing.

The resettlement organization must obtain initial housing for the clients. Agencies execute short-term contracts for housing, generally apartments, for the newly

arrived refugees and their families. This requires a short-term lease arrangement with several apartment complexes for apartments of various sizes. These apartments can be leased longer term by the refugee or the refugee may move elsewhere once the lease has expired. Once a refugee client has been scheduled for arrival, the apartment is set up with beds, bedroom furniture, and housekeeping essentials. Food appropriate for the culture of the refugees for the first few days is provided. Larger resettlement offices may have an individual who manages housing contracts and acts as a resource for resolving tenant-landlord disputes and assisting refugees in relocating after their lease is up.

Interpreting and translating for clients is an important and time-consuming task. Because the refugee client may not speak English, the workers often have to translate and interpret for the client, to include legal and medical terms. An interpreter is required to convey the information and meaning for the client and not put their own spin on the communication. The caseworker often acts as an interpreter; being an interpreter is demanding because they are needed for virtually every transaction each refugee will make outside his or her family, if no one in the group speaks English.

Because translating and interpreting is such a heavy workload for a caseworker, especially for a new arrival, teaching the refugees English is a priority. English is also important for assimilation into their new society. Caseworkers enroll their clients into English as a second language (ESL) classes. The classes can be taught by the resettlement agency, local churches, and community colleges usually for free or for a modest fee. Caseworkers also help their clients learn English while assisting them in their everyday activities, reinforcing the lessons of the ESL classes.

The caseworker, or in larger resettlement organizations, an employment specialist finds suitable employment for the client. Self-sufficiency is a key tenet of the U.S. refugee resettlement program, and getting a job and becoming self-sufficient is a high priority. Caseworkers also work with various funding and social programs to ensure proper benefits are paid without overpayment or unentitled benefits. For example, Refugee Cash Assistance has employment requirements, and caseworkers review employment status periodically to ensure benefits are not improperly paid and the client is progressing towards self-sufficiency.

If a refugee has a family member or other qualified individual (such as a person who was a member of the same economic unit) in the United States, that person acts as the refugee's sponsor; this person is called an *anchor*. Certain admission statuses, such as family reunification, require an anchor (Aster, 2012). If the refugee does not need an anchor or arrives with no family members resettled in the U.S., the resettlement organization will make an effort with the community to support new arrivals. When a new arrival has an anchor or a supportive community, it can reduce the caseworker's workload.

The primary work of refugee resettlement is, of course, to successfully resettle the refugee into their new home. The tasks of teaching, guiding, mentoring, and assisting refugee clients are therefore critical. This task is done by workers who come into direct and frequent contact with the refugees, particularly caseworkers. These workers help their clients to adapt to their new home and integrate into society while assisting them in doing the tasks of daily living. Often clients are unfamiliar with modern technology and some must be taught how to use a stove or adjust a thermostat. This includes more

formal orientation sessions as well, such as sessions on refugee children attending school or how to deal with law enforcement. This task is broken down into several subtasks in the following paragraphs because of its scope and complexity. These subtasks include gaining and maintaining respect and trust; understanding the client's culture; helping the client navigate government bureaucracies; allowing the client to exercise appropriate agency; responding to the client's needs; assisting the client with financial issues; helping clients with medical or mental health issues; helping clients adjust, assimilate and become self-sufficient; assisting refugee children to adapt to school; and prioritizing client services.

Establishing credibility with a client and gaining their trust and respect is necessary for the client to be successful. One of the female resettlement workers told me she had particular difficulty in establishing credibility with men from her own culture, and this often delayed their progress as they initially ignored her advice and guidance. Without establishing trust and respect between the client and the caseworker, it is difficult for the client to move forward.

In order to establish credibility and trust, a resettlement worker must have an understanding of the client's culture. Touching a client's shoulder or wearing shoes into their home can be a sign of disrespect in some cultures, and without cultural understanding, these acts can set barriers between the worker and the client that are difficult to overcome.

Workers assist their clients in navigating government bureaucracies. Getting a Social Security card and obtaining approval to work can be a puzzling activity to a newcomer and requires a worker who understands the process and the laws. Getting a

driver's license or applying for health benefits are examples of instances where the worker must know the processes and be able to assist the refugee.

Caseworkers and other workers must allow the client to exercise an appropriate amount of input and agency when dealing with decisions and processes affecting the client. Workers must know when to help a client, when to guide them, and when to let the client experience something for themselves. Further, the clients may wish to do things differently than the worker, and the worker must either allow them the agency to do so, or inform the client they cannot do what they wish because of laws or customs.

Workers must respond to a client's needs and assist them without undue pandering and without creating a dependence. Going to the grocery store or reading their mail are all things a caseworker or volunteer might do to help a client. Often the client does not know how to drive and the caseworker must assist them in finding a driving school or reading a bus schedule. Teaching a refugee how to operate a stove, how to do laundry, or the dangers of a garbage disposal are important subjects the clients must know, and often the resettlement worker helps them learn. Workers also respond to clients whose children are having problems with school or clients who may be having a dispute with their landlords, or clients who are dissatisfied with their living arrangements.

Workers also help their clients to deal with financial issues. Establishing a bank account, paying taxes, using debit cards, and helping them make financial decisions are activities where workers often assist clients. Clients do not always realize how much money they are to receive as assistance from the refugee program or how much things cost; the resettlement workers assist their clients in establishing a budget to help them manage their money.

In addition to help with daily living chores, resettlement workers are required to deal with the medical or mental health issues of clients, including moderating personal interactions to fit the client's situation or disabilities. Often workers take clients to medical appointments or assist them in getting to the emergency room because the client lacks transportation or because the worker is needed as a translator. Workers must be able to understand and translate medical terminology.

Workers help clients to adjust, assimilate, and become self-sufficient. This task involves moving the client towards self-sufficiency and assimilation through teaching skills and appropriate cultural behaviors. Self-sufficiency not only includes obtaining work, but being able to drive, speak English, exhibit appropriate work behaviors, and participate in social norms. The resettlement agency often provides orientation and training classes for appropriate behavior in certain situations such as being stopped by law enforcement or addressing someone else's children.

Some organizations have programs or provide resources for assisting refugee children in adapting to school, including tutoring in various subjects and instruction in English. Assistance is also provided in obtaining the necessary immunizations to attend school, teaching parents how to notify the school if a child is sick, and providing school clothes and backpacks according to school policies.

Finally, workers must often prioritize service to their clients above other job tasks or even their own personal activities, such as answering the phone late at night and assisting a client or handling a client emergency. Workers often rely on each other to cover more routine activities if one of their clients requires special attention.

How They Feel About Their Work

Refugee resettlement workers are generally altruistic, and enjoy helping others. The job provides a great deal of satisfaction as well as stress, frustration, and worry about how their behavior is affecting the clients.

Positive feelings about the job include satisfaction in helping others, a positive working environment, and pride in doing a good job, as the narrative below shows:

It is a privilege for me to have the opportunity to come to this path and to do this service. I like my job and I feel really proud of my work. I love what I'm doing. I hope the people I'm working with are happy with my work, because the way everybody works together, it is like a family. I like helping others because I was once getting help too. It's like paying back for the help I received when I first came here. This is what's good about this job. Sometimes you do small things and it makes you very happy inside. I always feel like I'm blessed to be in this place, to help other people.

These feelings align with the fulfilment the workers felt in helping others, as was discussed in the “Who They Are” section. Even though the job is fulfilling, it also has its negative side.

The workers felt the effects of the negative aspects of their work, including frustration, concern regarding the consequences of their assistance, worries about being able to help enough, and the personal toll the job takes. One worker was apprehensive about taking her client to the doctor the first time, when she was forced to choose the doctor. She was worried what would happen if she made a poor choice:

We feel we are responsible. It's like with our children, we feel like we have to take care of them. One time I took a very sick client to the doctor and I chose the doctor because she was a new arrival. I was so scared. I went home and I was very worried. When I went and saw her after the surgery, she was asleep, maybe 12 hours or something after the surgery. She was a single person here with no family. I was worried, "What if she doesn't wake up?" Thank God, she was fine.

Another worker told the story of a how a hospital's paperwork error, which the caseworker approved acting as the client's interpreter, might have affected their client's newborn baby:

The paperwork came back from the hospital, and they ended up putting the newborn's sex as a girl. It was just somebody writing an F instead of an M. Of course, it affected the birth certificate, and then the child couldn't get Medicaid benefits—because if you take the child to the hospital, and you show up with a boy but the paperwork says it's a girl, that's a problem. So, the caseworker went through a lot of trouble trying to get that fixed. You really have to pay attention to detail when you try to help someone because you could really negatively affect their lives. For a child not to get medical care, and a newborn at that, it's quite stressful for the family, and for the caseworker too. I mean, even though the caseworker was not living the problem, he had to fix it, so it was stressful for the caseworker.

These stories are an example of the stress resulting from being intimately involved in someone else's life.

Many of the workers discussed the emotional toll it takes to work in refugee resettlement:

It was so late. We had already worked from eight o'clock to five o'clock, but it was already past seven. Then the client's wife asked me if I could take her to the hospital to see her husband. All I could think about was getting home. Her husband was sitting in a hospital because he had another stroke. She didn't have a vehicle or anything like that. I felt really guilty for it, for any thoughts that I had about trying to go home with my family, where everyone was safe, secure, and healthy. These people were new to the country and so I really felt bad. This work, it's actually wearing, and it's pretty sad. Sometimes there's times when I had to go to counseling for a while just to talk about it because you take in so much. There's something you know that the client has gone through, or that he's going through, and that he's in a vulnerable moment. I think if you have the capacity to help with it, you also have the capacity to feel it.

Yes. It's something personal. It's like a nurse who's new at her job will be affected her first day by all the accidents, and injuries, and people being sick. After a while, she will get used to seeing people she knew pass away. Sometimes working here is something like that. I don't know if you understand. This is the problem with this job, sometimes you are in-between. You do more things than you should do, and it's not good for you. My daughter said, "Dad, you have time for your client, but you don't have time for us." I told her, "You need to know, these people they came here, they don't know anyone. They don't know what they

need to do. That's my job, to help them to resettle here, to sit here, stay, and guide them on the right path and in the right way."

The typically low pay for the work adds to the stress. One participant who had two outside jobs to supplement his low pay as a resettlement worker spoke matter-of-factly, "I can't afford to do anything for my family because I have too many things to do paying my bills and trying to be a nice person."

The work of refugee resettlement is both rewarding and stressful. It requires emotional intelligence and cultural awareness. The tasks required to transition someone from being a stranger from another culture to becoming a productive and well-adjusted citizen in a new country are extensive. This chapter was meant to assist in forming a picture of the workers who resettle those strangers: who they are, what they do, how they learned their jobs, and how they feel about their work. The narratives of the seven participants in this study helped us to do that, but our picture is just that—a single snapshot in time of a nationwide program that has resettled 3 million refugees since 1980 (Krogstad & Radford, 2017). So, what are the implications of this snapshot, how does it add to our understanding of the impacts of the administration's policies on refugee resettlement? The following discussion section briefly exams a few topics correlated to the findings in the next chapter.

Discussion

Refugee resettlement workers are altruistic with a strong desire to help others, and receive a deep satisfaction in doing so. Refugee workers also experience stress, as indicated by some of the narratives. Guskovict and Potocky (2018) discussed three types of stress in humanitarian work: burnout, vicarious trauma, and secondary traumatic stress.

Espinosa, Akinsulure-Smith, and Chu (2019) identified job burnout and secondary traumatic stress as the primary work-related distress among resettlement workers, and found higher trait emotional intelligence was a mitigating factor. The narratives presented in this chapter showed signs of burnout (emotional exhaustion) and vicarious trauma (distress and a change in worldview) (Guskovict & Potocky, 2018); no indications of secondary traumatic stress were noted in the interviews or during volunteer hours, such as “the reexperiencing, avoidance, and hyperarousal symptoms of PTSD” (Akinsulure-Smith, Espinosa, Chu, & Hallock, 2018, p. 203), although such secondary traumatic stress could be present. “A worker’s secondary traumatic stress reactions may or may not reflect the client’s actual responses” (Guskovict & Potocky, 2018, p. 967). In addition, the stress of responsibility for the success of the refugees’ transition and the stresses of the consequences of the worker’s mistakes or choices were also identified.

While refugee resettlement work resembles social work, none of the participants had degrees in social work. “Because not all roles require the same type of education, not all aid workers have the type of training that is considered standard among social workers, such as an understanding of human development, trauma, or the importance of clinical supervision” (Guskovict & Potocky, 2018, p. 966). The lack of formal training in social work leaves these participants without coping skills more formally trained social workers would possess. Coping strategies used by refugee resettlement workers to deal with their stresses include, among others, saying to one’s self, “this isn’t real,” substance abuse, praying, and making fun of the situation (Akinsulure-Smith et al., 2018). Suffice it to say, refugee resettlement workers have a difficult and emotional job and are often not formally trained to manage the accompanying stresses. Even though the participants

in this research showed deep satisfaction in helping others, they remain a group especially vulnerable to additional stress.

A study by Lusk and Terrazas (2015) found similar stresses among caregivers working with Hispanic refugees from Mexico and Central America. These workers also expressed job satisfaction and compassion satisfaction. Compassion satisfaction was “positively associated with the number of hours working with immigrants” (Lusk & Terrazas, 2015, p. 270) and potentially provided some protection from the stress. They also found there was a protective cultural element in Hispanic participants, indicating cultural factors such as an extended family could help workers cope with stress.

While more formal training opportunities existed and procedures and policies were available, virtually all workers learned their jobs from personal experience or from a coworker or supervisor who had already performed the task at hand. My observations confirmed this behavior—the relatively small size of the office allowed workers to easily communicate with each other, and when one had a question, they nearly always asked someone nearby for the answer. Thus, the reliance on co-worker expertise remained a strong source of new knowledge. This practice makes an organization more vulnerable to downsizing, when knowledge exists primarily in people’s heads. The loss of personnel can cause knowledge leakage, making the organization more vulnerable to disruption and other unforeseen effects (Petkovic & Miric, 2009).

The high-level tasks involved in refugee resettlement tend to be directly traceable to the contracts under which the VOLAG and the affiliates operate. These tasks can be seen as driving a humanitarian theater of universalism and neoliberalism (Yoxall, 2018). While organizationally-common responsibilities, such as *managing others* or *scheduling*

tasks are not unique to refugee resettlement organizations, the unique tasks of the resettlement worker are generally relatable to the neoliberal and victim narratives referenced in the literature review by way of cultural and economic assumptions codified in law and implemented through their cooperative agreements. Refugee resettlement pushes refugees to self-sufficiency, to learn English, and to integrate culturally, all neoliberal tenets. Giving the new refugee a helping hand, whether through the efforts of refugee resettlement workers or through the benefits bestowed by other government aid, adhere to the victim narrative with its embedded humanitarian sub-narrative, however time-limited such aid may be.

These considerations, and the connection of unique job tasks to law, contracts, and government funding make it relatively easy for the federal government to directly and immediately influence the day-to-day well-being and functioning of the refugee resettlement infrastructure. Thus, with a pull on the lever of policy, the humanitarian theater of refugee resettlement with its victim, the refugee, and its muscular hero, the resettlement worker, (Yoxall, 2018) can be easily recast through policy as security theater complete with foreign-born villains and a new muscular political hero.

Learning who refugee resettlement workers are and what they do helps in a number of ways. It helps us understand the breadth and depth of their jobs. It provides us an understanding of the role of the refugee resettlement worker as vulnerable to additional stress. It shows their predominant method of knowledge transfer may make their organization subject to disruption when downsizing occurs, and it affords us visibility into how a shift in government policy can so easily disrupt the refugee resettlement program, and change it from one of help and hope to one of danger and

unnecessary costs. The next chapter describes how these resettlement workers and their organizations are being impacted by the Trump administration's policies and actions, using the same narrative techniques used in this chapter.

V. THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION'S IMPACT ON REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

The Trump administration's reduced refugee admissions quotas for fiscal years 2017, 2018, and 2019, and the policy actions which resulted in fulfilling only 50% of President Obama's original 2017 quota and the 2018 quota, have placed a great deal of stress on the refugee resettlement infrastructure. The number of admissions has changed considerably over the years, but FY 2018 marked the lowest number of refugee admissions since FY 1977, and the lowest number of refugee admissions since the current program went into effect in 1980 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019a). Despite the stress and uncertainty currently being experienced by the individuals and organizations involved in refugee resettlement, the resettlement system in the United States has undergone similar changes in the past, notably in 2002 and 2003 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019a). How much more impact the Trump administration will have on refugee admissions remains to be seen.

The refugee resettlement system is now being contracted by the Trump administration, (Refugee Processing Center, 2019a). This chapter examines a portion of the system to determine how the administration's policies have affected it.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings of this research as they relate to the three research questions. The first section of this chapter provides the impacts of the Trump administration's policies on refugee resettlement organizations. The second major section discusses the impact of those policies on the workers. As with the previous chapter, the same style of narratives is used to reflect what the workers said about these issues—revealing what they thought and how they felt. A discussion is included in each of

these two major sections. The third major section of this chapter briefly examines the appearance of the three refugee narratives, discussed in the literature review, within the workers' interviews. The fourth major section considers the third research question on the state of the refugee resettlement program.

A detailed list of actions affecting refugees by the Trump administration is available in Appendix A. The list includes one or more first-level effects for each of the administration's actions, effects such as "reduced funding." Those first-level effects then caused a response by either the resettlement organization or by the individual worker.

The impacts of these actions upon resettlement organizations are discussed in the first section because organizational responses to the policies generally came first. For example, if the Trump administration reduced funding, the organizations responded by downsizing their staff—the downsizing subsequently affected the workers. Thus, presenting the organizational impacts first adds further context to the workers' reactions. One action by the administration affected the workers directly—the administration's nativist rhetoric. This rhetoric has envired the immigrant and refugee dialogue and was felt by both organizations and workers.

Impact Upon Refugee Resettlement Organizations

The purpose of this section is to discuss the findings related to the second research question, "What changes do the study's participants report in their refugee resettlement organizations?" In addition to the narratives, organizational impacts were gleaned from the literature. For example, if the workers' narratives indicated the organization was forced to downsize its workforce, I presented both the narratives reflecting the workers' thoughts and the effects of organizational downsizing found in the academic literature.

Analysis of the Trump administration’s actions yielded seven first-level effects, which subsequently resulted in responses by the refugee resettlement agencies. These reactions then rippled through the organizations as second-level and subsequent impacts occurred. Some first-level effects had more impact than others. This conceptual chain of events is illustrated in Figure 5. The first-level effects became the themes and categories of the data analysis, allowing the impacts discovered in the data analysis to be correlated and traced to the administration’s actions. There is not always a one-to-one correspondence between elements on the diagram in Figure 5. Sometimes a first-level organizational reaction or impact does not have a subsequent reaction or impact. Occasionally, multiple first-level policy effects can drive the same first-level

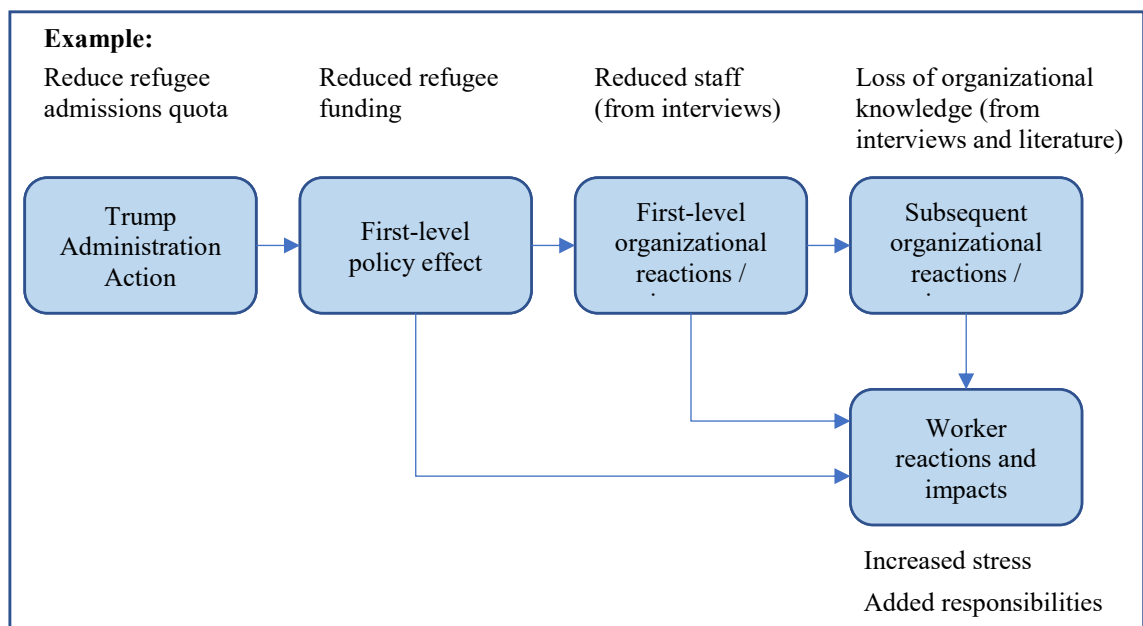


Figure 5. Action-impact chain of events.

organizational reaction or impact. Table 3 shows the first-level effects of the Trump administration’s policies and the reactions by the refugee resettlement agencies or their VOLAGs as reflected in the participants’ narratives or in the literature. Table 3 also

Table 3

First-level Policy Effects and Subsequent Organizational Reactions and Impacts

First-level Policy Effects	First-level Organizational Reactions and Impacts*	Subsequent Organizational Reactions and Impacts
Reduced refugee admissions	Reduced staffing / downsizing	Changed organizational structure
Reduced refugee funding	Reduced interagency conferences and communications	Reduced translation / interpreter resources
	Increased organizational uncertainty and inability to plan	Changed worker roles and increased individual workloads
		Increased need for training and formal procedures
		Reduced efficiency and effectiveness
		Loss of organizational knowledge
		Loss of organizational memory and culture
Created quota gap	Increased organizational uncertainty and inability to plan	Delayed reaction to changes in actual arrivals versus planned quotas
Loss of refugees and funding targeting smaller refugee resettlement offices	Closing of smaller refugee resettlement offices	Resentment towards other agencies getting additional refugees to avoid closure
	Reallocation of arrivals to smaller offices to prevent their closure	
Altered demographics of arrivals	Reduced translation / interpreter resources (also an impact of downsizing)	Increased use of short-term employees or contracted interpreters
Increased administrative uncertainty, reporting requirements, and audits	Increased administrative efforts, reporting, and budget drills	Reduced efficiency and effectiveness
	Increased organizational uncertainty and inability to plan	
Increased anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment	Increased advocacy for the refugee mission	

Note: First-level organizational reactions and impacts do not necessarily have a subsequent organizational reactions and impacts

serves as a guide to, and a summary of, this section, which is organized according to the effects and impacts presented in the table. The first two policy level effects in the table—reduced refugee admissions and reduced refugee funding—are tightly coupled because funding is provided on a per refugee basis. These two first-level effects are therefore presented together.

Reduced Refugee Admissions and Funding

The most impactful first-level effects were the reduction in the number of refugees and the reduction in funding to the resettlement agencies. A portion of the funding for the refugee resettlement organizations comes from the federal government and is provided per refugee arrival. In addition, funding reductions in resettlement monies added to the financial pressure.

Reduced refugee admissions. All seven of the workers commented on the dramatic reduction in clients, as illustrated in this vignette:

The global situation with displaced people and refugees still exists, it's still there. This year I might receive four cases or three cases or two cases a month, whereas two years ago I might receive 10 cases or 15 cases a month. They hired us to help the refugees and to work with the refugees. Then they cut refugee admissions by more than half—there are too many bans. Two years ago, this lobby was full of people. We had no space, people were sitting, people were standing, their children were everywhere. We put some people into the conference room and the kitchen. Now as you can see, you go to the lobby, and it's empty. We feel like we got hit. Where are they? Where are our clients? Now when I see one client, I get excited. At least someone is here. The only time I

want to see fewer refugees here is when the world has run out of refugees because there are no more wars. That would make me happy.

Before the fiscal year 2019 presidential determination was announced, some of the workers expressed optimism regarding the as-yet unannounced admissions quota:

Maybe the president's going to make some changes or he will change the way he thinks. I have that feeling, maybe he will do something different for the new fiscal year for our refugees. Maybe he will increase refugee admissions, maybe he will say, "Okay, let them come in."

As it turned out, even this small amount of hope was ill-founded.

Reduced refugee funding. One of the managers explained the connection of funding to the number of new refugee arrivals. Each new arrival provided \$1,000 to the agency with an additional \$1,125 to be spent on the client. The manager also expressed frustration with the organization's decreased ability to help their clients with lower funding and a smaller staff:

...when President Trump came, the refugee ban rule affected the United States Refugee Resettlement Program because they cut the newcomers. So, when you don't receive as many clients, you won't receive as much money from the government because our grant is with the federal government. The federal government and the PRM... for every refugee they send to any agency in the United States, they pull like \$1,125 for a client and \$1,000 for the admin part. They're expecting the best type of the service we can provide. Then they're giving us \$1,000 for each client and they expect us to trim our employees and go with fewer employees. How are we going to deliver this service to our clients?"

Reduced staffing / downsizing. A reduction in clients and funding caused a reduction in the resettlement organizations' staffs. The resettlement organizations could neither afford the staff nor did they need them with fewer new clients to process. Some of the workers experienced the effects differently than others as they discussed the staff reductions:

Our staff continues to shrink. There were a lot of layoffs. The first round of layoffs started when Texas changed their laws. ... now we're less than half of what we used to be. I watched it, how it spiraled down. At first, they were trying not to lay off people, but now everybody's got to tighten their belt and water down their milk to make the money stretch. You've got to imagine all the work we do—getting the children registered for school, making sure that we get everybody to their refugee health checkups, getting all the social security cards, just everything that's entailed with new arrivals. Now, we're down to three caseworkers. It's crazy. It's really taxing. But at the same time, what we're hoping is that with a smaller crew that maybe they can bring up our wages a bit.

Changed organizational structure. The staff reductions had a large number of additional effects on the organizations, some identified by the workers and some identified in literature. One direct result of the downsizing was changed organizational structures. This included consolidating roles, reducing the number of supervisory personnel, and making the organization smaller and flatter:

Now that there are fewer of us, and we all sit together, there's a lot more communication that's horizontal or at least within our office. It's been a long time coming. It used to not be that way, it used to be more just linear you know, up

and down; or mostly just down, down arrow. One of the manager's resigned because she's moving, so they're not replacing her. They're not going to open her position up, because I would have applied for that position. They consolidated her people under the remaining manager. I don't know if she can really handle that whole other additional program.

Changes in structure are not limited to the organizational chart. There are also structural changes to the decision-making processes and shifts in how organizational priorities are set. Downsizing “consolidates decision-making at higher levels of organizational hierarchy, and often produces a crisis mentality focused on immediate needs at the expense of long-term planning” as well as a possible loss of innovation and decreased tolerance for risk, among others (Hansson, 2015, p. 189). My observation was one resettlement organization used the downsizing exercises as a means of weeding the garden, that is, letting some people go who were marginal performers. The organization also retained the more senior, and more experienced, employees.

Reduced translation / interpreter resources. The reduction of staff drove other impacts within the organization. Resettlement workers are usually multi-lingual—in our small sample, six of the seven workers spoke two or more languages. A reduction in workers reduced the number of languages the organization could effectively handle without using outside translators or volunteers. Services provided to refugees on occasion had to be coordinated with someone other than the refugee's caseworker if translation issues existed between the caseworker and the refugee. The resettlement organization had to try to optimize the mix of languages among the remaining staff to avoid translation problems or the expenditure of funds for external translation services.

For example, a caseworker who had been downsized was brought back temporarily to handle new refugee cases because the remaining caseworkers could not speak the refugees' language. A manager explained:

If the client and the caseworker don't speak the same language, it's difficult for the client to tell you what he needs or what's going on. You need to find someone to translate. It's going to be hard on the client, but we always encourage the client to learn English as soon as possible so we can communicate with each other. We started receiving [country] refugees, and I had no one who could speak their language. So, I had to bring a caseworker back who spoke their language in order to be able to manage those clients. Otherwise who is going to communicate with them?

Changed worker roles and increased individual workloads. The downsizing and the shifts in organizational responsibilities required the tasks performed by the resettlement organizations to be reallocated among the existing workers. Many of the participants felt the effects of their changing roles and a perceived increase in their workloads:

We have, like, to do everything. I had someone for housing, someone for just doing pre-arrival, someone just doing post-arrival, someone just doing interning, someone just being the manager. Now I have two people doing everything. The fact is one employee may be doing the job of four or five employees.

Because of the recent situation, I find myself doing everything. I do employment, I do casework, I take people to medical appointments, I take people to DPS (Department of Public Safety) to get their driver's licenses. They tell me, "Do

everything!” There are ten jobs to do and I am one person. Even if no one asks me to do something, I will do it. Since I’m working here, why am I not doing it? We have a lot of people pulling double or triple duties, like myself.

It was not clear how the managers reallocated the work; however, the last narrative indicated this worker was able to see tasks that were left undone and took the initiative to do them. This may indicate job/role realignment in their organization was incomplete or was done informally. This impact also affected the workers and is discussed further in the section titled, “Impact Upon Refugee Resettlement Workers.”

Increased need for training and formal procedures. The potential for skill gaps increased as the organization downsized further. Training and continuity became more important as a means to ensure the required tasks, set out in the VOLAG’s contracts, were properly executed. The number of tasks required by the government’s contract to be performed by the resettlement organizations did not change, but with fewer employees and an evolving organizational structure, the skill sets of the remaining employees had to be broadened. Most of the workers interviewed had held several positions within their resettlement organization in the past, and this was perhaps an important reason for retaining them. The ability of an employee to perform multiple roles became more essential as the organization downsized.

Because workers were performing new tasks and roles due to the downsizing, the need for training on those tasks and roles increased:

...what they (the VOLAG and government) want, what information they need or how they want the information presented, has changed more this year, than it has ever beforehand. It created a challenge because it means that we have to do extra

work to recreate our documents. Then we have to train our employees on how to use these documents, to maintain these documents. There's still a lot of refugees that need assistance and there's a lot of good caseworkers, they just don't have good training. If we had better training, I think things would go a lot smoother—I don't know. I had to train someone recently, and I told him it's the blind leading the blind because I didn't receive proper training to do that job.

Even though organizational procedures were available, one worker asked another worker to train him in a new responsibility. The habit of turning to another coworker as a primary means of knowledge conveyance created a situation during downsizing where knowledge was potentially lost. The worker that did the training was uncomfortable with his level of understanding of a particular task (*the blind leading the blind*), but in order to help out, he passed along his understandings to a coworker.

Reduced efficiency and effectiveness. Observations documented in the field notes showed a number of indicators of lower organizational efficiency and effectiveness. These observations included marginal management of some events and training sessions and confusion during a refugee case arrival at the airport, indicating a lack of familiarity with the tasks or possibly demotivation of the workers. Survivors of downsizing can display “dysfunctional work behaviors and attitudes” including loss of motivation, decreased morale, less job satisfaction, lower commitment, increased resistance to change, and increased conflict (Hansson, 2015, p. 192). In this case, the downsizing was driven by external forces and not by the worker’s individual performance; thus, increases or decreases in employee efficiencies seemed to have little to do with consequences, effectively decoupling job performance and organizational well-being. The changes in

roles and in individual workloads experienced by some workers, the introduction of systemic uncertainty by the Trump administration, and the demotivation of workers as a result of downsizing all contributed to a loss of organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

Loss of organizational knowledge. Downsizing events can cause “uncontrolled knowledge leakages” and all the effects of lost organizational knowledge (Petkovic & Miric, 2009, p. 258). The reliance of the resettlement workers on each other for the performance of unfamiliar tasks indicates much of the knowledge within the organization resided in the workers’ brains, or at least, was perceived by the workers as not being available elsewhere. Thus, when someone was downsized, their organizational knowledge went with them. Schmitt, Borzillo, and Probst (2011) confirmed this phenomenon: “...many employee downsizing efforts fail to retain critical skills, capabilities, experience and knowledge. Deteriorating levels of quality, productivity and effectiveness are the result” (p. 54). Because organizational knowledge includes social and relational capital as a result of interactions and collaborations across the organization (Schmitt et al., 2011), some knowledge loss during downsizing is inevitable regardless of any knowledge management efforts used to mitigate it.

Loss of organizational memory and culture. In addition to the loss of organizational knowledge, the potential exists for the loss of organizational memory and culture. This is not so much the loss of specific knowledge regarding tasks or job roles, but the loss of institutional memory, thus depleting “the supply of mentors and coaches, who provide both career advice as well as promote a common perspective on organizational problems” (Rusaw, 2004, p. 482). This can also mean the loss of

organizational stories such as the refugee family who did their laundry in the apartment's swimming pool because they knew no other way to do it. This way of viewing an organization is called the symbolic frame, and it provides symbols, myths, visions and values in the form of stories and theater to transmit what an organization is all about, what their values are, and what the future looks like among many other things (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Downsizing and its resulting organizational stresses can cause the loss of a sense of what the organization represents and can impede its ability to recover from a crisis.

Positive aspects of downsizing. However, the effects of downsizing were not all negative. One supervisor noted with regard to improved communications:

Everybody knows what's going on which is really, really beneficial. There has been a lot, even within these downsizes, there's been a lot of changes that been positive so we can just better serve our clients and make it work. Actually, I say I wouldn't necessarily say easier but maybe more improved for ourselves.

The same manager also noted the written procedures improved over the last year or two, correlating roughly to the downsizing of the organization. He said, "...other things that we did over the last year and a half or two years was write these guides to where everybody could find them and do them. That way, if somebody is not there, they can refer to the booklet." In addition, there was an increase in organizational advocacy for refugees. This included increased media attention, particularly related to the events at the U.S. southern border, which was largely sympathetic.

Reduced interagency conferences and communications. In addition to staff reductions, workers commented on the reduction in face-to-face conferences and workshops, used in the past to improve the organization's processes:

I learned customer service through the online studies and through the seminars that I attend because I like to develop and improve myself—but for the others I have no idea, and sometimes when I tell them that we need do this and that and this, we don't have enough workshops. We don't have them because of the short budget, they are no longer sending us to workshops in the other states in order to share and in order to get information from the other agencies. Because if you get an idea, or if you get something from the other agencies about how the resettlement program is working there, we will have a lot of information to share.

At a time when additional communications with other agencies or experts might have been beneficial, the resources needed to conduct face-to-face get-togethers was reduced. However, planning meetings still took place. One such meeting took place on August 28, 2018, in Austin, TX. The meeting was sponsored by the Refugee Council USA as a statewide advocacy resettlement gathering. Many of the participants used software to attend the meeting virtually (personal communications, August 16, 2018; researcher's journal entry, August 31, 2018).

Increased organizational uncertainty and inability to plan. This impact is a result of multiple first-level effects. It is explained in the next section, "Creation of a Quota Gap."

Creation of a Quota Gap

The Trump administration, as discussed in the literature review and as noted in Appendix A, accepted approximately 50% of the refugee admission quotas for fiscal years 2017 and 2018. While the original fiscal year 2017 presidential determination was

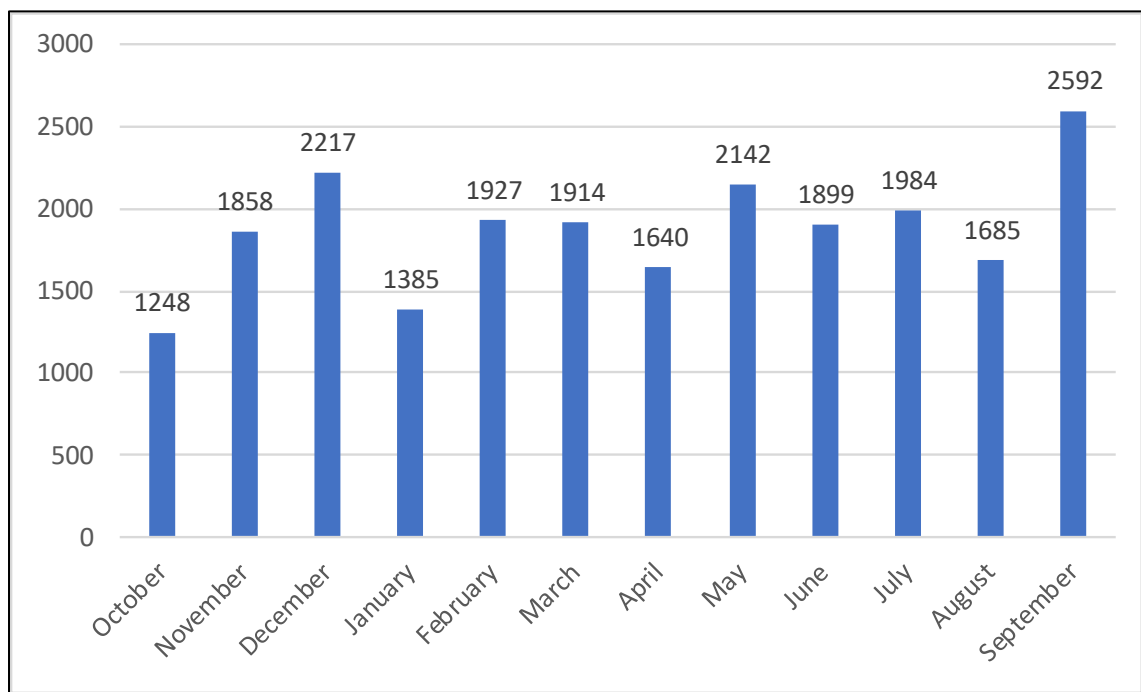


Figure 6. U.S. refugee admissions by month for fiscal year 2018. Data publicly available from the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, Office of Admissions - Refugee Processing Center (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b).

set by President Obama and later modified by President Trump via executive order, in fiscal year 2018 the Trump administration set the refugee admissions quota and then implemented policies resulting in a decrease of refugee arrivals to slightly less than 50% of the quota. Figure 6 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b) shows the refugee admissions by month for fiscal year 2018. Note the ramp-up for the first three months. The 50% quota miss in fiscal year 2018 is not the first time refugee admissions lagged significantly

(Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2015) behind a presidential determination, and while likely unintentional, the impact was still felt by the resettlement organizations.

Increased organizational uncertainty and inability to plan. This impact showed up multiple times in workers' narratives and reflected the difficulty the organization had in planning:

It's not a good climate. [laughs] It's cloudy it's not clear. It's cloudy and you don't know, there is no certainty in it. You don't know what will happen to our pipeline. I don't know what to propose for our program for the next fiscal year—I'm the one doing the proposal for how many clients in a year we can accept. We don't know what's going to happen. I wonder sometimes if whether or not we'll be around in five years. As long as we have this administration, it could get to a point where there will be no refugee resettlement agencies. If the situation stays the same, we may close.

Delayed reaction to changes in actual arrivals. When faced with a high level of organizational decline and a low level of environmental decline, organizations tend to consolidate structural processes. Vertical differentiation and layers of authority are eliminated (DeWitt, 1993). When one of the managers was asked to draw the organizational structure of his agency, the resulting diagram showed an overly-vertical structure despite their downsizing. The overly-vertical organizational configuration is indicative of an agency in the midst of change but behind in adjusting its structure to reflect the new reality. It also suggested the changes were reactive and not planned. The lack of organizational planning may have been a result of the significant undershooting of

the refugee admission quotas by the administration, and the initial ramp-up noted in Figure 6 for the first three months of the fiscal year.

The presidential determination is used by the VOLAGs and their affiliates for resettlement decisions, budgeting, and staffing projections for the upcoming fiscal year. Thus, even a dramatic change in the quota for the following fiscal year allows some planning and adjustment by refugee resettlement organizations early in the FY. While it is unlikely the illusion the three-month ramp-up presented was deliberate, a program ramping-up to hit its goal, the refugee resettlement organizations probably interpreted it that way. It was not until January or February when the organizations experiencing the ramp-up would have had enough data to determine the quotas would, in fact, be missed by a large margin. One manager expressed her frustration with trying to plan for arrivals in 2018:

*The government has less staff, like us—with less staff their work becomes slower. But why did they sign up for a refugee admissions quota they couldn't meet? What are they saying? That's how government works? Why they are not meeting the goals we agreed to? We had [number] of clients projected for our pipeline, for our own agency. This is what **I** signed for, the new arrivals we were **supposed** to resettle. How many did we get? [Number!] So far, we have we have received [number that = 56% of goal] people. That's nothing! That's almost [number] fewer than we expected. How many more we will get? Maybe 10 more clients? Maybe 100 more clients? We won't know until we're done.*

This unpredictability, the illusion of an initial ramp-up for some agencies, and the ultimate shorting of the quota by a significant margin means at least some of the refugee

resettlement organizations were probably overstaffed at the beginning of the fiscal year and remained that way for four or five months.

This situation would have resulted in staffing expenditures early in the fiscal year by the resettlement organizations that would likely not have been made had the quota been better aligned with the actual numbers of admissions. The quota-admissions mismatch created uncertainty within the system for several months for fiscal year 2018, until it became obvious the Trump administration would admit far fewer refugees than the presidential determination implied. Even then, a sudden influx of refugees at the end of a fiscal year, a situation that did not occur but could have (even though more refugees were admitted during the last month of the 2018 fiscal year than in any other month), would have overtaxed a resettlement organization downsized as a result of continued lower admissions. Thus, the resettlement organizations were put into a precarious position: downsize too much and a sudden surge of admissions would make it difficult to execute their mission, while retaining unnecessary staff for a potential surge situation would be overly costly. Any hesitation to reorganize sooner may explain the apparent lack of planning by one resettlement organization as evidenced by its overly-vertical organizational structure after downsizing.

Targeting Smaller Refugee Resettlement Offices

According to Darrow (2015), there were 350 refugee resettlement organizations associated with the VOLAGs in 2015. On December 1, 2017, the U.S. State Department informed refugee resettlement agencies that “offices expected to handle fewer than 100 refugees in fiscal year 2018 will no longer be authorized to resettle new arrivals” (Torbat & Rosenberg, 2017, para. 5). This change in policy, still in effect, along with the

FY 2019 presidential determination of 30,000 refugees (Trump, 2018) will mathematically reduce the maximum number of resettlement organizations capable of resettling new arrivals to no more than 300 offices.

Closing of smaller refugee resettlement offices. While the FY 2018 quota of 45,000 refugees could theoretically allow all 350 organizations to resettle new arrivals (even though in actuality some were closed), the FY 2019 quota does not. Since some VOLAG affiliates handle more than 100 new refugees due to the size of the areas they serve, the practical maximum number of VOLAG affiliates will likely fall to between 250 and 300, a forced reduction of perhaps 29%. If the actual number of refugees admitted for FY 2019 follows the pattern of the previous two fiscal years, the number of surviving refugee resettlement organizations could be even fewer.

It is difficult to determine the number of VOLAG affiliates already closed. Adams (2018) reported Church World Service closed 10 offices, and the International Rescue Committee closed three. He also reported Florida had 12 of its 25 offices closed. Alvarez (2018) reported the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops has closed eight offices with another 14 to be closed at the end of 2018. She also reported World Relief closed seven offices. One person commented on this in the interviews:

We've already reached our goal (100+ refugees) this year. But there are a lot of like smaller offices in other states that are closing. It's usually states like Kansas or North Carolina or some of the smaller states. We might even see smaller offices in Texas close, like the Abilene office close or somewhere out there, maybe the Midland-Odessa office might close...

In addition to VOLAG affiliates, Alvarez (2018) reported one VOLAG will be eliminated from the State Department's contracts: "The [State] Department also warned that it expects to eliminate one or more agencies (VOLAGs) from the refugee-resettlement process in fiscal year 2019, effectively slimming down the resettlement operation—and reducing its ability to quickly staff back up, should a future administration expand the nation's refugee ceiling" (Alvarez, 2018, para. 14). Closing small VOLAG affiliates, and potentially eliminating a VOLAG, will significantly decrease the resettlement of refugees in many locations. One worker said she had heard the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops may be the VOLAG removed:

I heard from a very strong source that the president of the United States—who does not like the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops because they are helping illegal immigrants—wants to reduce as much as he can of USCCB's portion of the refugee program.

Reallocation of arrivals and resentment. The resettlement organizations coordinated among themselves to maintain geographic coverage (Torbaty & Rosenberg, 2017) and to help smaller offices stay open. The balancing of refugees among the different agencies and offices caused additional concerns within one resettlement organization who lost reallocated refugee clients to a smaller organization, and some resentment surfaced:

We've had conversations with caseworkers, and they're mad, saying, "I can't believe they've (referring to another resettlement agency) got some of our slots." "The support I see from this organization for our refugees is not comparable to what the other agency... it is not even comparable! They cannot even compete.

They do nothing about their complaints. I know of a child who lost his finger because they did nothing. We go deep and look for what is going on and what is not going on. I can tell you, you cannot compare the service we are providing for our clients to any other team...

This expression of frustration seemed atypical and was an indicator of the stress some workers were feeling.

Altered Demographics of Arrivals

The president's executive orders, the termination of the Central American Minors program, and the termination of funding for the Lautenberg Amendment have changed the mix of refugee arrivals. While the Lautenberg Amendment technically created parolees and not refugees, resettlement agencies were still involved. The now-terminated Central American Minors Program had both parolees and refugees—both parts of the program were terminated. Several of the workers noticed the changes in the demographics of the new arrivals:

So far, I've seen a lot of the—a lot more Africans coming. I'm not sure if you're talking about just people, numbers or ethnicities, because when I first started working here, there were a lot of Iraqis, Iranians, and Burmese. Now it seems like, and I don't know the exact numbers but I'm just throwing this out -- they're like, it seems like it's 70% Africans. Even though there is no ban for Iraqis, they are not letting them in. They are not on the list, but no Iraqis come in. Of course, they banned the Iranian refugees. I haven't seen a Syrian refugee this year either.

As noted previously, the change in demographics exacerbated the problem with reduced translator resources, and in one case, required the organization to re-hire a downsized employee temporarily. Another instance is illustrated from the researcher's journal:

(Altered to protect organization and worker identities) *A pre-school event was conducted today. It consisted of vaccines, school supplies (including new clothes), and a school orientation briefing with translators, many of them contracted. There were too many translators in some languages and no Arabic translators. One worker, who had not planned to be at the event but showed up anyway, spoke Arabic and stood in.*

Increased Administrative Uncertainty, Reporting Requirements, and Audits

Both the supervisors and the workers noted documentation and reporting requirements, audits, and budget drills had increased in 2018. Increased administrative work, despite the lower number of arrivals, contributed to the organizations' reduced efficiency and effectiveness. It is also worth noting, from one of the agency's perspective, the distribution of funds from the VOLAG had changed (see the second vignette). The number of times this subject came up in the interviews made it stand out:

It's the VOLAG that oversees our agency. They get orders from PRM and the State Department. You need to do this, so then they tell us, "You need to do this." It continuously changes, ever since Trump took office it's changed more. Then sometimes we have to think back, "All right, we implemented this on this day. That means we have to go back to this date and to these clients to update their documents to show this new policy change." It's really tedious for everyone—I think its hardest on the caseworkers. It seems like every other week the VOLAG

would get a directive from the PRM or the State Department, "You've got to do this." It means that we have to add these extra columns. It's always something that seems like, this is either too specific or not specific enough. It's like something so small and minute it doesn't really seem like it matters. But it could be a finding if they were checking their files or something like that. Every time we hear like, "All right we just updated this and we're ready to do this." It's just like, "Here comes another thing," or "PRM wants us to do this," or the VOLAG wants us to do this." This constantly changes all these directives. I don't know, but somehow our workload has increased because it looks like there are more expectations coming from the VOLAG because the federal government is putting more pressure on them for the refugee resettlement program to make sure everything is documented. Every single thing is documented. That's why we have more expectations from them. From now on you have to do it so it's more work for my staff and me.

More work has been created for our position and also more reports... we have more things we have to report monthly compared to two years ago-three years ago—those things didn't exist. It's more work and more expectations but fewer clients, fewer refugees. I have to make sure I do all the budgets and watch the budgets. Then, you have to create the budgets every year. Sometimes, every month I have to revise it, especially this year. Last year it wasn't like that because the VOLAG used to give us all the money at once, at the beginning. This year too, all the audits came at the same time. This has never happened before. The educational assistant never, ever had an audit. If the government finds a problem

with the files then we can get into trouble. If they send an auditor, and if the files are not good, we will have problems.

The type of bureaucracy seen in refugee resettlement is a *machine bureaucracy*, where decisions and policies are most often made at the top, and operations carried out at the lower levels (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Machine bureaucracies tend to create tension between local managers and headquarters, or in this case, between the government agencies overseeing the program, and the resettlement agencies implementing the program. The increased focus on minutiae (*we have to add these extra columns*) from the State Department and the VOLAGs may be an attempt to improve accountability, but it puts resettlement organizations under additional pressure with no impact on the number of refugee arrivals or on the public funds spent.

Increased Anti-immigrant and Anti-refugee Sentiment

The rhetoric from the Trump administration has created, or at least revealed, vocal anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment within the country. The organizational reaction to this, as well as to other actions by the administration, has been increased advocacy for their cause as discussed in these narratives:

I think there's been a lot more advocacy. Some of the issues that we have been afraid to speak of because for fear of being too political has become a way of speaking out not only on behalf of our client, but we also on behalf of our agency, to make sure that there's something here for the client to use. I feel like the agency has definitely gotten behind more of the advocacy when it comes to refugee and immigration policy. There have been a lot more visits to our local politicians on behalf of not only the agency but also on helping intervene on

behalf of our clients. We were talking to our congressional members and our Senators, writing letters, and getting the media involved. Rarely did that happen. I feel like there's been a lot more support on that effort. It was probably when Texas announced its Syrian refugee ban, that was the first time where I ever was asked to go see a politician and talk about this. Even then, it was still the agency, not us. But the agency didn't feel they knew what they were doing. They were still a little scared of that interaction because it was something so different. I think everyone is trying to do advocacy, to give their voice to their congressman. There are a few people in this office taking advocacy for refugees seriously.

Discussion on the Organizational Impacts

As Gilbert (2017) noted, the Trump administration may be causing “lasting and irreversible damage to U.S. referral and resettlement agencies by destroying their bureaucratic memory” (para. 6). With the reduction in the number of VOLAG affiliates due to the lower presidential determination for FY 2019, the restricted funding to only larger agencies, the potential elimination of one of the VOLAGs, and a reduction in size of the organizations remaining, it is fair to say the damage is not just to the agencies, but to the refugee resettlement system as a whole.

Alvarez (2018), a reporter for *The Atlantic*, characterized the system as “collapsing.” She quoted Mary Giovagnoli, the executive director of Refugee Council USA as saying:

Every time an office has to shut its doors, the impact isn’t just about the initial people affected. Once that office has closed, the people with the expertise and the knowledge of working with particular groups have to find other jobs, find other

work, and it's not necessarily going to be in refugee resettlement. We start to lose the skills and capacity. The more you do that, the more you're likely to lose the critical infrastructure. (Alvarez, 2018, para. 15)

One supervisor expressed his concern about the ability of the system to survive and recover:

One of the challenges is it will take several years to undo what's been done as far as immigration policies and refugee policies that have been set by Trump, the administration, or even by certain states. It doesn't take long to enact those administrative things, but sometimes it takes years to undo them...

The only reasonable conclusion one can draw from the actions of the Trump administration, and those in Congress and the statehouses who support those actions, is they are diminishing the refugee resettlement infrastructure in the United States. Playing to the nativist narrative and using the theater of national security, they constructed justifications for these actions. At a time when the number of refugees is at an all-time high globally, and nearly half (45%) of non-Palestinian refugees are from countries where the United States is engaged in combat operations (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2018a), it seems a puzzling choice to turn our backs on some of the world's most vulnerable populations as a matter of national policy.

Impact Upon Refugee Resettlement Workers

The purpose of this section is to discuss the findings related to the first research question, "How do refugee resettlement workers describe the effects of recent refugee policies on their practices and their lives?" Some of the organizational impacts discussed above are carried through as impacts to the workers. For example, the broadening of the

workers' jobs due to downsizing is not only an organizational concern, but an individual issue as well.

Changed Worker Roles and Increased Individual Workloads

This impact was also felt at the organizational level and was discussed from the organization's perspective in the section titled, "Impact Upon Refugee Resettlement Organizations." For the organization, this impact meant reallocating roles and ensuring training or written procedures were in place. For the worker this issue translates to learning new tasks, acquiring new knowledge, and implementing them.

The following narrative reinforces the changes discussed in the organizational impact section regarding changing and expanding job roles:

Those workers are still here, and they're also doing additional caseworker duties, but they are also employment specialists. Their primary responsibility is getting refugees jobs, but they're still doing some of the case management duties because we lost two-thirds of our caseworkers. Because of decreased funding we had to decrease the staff and that's why we are doing everything in one person.

While some procedures were centrally documented, the workers had developed the habit of relying primarily on their co-workers and supervisors for new knowledge. This hand-me-down training approach had its disadvantages, as noted in the short comments below:

We have some training and some procedures here, but most of it is, you're taught by another person, and that person isn't always qualified to train you. Usually, for me, if I don't know how to do something, I have to ask, and I have to ask the right person so he can direct me on what I should do. Sometimes I have to search to find the right person. I asked this caseworker, "Have you ever had this

problem, for example, with food stamps?" If they say, "No," then I ask another and another until they say, "Yes."

The changing workload increased the workers' reliance on their coworkers not only for their knowledge, but to help with the additional workload. Workers did tasks not normally associated with their role, such as a caseworker helping to pick up a donation, or workers taking another worker's client to the doctor as discussed in this narrative:

We rely on other workers sometimes to help each other. For example, if I have client with a doctor's appointment and I'm with somebody else at the doctor, I will call [name] and he will try to find somebody or he will go by himself. It's unpredictable. I often spend time helping other caseworkers. But sometimes getting one of the staff members to help me, it's like pulling teeth. That's very frustrating. Again, that just comes from the fact that that's not their responsibility and we have lost people.

Being trained by someone who may not be properly qualified themselves tends to perpetuate incorrect information and procedures. The long-term effect of this is to negatively impact the client and reduce efficiencies because the tasks were done incorrectly. This impacts the workers because they must adjust their behavior and then correct their work:

Well, I hadn't been doing that for a year because no one told me I had to do it, and everybody knew except me. Then when I found out, I had to go back and fix all the files. I didn't want to tell anybody that I hadn't done it because someone was probably supposed to tell me but didn't, and I didn't want to get anyone in trouble, but a lot of things happen like that where, again, like I said, you ask

different people and you get different answers... a lot of times it's sink or swim.

There was no good training.

These four events: (a) needing to learn a new task or role, (b) learning a new task/role or teaching a new task/role, (c) helping coworkers do their tasks/roles because of downsizing, and (d) re-doing incorrectly learned tasks/roles, all take time away from a worker who was otherwise previously competent to execute their jobs. This leads to two consequences: additional stress for the worker and loss of efficiency for the organization.

Increased Stress, Uncertainty, and Fear

The additional stress and uncertainty of organizational changes such as downsizing, and the general uncertainty within refugee resettlement has led to a number of responses among the workers. There were two categories of responses to the consequences of the administration's policies and actions regarding refugees: (a) general responses by the participants, and (b) reactions more specific to foreign-born resettlement workers.

General responses by the participants. The following reactions were articulated by two or more of the participants.

Frustration. The frustration felt by many workers is summed up below:

At the same time, the idea that just helping humans is now subversive is confusing and dumbfounding to even where a lot of the members of the mainstream religions that used to be very supportive of these causes are no longer supportive of these causes. It's now subversive to help people. It's now subversive to feed people. It's now subversive to support education or anything that involves people is now subversive. I think that happens with immigration and I think that happens

with refugee resettlement. What's weird is, it went from something like, "Oh, I'm doing good work and it's accepted too," to now, I feel like I'm doing something subversive. All it is, is helping people. It's just helping people...

Increased stress. The pressures of the changing work environment and the possibility of losing one's position caused additional stress on workers who already perform a very stressful job. This person was concerned about the future:

I've worked in refugee resettlement since 2008. It's never been as stressful as it has been since last year. I can tell you, every minute I feel like, "Okay, something is going to happen. What if they let me go? What if they let this person go? What if?" You never know what will happen and that affects our personal life, our emotions, our... I cannot sleep at night. To be honest, we all are being so stressed out. The stress is real.

Lazarus stated "Stress comes from any situation or circumstance that requires behavioral adjustment. Any change, either good or bad, is stressful, and whether it's a positive or negative change, the physiological response is the same" (as cited in Colligan & Higgins, 2006, p. 91). Workplace stress is defined as a "change in one's physical or mental state in response to workplaces that pose an appraised challenge or threat to that employee" (Colligan & Higgins, 2006, p. 89). Workplace stress can be caused by a number of factors, including lack of job security, poor work organization, deficient management style, and other related psychosocial elements in the environment (Gembalska-Kwiencień & Milewska, 2018). Workplace stress is associated with reduced productivity, reduced motivation, and a greater occurrence of mistakes and accidents (Gembalska-Kwiencień & Milewska, 2018, p. 463) "Employees experiencing chronic work stress have been shown

to develop unstable blood pressure, increased cholesterol levels, muscle tension, diabetes, hypertension, ulcers, headaches, substance abuse, and clinical depression” (Colligan & Higgins, 2006, p. 93) among other things. Many of the other worker impacts shown in this section can contribute to the level of stress felt by the workers.

Fear of losing their job. All the participants expressed concerns about losing their job:

It's like holding our breath. It's what we're doing, literally. It's like the underwater scenes in the movies, you're in a theater and you hold your breath. That's what it feels like right now. It's like you are not stable in the work. You can go any time, that's it. Once in a while, I clean my drawers out to be ready to be sent home and I understand that. If we don't have enough arrivals coming, we don't know if we have a job here or not. There is always fear.

Maybe myself, I'm different because I have a very good experience and I can find a new job easily. But for the ones who are doing this job as a living, it will be very hard for them to find a new job. We have a lot of coworkers who've been laid off and as of today, they haven't found a job yet. It's rough, because here they have a policy, they come to you and they say, "I'm sorry, this is your last day..."

Fear of losing one's job adds to the stress of the workers, so much so that some of them have decided to get a second job.

Working additional jobs. Some of the resettlement workers are working in additional jobs outside the resettlement organization as a hedge against being let go. The

workers do not receive unemployment if they are fired because the job is funded under a federal grant. Here is what one of the managers said:

Of course, I'm worried. How much money we will get? Do we get enough grant money? Can we survive? Everybody has that fear and that worry. What would happen? We didn't have that issue before. Everybody—I know some people started working in two, three jobs, because they didn't feel secure if they let them go. They better find another job so they will be ready to go. That isn't right and I don't like it. I'm telling you the truth. I don't like it this way. I do not believe people should have to work in two, three jobs, because that affects every job. They don't do a good job...they cannot bring the good quality of work.

This is a proactive response to the possibility of being fired from the resettlement agency. The physical stress of working additional jobs helps to counter the psychological stress of worrying about the consequences of losing their primary form of income.

Sadness at losing coworkers. Some workers expressed sadness at losing coworkers:

I like all the people here. I wish they could bring back my coworkers that left. We are like a family. See, she's (another resettlement worker) cooking for us today (to celebrate a staff member's birthday.) Yes, so we care about each other. We like each other. Yes, what I would say is, it's really hard on everybody because the way everybody works together, it is like a family, and when we had those layoffs it was really, really hard, and there's so many things to think about.

Sadness, along with depression and guilt, are a normal reaction to downsizing as experienced by survivors of any disaster (Stoner & Hartman, 1997).

Feelings of helplessness. Unlike a job in a company where one's effort can positively affect the company's financial outlook, refugee resettlement depends upon the current administration's politics to survive. Thus, the workers' efforts have less connection to whether or not their job will continue. The workers expressed their feelings of helplessness:

*Everybody knows that any time they can reduce the staff anyway, and we don't know who. Maybe we will lose some people from management or some people who are regular workers, which is not good. But that's something we have to... it's so bad but we really have to really respect it. **We cannot do anything.** I don't want to say it's getting worse, but I hope maybe something will happen and they will realize they're treating refugees the wrong way. I'm still saying they (the administration) should give more power and support to agencies helping refugees to get better and to hire good people. That's all.*

The fear is really affecting people. We're not feeling the stability. How are we going to be able to take care of ourselves if there's another round of layoffs? Yes, we're directly impacted. There's nothing there.

Feelings of helplessness are typical of the *walking wounded* reaction to downsizing, where responses include anxiety, reduced concentration, a sense of being out of control, and helplessness (Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998, p. 570). The fact that the agency's future is at the mercy of the Trump administration (rather than resting with the performance of the remaining workers), the "walking wounded" response is likely more widespread in refugee resettlement organizations than other, more hopeful, responses from the survivors. The fact the walking wounded response is considered "fearful" (Mishra &

Spreitzer, 1998) means the downsizing is already adding to the other fears expressed by the workers.

Uncertainty about the future. Uncertainty about the future and the future of refugee resettlement was a concern widely expressed.

There is a fear for every employee, even myself, I don't know what would happen tomorrow. That's all I can tell. It will hit us again and we all are under risk. We don't know what will happen. I'm hoping we go back to normal and we have more newcomers coming in the future. I don't know, I really don't know, it depends to the government, it depends on the president's decision, their administration how they're going to handle the refugees in the next five years. I don't know about the future from the darkness.

This, too, is a fearful response and adds to the existing fear of the workers.

Changes in personal plans. Some workers changed their personal plans to save more money in the event they lost their jobs:

This affects our budget for the next year. We had to do our budgeting and start saving our money. We have to save some money in case I lose my job—I don't have unemployment because it's a charity. I worry about everyone on the staff, especially the single people. We talk among ourselves and we know things aren't good and everyone says, "Well, we need to stop spending, stop spending money, stop going on trips, stop doing anything." I'm not going to go on a trip, we need to put money on the side in case something happens. Thank God my husband is working.

Changing personal plans to save money in the event of a layoff or getting fired shows the resettlement workers understand the probability of being let-go is a real one. This is one of the proactive steps some of the workers have taken to attempt to blunt the impact of losing their jobs.

Concerns about the refugees. While this research is not focused on the impact of the Trump administration's policies on refugees, a number of concerns about the refugees emerged from the interviews. Those concerns included fear of deportation, bureaucratic harassment (such as additional security interviews), increased financial hardships, increased distrust, inability to properly assimilate the refugees, loss of hope, rumors and misinformation spreading through immigrant communities in the United States and in refugee camps, reduced health care upon arrival, inability to flee violence and danger, death, lower levels of assistance, othering and isolation, family separation, and fear.

One instance in particular was described by one of the participants as an example of the treatment of vulnerable religious parolees under the Lautenberg Amendment, which was defunded by the Trump administration. This law considers certain religious minorities (including Christians and Jews) from Iran and the former Soviet Union as parolees, who are granted temporary humanitarian status in the United States. They are processed through the State Department's Resettlement Support Center in Vienna, Austria. The parolees who are preapproved for admittance to the United States go to Vienna and are required to deposit sufficient funds into an escrow account to cover their expenses while in Austria awaiting final U.S. government approval to travel to the United States (General Accounting Office, 1990). The result of the Trump administration's refugee freeze impacted 100 Iranian parolees waiting in Vienna who

were already approved for entry into the United States, but had not yet left (U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2018). The situation was described by one of the participants:

We had over [number] of the 100 that were stuck in Vienna, which is where our resettlement support center was. We had over [number] that were supposed to come to our resettlement agency. Their wait was usually what would be anywhere from three weeks to four months and it was taking, oh, five months, six months, eight months, a year, year and a half. All of a sudden, all the funds that they had for their rent dried up, they're living hand to mouth, they're not allowed to work because they're not considered Austrian citizens. It got to the point where the Austrian government was going to deport these people back to Iran or they would have to sign to get resettled in Austria because our State Department had denied their visas, their travel documents for no reason whatsoever.

Other participants commented on their concerns about their clients. Some of those concerns are listed below:

Some of the clients they're afraid to just go to a different city, or different states, because they're afraid that somebody might stop them, and they won't know what to do, and they might get sent back.

A while back about three months ago or so, some members of the [country] community received a letter from the USCIS saying that they had to go in for an interview to answer some questions that were asked five years ago, four years ago when they were in the camp, because they need to make sure that everything matched up. That has never happened before. Some of the people that got the

*letter were already American citizens. (Note: The Trump administration has increased the denaturalization of immigrant citizens—see *Fear of deportation* below.)*

For the refugees, yes, because we have a lot of people who left the country and they've been giving them a case number. They then went through the first interview and thinking that it is just a matter of time and then they will come over here, they will bring them here. Those people, they sell everything. They sell their houses.

They left everything and they are packing everything, thinking that at any time, they will tell them to just bring your luggage and go to the airport. I have a friend of mine, her brother, he went back to [native country] because he went through a lot of psychological issues. Once he made it back to [native country], he was killed because everybody knows he will go to the United States as a refugee. They found out.

Reactions by foreign-born participants. Five of the seven participants in this research were foreign-born resettlement workers. While all are citizens, a number of reactions emerged unique to these workers. The reactions were primarily a result of the anti-immigrant rhetoric of the administration and nativist responses to this rhetoric. A number of workers expressed fear and anger about the anti-immigrant rhetoric present in the current political dialogue. These feelings manifested themselves a number of ways, including fear for their safety, fear of deportation (despite them being U.S. citizens) and othering.

Fear for personal safety. Some participants expressed fear for their safety or for the safety of their families. Advice one foreign-born worker gave to her daughter who was born in the United States:

I told her, “Don't speak politics. Please go to school, finish your school and be something. We don't know. We are here just to live a good life. We don't have anything to do with politics. They want to bring refugees, okay. They don't want to bring refugees, that's okay. Just watch yourself but don't talk about anything. You're an American citizen, but do they want to take that away from you?” I think there is fear. See how the thinking of people changed because they felt that they are not safe?

This fear is justified—right-wing violence is up, and in 2017 there were nearly four times as many incidents of right-wing violence as left-wing violence (Lowery, Kindy, & Tran, 2018). As noted in the narrative, her fear extended to her children.

Fear of deportation. Here is a story about two foreign-born female resettlement workers that went to an Immigrations and Customs Enforcement facility to help a refugee's lawyer:

One of the legal charities that helps refugees needed somebody who spoke Arabic, because there was nobody in their agency that could speak to one of the refugees that was detained by ICE. Two of us went to the ICE facility and we tried to find the lawyer, but once we were there then somebody told us, they said, “No, there is no one here to speak with her.” We were so scared, very scared. Both of us are citizens but we were very scared to go. Why? Because we're scared that they were going to ask us something, they would make something up—like we were

going to be deported or detained maybe for anything. We never know, maybe the police will give us for a ticket or something, and then anything can happen in the courts. There is no white and black they can put something on you and they kick you out.

Their fear of being denaturalized and deported is a real one. The U.S. government stripped 25 naturalized citizens of their citizenship in 2017 up from an average of 11 per year from 1990 to 2016 (Mazzei, 2018). According to the New York Times Magazine, the Trump administration is going after naturalized citizens who defrauded the government, among other justifications, calling it a “gathering storm for immigration policy in the Trump era” (Wessler, 2018, para. 8).

Othering. An impact of the anti-immigrant rhetoric on one of the foreign-born workers was to make her feel she did not belong in the United States:

Because the people who are here, they are going to feel they're not welcome. When you are not welcome, it's like you don't care. You don't like to have people like that. You want to have people who care because you feel welcome. ... you don't want to feel different than other people. You want to do everything like them, but if you feel you are minimized you won't like it. You don't want to contribute.

Othering is a discursive phenomenon; we define ourselves and we define ourselves in relationship to others. When we identify someone else, we give them a name, place, or experience; by giving them a name, we must determine if we are for or against the Other, and discrimination begins (Khrebtan-Hörhager & Avant-Mier, 2017). The hateful political dialogue we see today reveals unresolved tensions between nativists and Others

(Khrebtan-Hörhager & Avant-Mier, 2017). As the narrative says, no one wants to feel as if they are different and if someone is made to feel different, they do not want to contribute, the beginning of the damage discrimination creates.

Discussion on the Worker Impacts

This stress on the refugee resettlement system, and the administration's continued anti-immigrant rhetoric has affected refugee resettlement workers in profound ways. The remaining workers must take on additional responsibilities, learn new skills, and work longer hours while enduring the additional pressures of maintaining appropriate service levels to their clients. The services provided by these workers can deeply affect other human beings who are at their most vulnerable. It should be noted, refugees generally take several years to assimilate and become productive citizens, and the resettlement organizations serve those clients as well. The downsizing not only affects new arrivals but can impact those refugees already here from previous years. A parallel example might be reducing the staff of a nursing home because the number of new patients being admitted is down, but the staff is still expected to provide the same level of care to the patients who have already been admitted. In addition, the remaining workers have expressed concerns their work, once believed to be valued by society, is now "subversive" as indicated by one worker. Remaining workers also verbalized reactions typical to workers in other organizations where downsizing occurred—fear of job loss, uncertainty about the future, and missing former colleagues. Some of the workers had taken on outside employment as a bulwark against being fired, while others canceled plans such as family vacations in order to save money to survive until they could find

another job. The additional impact on foreign-born workers who were hired for their language skills and were often former refugees, was more concerning.

Despite being U.S. citizens, some of the foreign-born workers expressed fear of being subjected to violence and being harassed for their appearance and their political viewpoints. One foreign-born worker who was not a former refugee considered returning to her home country. Another took time to explain why returning to her home country would be difficult, but clearly, she had considered it. Their fear extended to loss of their U.S. citizenship and forced deportation, something the Trump administration has shown an increased inclination to do.

These impacts on the workers threatens to harm their identities. Workers who once saw their relatively low pay, long working hours, and efforts in helping others as part of doing good in society now worry about being seen as subversive. Foreign-born workers who once saw themselves as proud U.S. citizens have begun to fear their own government, a government that might send them back to a place where they once fled from violence. One foreign-born worker noted the identity issue affected not only her but her children, “Because even our kids sometimes when they keep hearing these things, they start having identity problems. They were born here...”

Mishra and Spreitzer (1998) identify four worker reactions to downsizing as well as the roles of trust, empowerment, justice, and work redesign as elements affecting the attitudes and productivity of downsizing survivors. The four responses are obliging, hopeful, fearful, and cynical. The fearful response, also characterized as “walking wounded” (Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998, p. 569) seemed more prevalent than the others among the participants. This response is characterized by worry, fear, anxiety,

helplessness, withdrawing, and procrastinating; the large percentage of foreign-born participants may have an exacerbated fear response since they were also reacting to the administration's anti-immigrant rhetoric. One manager exhibited some of the cynical response (anger, disgust, moral outrage) but certainly did not follow the negative behavior outlined by Mishra and Spreitzer (1998). A cynical responder tends to be critical of the organization's downsizing process and motives, but in this case, the organizational downsizing was in clear response to the administration's actions, making the administration the object of the participant's offense. Justice, an element identified as one that can mitigate negative responses, was one that was, to some extent at least, outside the organization's control.

The workers' practices may have declined because of the stress felt by the workers and because taking on new roles and tasks requires them to either brush-up on old skills used in the past or to learn new ones. The reliance on coworkers for new knowledge and the experiential learning being used for acquiring new skills can negatively affect service levels.

Customer service work, which broadly includes interacting with refugee clients, is likely to trigger anger or emotional dissonance. Pressure brought about by the task at hand of dealing with angry, dissatisfied, or helpless clients; the emotional work required by the circumstances; and the additive stresses from downsizing can overwhelm employee coping skills. The concurrent depletion of resources needed for task completion during downsizing further requires employees to look inward to survive (Boyd, Tuckey, & Winefield, 2013). Manifestations of stress and helplessness may be indicators of employees who are having difficulty coping with the downsizing.

The sociological consequences in this case are more extensive than normally found in a corporate downsizing. This research only included participants who were still employed, and did not consider those who had already been downsized. In addition to the sociological damage to the individuals dismissed in the downsizing, which includes “physiological stress, ill-health, family and marital problems, reduced self-esteem, depression, psychiatric morbidity, helplessness, anxiety, and feelings of social isolation” (Hansson, 2015, p. 192), there is potential damage to the refugees under the organization’s care. This not only includes potential mental harm, but physical harm from a failure to seek and find suitable medical treatment, or even an inability to transport oneself to a doctor or hospital. Management of a refugee resettlement organization with a downsized workforce must not only concern themselves about the transition of the downsized employees and those remaining, but they must ensure their clients’ care is up to standards and is continued unbroken. While customer care is a concern of management in any downsized organization, it becomes more acute for the management of a refugee resettlement organization because the lives of an extremely vulnerable population are involved.

Refugee and Immigrant Narratives Articulated by the Workers

The purpose of this section is to identify the presence of the three narratives discussed in the literature review section within the refugee resettlement workers’ narratives. These three narratives were the nativist narrative, the neoliberal narrative, and the victim narrative. All these narratives were found in the participant’s interviews.

The Nativist Narrative

The nativist narrative was the most-often mentioned of the three narratives in the interviews. One native-born resettlement worker tended to support certain aspects of the nativist narrative. His remarks included concern regarding the dearth of Christians among the refugees, his belief that many refugees are not coming to assimilate into “our society,” that a safe zone for those in danger should be set up either in the area where the refugees are from or in the United States as a temporary measure rather than granting permanent U.S. residence, and that there are too many refugees to really fix the problem with the current approach and we are only resettling refugees “to make ourselves feel good that we’re helping people.”

On the other hand, another worker’s remarks indicated he did not support the nativist narrative. He discussed his opinion that thriving within diversity is not something we can be trained for:

It's either somebody has them (skills working in a multi-cultural environment), [and] they're ready to work with people or they're not. I don't think that can be taught no matter how many training sessions we have, how many diversity sessions we have. It's actually [nonsense] when we see that because we see that in our own politics right now. You think about, how many corporate jobs have like public relations trainings going on, we're good people, we're responsible citizens stuff like that. When it gets to it and when the people go home and when they're on their computers it's like they're spewing out vitriolic hatred over the Internet or something. Or they vote Trump because they feel that there's something wrong with people from other cultures ... living here.

He further provided his understanding of how nativism affects immigrant admissions:

It's just not a matter of whether immigrants are documented or undocumented. They have a misplaced fear of all immigrants no matter how they came. It seems like within these politicians and these people that follow these politicians, there's always this, how should I say, extra rules. "Oh, they should have been documented." Then if they're documented, "Oh, they're-- They don't have the right education." If they have the right education, it's like, "Oh, they are not coming from the right countries." If they are coming from the right countries, "Oh, they don't share the same values." It's always something. Nothing is ever right when it comes to immigration along with other things too. There's always something that they just add in order to make it politicized, and I feel through all this politicization, immigration has always been politicized, but I feel more so now through these politics within the last, I would say two to three years, when the presidential... Leading up to the presidential elections and then into this Trump administration. I really feel that the message of how immigrants are perceived is more of a message of being dehumanized. That's very sad because I feel they are missing an opportunity.

The foreign-born resettlement workers were sensitive to the nativist narrative as well. One commented on the concern that being a refugee is a way for terrorists to enter the United States:

[When the president says,] "We have all those terrorists come into the country." One time, I was like, "Excuse me? Is he an idiot? Honestly?" Because if you are a refugee, it is not just a matter of giving you papers and telling you, "Go ahead."

No, this is not the way. It is very, very tough, like a security clearance, it should be done, especially after 2001.

Another foreign-born worker said he understood why the administration was reducing the number of refugees for resettlement: “I understand why conservative Americans are trying to ... cut the numbers of refugees coming to America, I understand why. I can sympathize.” However, he went on to say, “Also, on the other hand, people come into this country not just for jobs but also for safety, that's the reason. I believe that helping others who are in need, it's necessary, but it depends on the situation they're in.”

Another foreign-born worker believed the president should keep his anti-immigrant opinions to himself: “We prefer one (a president), he doesn't say. Even if he does, we prefer he not say it in public because like that, you give other people the right to say things and that's not nice.” She also believed refugee bans based on where someone come from are wrong, “Not to say no to this kind of ethnicity, that kind of ethnicity, because if one person does a bad thing, it doesn't mean a whole people do it.”

The Neoliberal Narrative

The overall goal of the Office of Refugee Resettlement’s assistance programs “is to help refugees attain self-sufficiency” (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 10). It is therefore unsurprising the neoliberal narrative, where the individual is responsible for their own choices and decisions (Thorsen, 2010), is prevalent in refugee resettlement.

One worker put it bluntly: “Getting a job as soon as possible is the main and established killer for the refugees.” She also noted, regarding government assistance to refugees, “I am always urging and advising people not to be on welfare for such a long

time.” She tells her clients not living off the government is the American way: “The only thing that you need to think about, like you are here, a normal person. You are paying the taxes. You are working. You make a living. You are not having your hand in the pocket of the government. This is the only way to be an American.” She also said, “...from the very beginning I don't want anybody to be on welfare and once they get their Social [Security number], we need to have them get to work.”

Another worker, a former refugee herself, said her primary goal when she arrived was “to be self-sufficient.” Another worker, when asked why he thought some people disliked refugees, said, “I don't know if they really think it's for national security or for jobs or anything. I don't know but I think it the concern of another foreigner coming here getting their jobs...” Thus, we see the two sides of the neoliberal narrative—the requirement for an immigrant to be self-sufficient and not live off of the taxpayer, yet the fear the immigrant will take a job that “belongs” to a natural-born American.

Another worker tells her clients:

I keep telling them that the most important thing here is that you're going to live like a regular American. If you work harder your life is going to get better. I tell them, “I know some people, they came five, six years ago and I know them now they are millionaires. They bought their houses and it depends on how much you work; how much you work harder. How much optimistic you are.”

The Victim Narrative

One worker explained when he first started as a refugee resettlement worker: “In the beginning I just felt so sorry for every single refugee and all these poor people with

all the stuff they went through.” However, he felt that many of the refugees were not as helpless as they seemed:

"How dare you come here? You're cheating. You're not really as helpless as you made yourself out to be." I've had clients that... I remember stopping to take this lady with a cane. She was walking with her cane until we got to the doctor. Her phone rang so she got out of the car and she forgot her cane. She was just walking very normal as she was on the phone because she was distracted then I grabbed her cane and I caught up to her and I said, "You forgot your cane." As soon as I handed the cane to her then she became this very disabled cripple. She went back to her part, acting her part. It frustrated me.

One of the supervisors felt advocating for someone using a victim narrative might be counterproductive: "...learning proper advocacy as well, like how do you advocate for somebody else in a way that it doesn't sound so bleeding heart or like, 'Oh look at this person.'" He goes on to say,

It's just like, why are you pigeonholing these people who don't want to be disadvantaged just like you are already putting them down. It's like, how do you talk about it in a positive aspect? Not only talking about the work, you're not focusing on anything negative. You're talking about the people you work with and a positive aspect that's not emphasizing the negative. There is learning that too, this proper language in order to talk about something because there's a lot of sadness in refugee work already.

Another foreign-born worker advocated for stricter security checks and tells the story of one of his clients who was worried about a follow-up interview by the FBI who was re-checking the client's victim narrative:

He called me and said, "Hey, I got referred to the FBI. I'm scared. What I'm doing?" What did you do? They tell me your story is not matching what we have here. You tell us a different story and there's a different story in the file. I realized in that day, it's getting better. They just realized right now they have brought some wrong people into the United States, but he's still here.

The presence of these three narratives in the participants' interviews is unsurprising, considering the prevalence of these narratives in our current politics. At least one of the participants exhibited strong nativist tendencies, despite being a resettlement worker, indicating even within resettlement agencies some workers are aligned with the nativist narrative. The fact these narratives appear is a form of triangulation—it confirms the existence of the narratives and their penetration into refugee resettlement.

State of the U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program

The purpose of this section of the chapter is to answer the third research question, “What can be concluded about the state of refugee resettlement in Texas and in the nation?” This is a difficult question to answer, because the number of participants in the study was small and my exposure to this culture of refugee resettlement was limited. However, given the number and weight of the administration's actions, the actions taken by the state of Texas, and the impacts discovered through this research, it is fair to conclude the U.S. refugee resettlement program is being purposely weakened.

The motivations for these actions by conservative politicians are based on national security (Abbott, 2016; Trump, 2017c, 2017d). President Trump has played on the “fears, grievances, and anger of people who feel that they have been left behind by the elites” (Kellner, 2016, p. 22) including the use of fear to play “into a violent racist tradition in the U.S. [that] activates atavistic fears of other races and anger among his white followers” (Kellner, 2016, p. 24). The use of fear in politics and other belief systems has a long and effective history. The United States currently appears to be in the mindset of an “emergency regime” since the events of 9/11 (Prewitt et al., 2004, p. 1129). The use of fear can be used to serve the powerful and to hold on to power (Prewitt et al., 2004, pp. 1130-1131), rather than used to mobilize against the powerful.

The refugee resettlement program is a component of U.S. immigration policies, and has been swept up in the anti-immigrant actions of the Trump administration, actions which have proven effective in maintaining support for the administration from a large number of Americans. The program has been hampered nationally, but continues to operate at reduced capacity. The system operated at diminished capacity in FY 2002 (27,110 admissions) and in FY 2003 (28,381 admissions) (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b) and recovered. As long as the program continues to exist, it can recover from this administration’s actions; the future remains hopeful.

The dynamic nature of refugee resettlement, with refugee admissions varying widely for year to year, means organizations and workers must account for these variations. Implications, recommendations and suggestions for further research on refugee resettlement are in the next chapter. Included too, are the highlights and contributions of this study.

VI. THE JOURNEY CONTINUES

The caseworker called about 7:00 p.m. and asked me to meet him at the airport in an hour to help with the arrival of a case from Africa. The case consisted of one father and his six children. I met the caseworker at the airport where we waited in the baggage area. The children ranged from one year old to 15 years old. The new arrivals appeared and picked up their one bag, a medium-sized duffel. One duffel bag for seven people!

The caseworker, some relatives from the community, and I loaded them into our cars and took them to their new apartment. Not one of them spoke English. I thought about how much trust someone must have to let three of their children go with me, a complete stranger. When I walked to my car with the three children behind me, I must have looked like a duck leading her ducklings through the airport short-term parking garage. We arrived at the apartment about 40 minutes later; it was nearly dark. Some of the other workers had finished assembling the beds and other furniture. The food for our new clients had been bought but was not yet put away. Diapers, too, were stacked on the kitchen counter.

After the caseworker and everyone else arrived, the caseworker began explaining some of the important things in the apartment to the father who held onto his infant child, looking exhausted. The caseworker explained how the stove worked, what the thermostat did, the operation of the toilets, and how the running water in the sinks and tubs functioned. Everything happened last minute because the arrival information kept changing, something that seemed to happen more and

more this last year. Even though we were tired as well from working all day, we took care of everything. We don't have as many people as we used to have, but we were there to help, the way we were supposed to be, the way we have always been. Everyone pitched in. That's what I like about this work. (Refugee resettlement worker)

While this study focused on the refugee resettlement program's organizations and workers, the program exists to help vulnerable and displaced people. Meeting arrivals and their families at the airport and taking them to their new apartment, as discussed in the above narrative, are important first steps in resettling in their new country. The work of refugee resettlement continues, whether or not resettlement organizations are properly staffed to execute it. Reducing the capabilities of the refugee resettlement system is not like the closing of a corner store. A diminished system strands those fleeing violence and persecution. Refugee resettlement workers continue to help those in need, even as the system is contracting around them. That is the context of refugee resettlement now, today, as this research was completed.

The purpose of this research was to better understand the impact of the current administration's refugee policies on refugee resettlement organizations and the workers within them. Three research questions guided the study: (a) How do refugee resettlement workers describe the effects of recent refugee policies on their practice and their lives? (b) What changes do the study's participants report in their refugee resettlement organizations? and, (c) What can be concluded about the state of refugee resettlement in Texas and in the nation? The narrative at the beginning of this chapter is meant to

provide some context to these three questions and to help frame the findings. With this in mind, I would like to highlight some of the findings regarding refugee resettlement.

Highlights of the Study

I present these finding highlights by research question, but in reverse question order. This is because the questions were ordered from the smaller entity, the individual, to the larger entity, the organization, and finally to the overall resettlement system. By reversing the order, I begin with the findings regarding the overall resettlement system.

Research Question Three

What can be concluded about the state of refugee resettlement in Texas and in the nation?

The refugee resettlement system is being diminished by the Trump administration. The administration's actions adversely affecting the system include reducing the refugee admissions quota, reducing funding, implementing executive orders and proclamations halting refugee admissions for four months and increasing vetting requirements, increasing bureaucratic reporting and documentation requirements, and delivering a continuing stream of anti-immigrant and anti-refugee rhetoric, among others.

Despite the pressure applied by the Trump administration, the refugee resettlement program continues to operate although at a reduced capacity and under duress. The system operated at diminished capacity in FY 2002 (27,110 admissions) and in FY 2003 (28,381 admissions) (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b) and recovered. There is no reason to believe the resettlement system cannot recover again. The future of refugee resettlement under the Trump administration remains uncertain but hopeful.

Research Question Two

What changes do the study's participants report in their refugee resettlement organizations?

Because of the policy actions of the Trump administration, refugee resettlement organizations are downsizing, that is, they are reducing their staffs and, in some cases, closing offices. These agencies are downsizing primarily because of the reduced number of new refugee arrivals and the subsequent loss of funding. Offices are closing because of new arrival minimums imposed by the Trump administration (an office must handle 100 or more refugees to receive funding) or simply because those offices were no longer economically sustainable.

The effects of this structural downsizing included the impacts on the lives of the workers, both those who lost their jobs as well as those who remained; a loss of knowledge and organizational culture for the remaining agencies; and a disruption in the organizations' effectiveness and ability to plan for the future. Organizations had to restructure roles and jobs, contend with fewer language translation resources, and reduce or eliminate attendance at external meetings and conferences. Large discrepancies between the administration's admission quota and the actual number of refugees admitted hampered the organizations' ability to project arrivals accurately and increased the level of uncertainty within resettlement organizations. Anti-immigrant and anti-refugee rhetoric from the administration created additional uncertainty about the future of refugee resettlement within the resettlement agencies.

Research Question One

How do refugee resettlement workers describe the effects of recent refugee policies on their practice and their lives?

The impacts of current policies on the workers included all the effects associated with any organizational downsizing event—stress, frustration, fear, and uncertainty among others. Specifically, this study identified workers who were required to learn and execute new roles, who experienced frustration, stress, feelings of helplessness, fear of losing their jobs, and sadness at losing coworkers. Some workers took additional jobs or canceled family plans to save money, both actions intended to blunt potential job loss. In addition, the anti-immigrant rhetoric by the administration has caused fear among foreign-born resettlement workers, including concerns about their personal safety and worries about denaturalization and deportation. The Othering of immigrants by the administration has negatively affected the identities of foreign-born resettlement workers as U.S. citizens.

While this study did not examine the impacts of the administration's actions upon refugees, concern expressed by the workers for their clients suggested the refugees are also being negatively impacted. Concerns expressed by the workers for refugees included fear of deportation, bureaucratic harassment (such as additional security interviews), increased financial hardships, increased distrust, inability to properly assimilate, loss of hope, reduced health care upon arrival, inability to flee violence and danger, and family separation among many others.

Contributions of this Study

Academic Literature

Because of the contemporary nature of this study, and because the study participants were dispersing as the refugee resettlement program's infrastructure was reduced, I believe this study makes a two-fold contribution to the academic literature. First, this study captures the impact of these events as they occurred, providing a contemporary account of the policies and subsequent impacts as opposed to an historical account. Second, this study adds to an area of academic literature not heavily researched and serves to further develop comprehensive academic literature regarding refugee resettlement organizations and workers.

Adult Education

This study showed the importance of knowledge management within an organization in the midst of change, and the value of an organization's management of the professional education of its workforce. Downsizing places stress on an organization's ability to execute its mission when knowledgeable workers are forced to leave (Schmitt et al., 2011). The resulting uncertainty caused by workers who do not know how to do new and unfamiliar roles reduces efficiency and potentially degrades service to their clients. These realities are reflected in this study by the workers' reliance on each other to do tasks rather than on established procedures or job aids, and in the observations of minimal planning and execution of core tasks. This research shows the impact of using informal methods of training even when more formal procedures existed – potential knowledge loss to the organization, reinforcing why knowledge management within the organization is vital.

This study, through its development of the tasks of refugee resettlement, showed refugee resettlement is primarily an educational activity. While providing services to allow new refugee arrivals to survive, refugee resettlement organizations and workers form a type of schoolhouse, a place where caring adults help others to learn a new culture, new technologies, and a new way of living. Teaching and mentoring others is the main focus of refugee resettlement. Information and knowledge are primary assets of a refugee resettlement organization, and so must be melded with the knowledge and experience of the refugee to successfully transition a new arrival. The profile of resettlement workers and the description of their jobs contained in this study may be referenced by other researchers of refugee resettlement issues as a basis for further research.

This study revealed the roles of resettlement workers as both learners and teachers. Refugee resettlement workers, as with any workers, must learn how to do their jobs. Learning from coworkers is an important component, but as even experienced workers in this study noted, they could do with better training. Refugee resettlement workers, particularly caseworkers, must teach their clients how to survive and thrive in a new culture and country. This takes a significant amount of knowledge, patience, and skill. Those who are effective caseworkers have developed themselves into successful teachers and mentors for one of the world's most vulnerable populations, thus fulfilling their roles as teachers in the schoolhouse.

Policy

Within refugee resettlement, the organizations and workers are closely tied to the administration's policies and federal laws through their cooperative agreements with the

government. This makes these organizations and individuals particularly sensitive to changes in policy. For refugee resettlement, the majority of power rests with the president and his annual refugee quota determination, done in consultation with Congress (Refugee Act of 1980, 2016). Thus, in practical terms, the president has the authority to shut down the refugee resettlement program and has demonstrated as much. This level of control by the executive branch is neither right nor wrong; however, it does illustrate the rapidity with which one individual can impact a policy not otherwise restrained by Congress or the law. Those impacts can be far-reaching and often unpredictable; the economic and social impacts of refugee policy have been touched upon by this research, but not closely examined. The findings from this study illustrate any policy must be implemented to ensure efficient execution but should not overly-centralize control if changes warrant more considered adjustments.

Narratives in Knowledge Construction and Policy

This study confirmed the power of the narrative as a means of constructing reality (Bruner, 1991). Within the refugee resettlement community all three refugee narratives appeared; there are those who adopted the nativist narrative even though it undermined the security of their own jobs. The three refugee narratives apply more broadly than just to refugees—these narratives permeate political discussion and have embedded themselves into the culture. This cultural embedding makes these narratives less visible.

This research affirmed the power of narratives in policy-making. Boswell et al. (2011) stated policy narratives should contain three elements: a set of claims about the problem the policy is meant to address, a set of claims regarding the cause of the

problems, and a set of claims about how the policy affects the problem. A nativist anti-immigrant narrative might be developed using these three components in this way: threats to national security and increased criminal activities (the problem) are caused by immigrants and refugees (the cause) and reducing or eliminating the entry of undesirable immigrants into the country will reduce crime and improve national security (the policy effect). This, in one form or another, is one of the narratives promulgated by the Trump administration in justifying anti-refugee actions and policies. This research has shown the power of such narratives in justifying policy changes is unambiguous.

Refugee Resettlement

This dissertation contributes to the knowledge of refugee resettlement by providing a high-level list of tasks and activities for refugee resettlement workers that can be used as a starting point for further research. In addition, this study captured some of the effects of the Trump administration's actions upon the refugee resettlement system as the events happened, and provided a baseline for interpreting later changes and actions.

Recommendations for Refugee Resettlement Organizations

Focused Advocacy

Local, state, and congressional advocacy for refugee resettlement should be continued and escalated by VOLAGs and other refugee resettlement agencies. A July, 2017 draft report by the Department of Health and Human Services, conducted under the executive order implementing the travel ban, showed refugees had a net positive fiscal impact of \$63 billion over a ten-year period. The report was rejected by the Trump administration as inaccurate and politically motivated, and the final version was never published (Davis & Sengupta, 2017). This is a clear indication the administration will

likely not be convinced of any benefits for refugee resettlement that counter its own narratives and policies.

Therefore, continuing to appeal to members of the administration, or those at the state or local level who support the administration's actions, is not likely to bring about any change. Advocacy efforts should therefore be focused on senators, congressmen, and other officials who are sympathetic or otherwise willing to listen to reasonable arguments and who can exercise political influence directly on the president, his administration, and his supporters. Such efforts need to be planned and coordinated with other agencies to provide maximum coverage and impact.

I would also suggest, for these reasons, an appeal only to the humanitarian aspects of helping displaced persons will not be sufficient to stop the resettlement system's contraction by the Trump administration. The humanitarian, economic, and foreign-policy benefits of a robust refugee resettlement policy, framed as a compelling policy narrative, must all be more clearly enunciated and supported by the voters and the politicians they elect if our nation is to continue the good work of helping refugees.

Organizational Knowledge Management

A refugee resettlement organization is an information-based entity. Its primary outputs include information, knowledge, and guidance provided to refugees in order that they learn to adapt and thrive in their new home and within a new culture. Its secondary outputs include the exchange of refugee information with federal, state, and local government entities. In addition, federal and state government rules and processes are numerous and complex, requiring extensive knowledge, reporting, and record keeping. Knowledge is a vital asset to a refugee resettlement organization. Retaining knowledge

and actively revising it to meet new circumstances is fundamental to a resettlement organization's success and ability to complete its mission.

Knowledge retention is an integral part of a resettlement agency's learning process. Downsizing, particularly during times of crisis, risks the loss of organizational knowledge unless it is retained somewhere other than in a downsized employee's memory. There are a number of cultural and procedural conditions within an organization that can reduce knowledge loss during downsizing. These are 1) a high level of collaboration within the organization, 2) high network density between organizational units, 3) retention of leadership during downsizing, and 4) employee perceptions of justice (Schmitt et al., 2011). In addition to the organizational elements needed for minimizing the sociological impacts of downsizing, refugee resettlement agencies must make a conscious effort to manage the information and knowledge within their organization in order to continue to function effectively.

Knowledge management is a set of processes and tools used by an organization "to achieve its objectives and to innovate by creating, acquiring, integrating, and sharing knowledge in the form of information, insight, ideas, wisdom, thoughts, and experiences" (Yuliyanto, 2017, p. 419). Training is included in this definition. The shortage of formal training and the over-reliance on co-worker knowledge and experience was an issue identified in this study. Formal attention to knowledge management is necessary for any organization to retain the core information elements necessary to execute its mission and to survive downsizing.

A Planned Future

Larger VOLAG affiliates having other missions, such as Catholic Charities or the YMCA, will survive without refugee resettlement funding. Smaller or more focused organizations may need to consider altering their missions and increasing their non-governmental funding sources to continue. Executives of all refugee resettlement organizations should ensure they have an adequate plan for the future. This may mean planning to reconstitute their organizations or planning additional contractions of their current refugee resettlement program in an orderly way.

Planning an orderly downsizing of the resettlement program might include considerations such as developing alternative missions, prioritizing downsizing actions, creating communications plans, identifying other funding sources, and preserving organizational knowledge. Executives should plan a well-ordered contraction of the current system (if needed) and a new and better future for their organizations. If the crisis passes, there is the opportunity to rebuild the system if the contractions were planned and knowledge was preserved. If the crisis does not pass, there are many ways to reinvent oneself and help those in need, with or without government funding.

Implications of the Findings

Implications for the Workers

Refugee resettlement workers are much like any government contractor – their employment is based on a host of factors, most of which are out of their control. An area as politically-charged as immigration and refugees means the workers are subject to the influences of the political climate, policies and laws, and social narratives. This is shown in the framework for this study (Figure 2) and has been well discussed and borne out by

this research. For workers, as rewarding and important as refugee resettlement work is, their employment in this field will always be changeable. As a practical matter, anyone working in refugee resettlement must engage in this work with the understanding job stability is less certain than in other fields and plan accordingly. Workers must keep abreast of political developments that affect them. Unemployment insurance may not be available to resettlement workers who lose their jobs; workers must also plan for this issue if it applies to them.

Implications for Resettlement Organizations

The implications for resettlement organizations are essentially the same as for workers: resettlement organizations are subject to the uncertainties of the political climate, policies and laws, and social narratives (see Figure 2). Resettlement organizations will be required to expand and contract on a regular basis, depending on the current presidential administration, and must design themselves for these eventualities. A core management team; up-to-date training materials, policies, and procedures; and flexible facilities and accommodations are all reasonable considerations. An organization must consider short-term leases to avoid being obligated to pay for facilities they no longer need. Resettlement organizations must be able to up-size and downsize quickly. The expansion and contraction of flexibly designed organizations must also consider how to minimize the damage to employees as they are downsized (since those same individuals may need to be rehired during an upsizing cycle) and how to deliver consistent service to clients during these periods of change. When I was an Air Force communications officer and a new second lieutenant, one of my senior leaders told me with an ever-changing technical communications environment in an ever-changing

battlespace, “everything should be on wheels.” An organization operating in a dynamic environment cannot focus on their mission if they are unprepared for change.

Another implication from this research for resettlement organizations is the demonstrated power of political narratives and their ability to influence events. Lack of a consistent and powerful political narrative that supports an organization’s cause and can be told in a compelling way will reduce the organization’s ability to effect favorable change in the political environment. Refugee resettlement organizations must develop narratives that support their efforts, and such narratives must be based on more than the victim narrative to receive political support for their cause. The narrative must include political benefits for those who make or influence funding and refugee arrival quota decisions. Active, coordinated, well-articulated, and continuous advocacy are needed for political programs such as refugee resettlement to survive.

Finally, refugee resettlement organizations must continue to be proactive. Keeping up with political developments, anticipating problems, and taking action are required to keep the program viable.

Implications for Policy Makers

The strength and completeness of policy narratives, especially those that support political interests and dovetail with popular opinions (Boswell et al., 2011) are powerful tools in implementing or overturning policy. Developing convincing narratives of steering and being able to use policy analysis to intersect those narratives with current policies (Roe, 1994) have been well-demonstrated by the Trump administration’s anti-immigrant rhetoric and the ways in which the administration has implemented policy changes. Furthermore, tight-coupling of policy with the execution of operational

outcomes makes policy changes immediate and effective. Policy makers must decide if the policies they are implementing require a form of reasoned change control or if the executive branch should have complete power to change the policy with no other considerations required.

Future Research

This study and its small number of participants cannot possibly represent a complete picture of refugee resettlement or the effects of the Trump administration's policies. A goal of doing this study was to create a snapshot for a portion of the events playing out on the national and international stage while they were happening. Those events are still occurring and their impacts may be felt for years to come. There are opportunities to research this topic further. Because no one can possibly know what condition the refugee resettlement infrastructure will be in five years or ten years, I believe additional research similar to this study is warranted as these events unfold.

Replicating This Study

Additional studies similar to this one would be beneficial in capturing the impacts of refugee policies upon different organizations and workers, in different locations, and over the next 18 months to two years. The events described in this research are still unfolding, and it is important to capture what is happening as it occurs. It will be especially important after the 2020 election to again capture the changes within the resettlement system.

Impact Upon Refugees

While this study focused on the refugee resettlement organizations and workers, there is no doubt these same events are impacting refugees both here in the United States

and abroad. Some of those impacts were mentioned within this study, such as the Iranians stranded in Vienna, Austria. More examination needs to be done to not only discover the impact upon refugees waiting to come to the United States, but those refugees who are already here. This might include impacts on their families, particularly those who have been separated by the Trump administration's actions or those who have been affected by decreasing service levels from resettlement organizations struggling to execute their missions.

Impact on the U.S. Economy, Security, and Society

As noted by the unpublished 2017 study done by the Department of Health and Human Services, refugees have a positive impact on the economy. The changes in policies by the Trump administration will be far-reaching, and their impacts are yet to be felt. Additional studies should be done to determine both the positive and negative effects of these policies on the economy, crime, national security, and international relations.

Concluding Thoughts

As I approached the time to select a topic for my dissertation, I had planned to do something a "little closer to home." I thought a study directly relating to the teaching of adults in an educational or classroom setting would be a good choice. The subject of refugees was not on my mind. A discussion in one of my classes about the appearance of nativist groups on the news and how their dialogs affected foreign-born students in the class first started me thinking along these lines. The discussion included three foreign-born participants, and their concerns and fears were obvious. I began thinking about the policies being implemented by the Trump administration, and how those policies might

be affecting other foreign students at the university. I refocused on refugees after considering my experiences in the military, and in particular my deployment to Afghanistan. Refugee resettlement was an area where I had no exposure or experience, so choosing this topic was a step into an unfamiliar domain.

I was pleased to find a significant amount of refugee resettlement work related to adult education, both from the perspective of the workers as well as from the perspective of the refugees. My volunteer efforts helped me to see organizations, meet people, and learn processes of which I was completely unaware. There remains much research to be done in this area, particularly as this presidential administration continues its anti-immigrant activities.

By choosing a topic where I had no direct experience or expertise, I learned research should not be limited to narrow topics of personal comfort, but can be a reason to expand into less familiar areas, allowing the researcher to explore them in ways which might not be used with a more familiar topic. I realized I should reconsider how I approach research and how I might use my new degree to discover new knowledge. This realization has been the primary benefit to me of this research, and shows me a way to help others I had not considered.

The main conclusion of this study was straight-forward: The Trump administration is damaging the refugee resettlement system in the United States as a result of implementing a set of policies and actions adversely affecting refugees and the people and organizations who help them. However, in the end, as data presented through this dissertation shows, refugees will continue to come to the United States, and we will continue to manage their resettlement. Globalization, climate change, war, political

conflicts, and economic opportunities will maintain the pressure for people to move. And while relocating because of climate change or economics are not technically reasons to classify someone as a refugee, immigration and the movement of people will likely increase in the years to come. Immigration and refugee resettlement will happen whether they are managed under the current laws, or under new laws, or under no laws at all. Now might be a good time to re-think our national policies, our laws, our processes, and our attitudes regarding refugees, asylees and immigrants. Treating others with mercy and humanity would be a fine start.

APPENDIX SECTION

A. SUMMARY OF ANTI-REFUGEE ACTIONS BY THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION	184
B. DEFINITION OF TERMS	189
C. PARTICIPANT RECRUITING FLYER.....	192
D. INTERVIEW ONE–SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS	193
E. ARTIFACT ELICITATION	194
F. INTERVIEW TWO–SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS	195

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF ANTI-REFUGEE ACTIONS BY THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

The actions listed in Table 4 represent the major actions by the Trump Administration which impacted the refugee resettlement program and, in some cases, programs including parolees. This list is a subset of the anti-immigrant actions by the administration.

Table 4

Summary of Anti-refugee Actions by the Trump Administration

Date	Name	Description	First-level Effects
June 16, 2015 to present	The Trump campaign and Trump administration have produced considerable anti-immigrant rhetoric (Chacón, 2017; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017)	The Trump campaign and the Trump administration have generated a significant amount of anti-immigrant rhetoric. The starting date to the left is the official launching of the Trump campaign.	Increased anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment
January 27, 2017	Executive order: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States (13769) (Trump, 2017d)	Suspended the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) for 120 days, suspended entry of aliens from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen for 90 days, and suspended the entry of Syrian nationals indefinitely. Prioritized religious-based persecution for refugees where their religion was a minority religion in their country of nationality. Reduced the Obama refugee determination quota from 110,000 to 50,000 admissions.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals
January 27, 2017	Executive Order 13769 stranded 100 Iranians in Vienna (Jordan, 2018; Khera, 2019)	The administration stranded 100 Iranians awaiting final clearance to go to the United States under the Lautenberg Amendment for religious persecution. The Iranians were detained at the Refugee Processing Center in Vienna, Austria. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (now HIAS), the VOLAG processing the Iranians, has closed the cases.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals

Table 4

Summary of Anti-refugee Actions by the Trump Administration

Date	Name	Description	First-level Effects
March 6, 2017	Executive order: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States (13780) (Trump, 2017c)	Revoked executive order 13769. Contains the same basic provisions the as January 27, 2017, executive order, except Iraq was removed from the 90-day suspension list, the language regarding religious minorities was removed, and the permanent Syrian ban was removed and Syria was added to the 90-day suspension list.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals
May 2017	Youth immigrant detention policy typified by ICE Operation Matador (U.S. Department of Homeland Security Transnational Organized Crime Initiative) (Tsui, 2018; U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2018)	This operation conducted transnational gang member arrests, with a focus on the gang MS-13. This operation included the arrest of refugees and parolees from the Central American Minors program. These types of operations are controversial and have been accused of taking innocent children with no gang affiliations.	Altered demographics of arrivals
August 16, 2017	Central American Minors Program (CAM) (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2017a)	The parole portion of the program was terminated. (Note: DHS froze the parole portion of the program in February 2017.) “The CAM program was established in 2014 to provide certain minors in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras the opportunity to be considered, while still in their home country, for refugee resettlement in the United States. Individuals who were determined to be ineligible for refugee status were then considered by USCIS for the possibility of entering the United States under parole” (para. 3).	Altered demographics of arrivals
September 24, 2017	Presidential proclamation: Enhancing vetting capabilities and processes for detecting attempted entry into the United States by terrorists or other public-safety threats (9645) (Trump, 2017h)	Imposed additional visa restrictions or outright prohibition of entry from Iran, Libya, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Venezuela, and Yemen.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals

Table 4

Summary of Anti-refugee Actions by the Trump Administration

Date	Name	Description	First-level Effects
September 30, 2017	Refugee Admissions Determination for FY17 (Obama, 2016; Refugee Processing Center, 2019b)	There were 53,716 actual refugee admissions with the Obama-era determination of 110,000 admissions. Trump's reduction of the quota gap to 50,000 in his executive orders 13769 and 13780 was still exceeded by actual admissions.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Created quota gap
October 1, 2017	Refugee Resettlement Assistance Funding (Bruno, 2018)	Funding was reduced for FY18 from \$2,141.3M to \$2,051.4M (\$89.9M),	Reduced refugee funding
October 23, 2017	Presidential determination on refugee admissions for fiscal year 2018 (Trump, 2017g)	This presidential determination set refugee admissions to no more than 45,000 during fiscal year 2018.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding
October 24, 2017	Executive order: Resuming the United States Refugee Admissions Program with enhanced vetting capabilities (13815) (Trump, 2017e)	Resumed the USRAP. De-prioritized 11 countries on the Security Advisory Opinion (SAO) list within USRAP's processing, giving non-SAO countries priority. SAO countries are: Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Mali, North Korea, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. The SAO list also includes Palestinians living in any of these countries. Additional security measures were implemented for derivative refugees—those who were 'following-to-join' principal refugees that have already been resettled in the United States, regardless of nationality. Also, the order required additional data collection on all refugees. Additional changes were made to the interview and adjudication processes for refugees to enhance vetting measures.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals

Table 4

Summary of Anti-refugee Actions by the Trump Administration

Date	Name	Description	First-level Effects
November 9, 2017	Central American Minors Program (CAM) (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2017b)	The refugee portion of the program stopped accepting applications. “The CAM program was established in 2014 to provide certain minors in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras the opportunity to be considered, while still in their home country, for refugee resettlement in the United States. Individuals who were determined to be ineligible for refugee status were then considered by USCIS for the possibility of entering the United States under parole.” (para. 3)	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals
December 1, 2017	Small resettlement offices not authorized to handle new arrivals (Torbati & Rosenberg, 2017)	The U.S. State Department no longer authorizes resettlement offices that handled fewer than 100 refugee per year to accept new arrivals.	Loss of refugees and funding targeting smaller refugee resettlement organizations
September 17, 2018	Administration Prioritizes Asylum Seekers Over Refugees (Davis, 2018)	Secretary of State Mike Pompeo claims the proposed lower refugee determination for FY19 was a result of the backlog of asylum seekers at the U.S. border. The New York Times quotes Pompeo as saying, “This year’s refugee ceiling reflects the substantial increase in the number of individuals seeking asylum in our country...” (para. 10).	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Altered demographics of arrivals
September 30, 2018	Refugee Admissions 49.98% of Admissions Determination for FY18 (Refugee Processing Center, 2019b; Trump, 2017g)	There was a total of 22,491 actual refugee admissions versus the Trump-era determination of 45,000 admissions.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding Created quota gap
October 1, 2018	Lautenberg/Spector Amendments (Bruno, 2018)	The program was not funded for FY19. The Lautenberg/Spector amendments give parolee status to minority religious groups in Iran and in certain countries of the former Soviet Union.	Altered demographics of arrivals

Table 4

Summary of Anti-refugee Actions by the Trump Administration

Date	Name	Description	First-level Effects
October 4, 2018	Presidential determination on refugee admissions for fiscal year 2019 (DeWitt, 1993; Trump, 2018)	Set refugee admissions to no more than 30,000 during fiscal year 2019, the lowest number since the modern refugee resettlement program began in 1980.	Reduced refugee admissions Reduced refugee funding
2018	Increased reporting, budget drills, and audits	This action was determined from refugee resettlement supervisor narratives and occurred throughout calendar year 2018.	Increased administrative uncertainty, reporting requirements, and audits
2018	Failed to project arrivals beyond a few days	This action was determined from refugee resettlement supervisor narratives and occurred in calendar year 2018.	Increased administrative uncertainty, reporting requirements, and audits

APPENDIX B

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Downsizing - As used in this study, downsizing is an intentional organizational activity involving the reduction of employees intended to result in an increase in efficiency as a reaction to changes in the external environment or changes in an organization's strategies. Downsizing affects work processes. (Petkovic & Miric, 2009, p. 258)

Immigrant - "A person who comes to a country to take up permanent residence" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2018).

Local Resettlement Agency (VOLAG Affiliate) - "...a local affiliate or subcontractor of a national voluntary agency that has entered into a grant, contract, or cooperative agreement with the United States Department of State or other appropriate Federal agency to provide for the reception and initial placement of refugees in the United States" (Refugee Resettlement Program, 2017, para. 15).

National Volunteer Agency (VOLAG) - "One of the national resettlement agencies or a State or local government that has entered into a grant, contract, or cooperative agreement with the United States Department of State or other appropriate Federal agency to provide for the reception and initial placement of refugees in the United States" (Refugee Resettlement Program, 2017, para. 17).

Parolee - A parolee is an alien, appearing to be inadmissible to the inspecting officer, allowed into the United States for urgent humanitarian reasons or when that alien's entry is determined to be for significant public benefit. Parole does not constitute a formal admission to the United States and confers temporary status

only, requiring parolees to leave when the conditions supporting their parole cease to exist (Department of Homeland Security, 2016).

Policy - Policy in this study refers to public policy which is “...defined as a system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives” (Vargas-Hernandez, Noruzi, & Irani, 2011, p. 290).

Refugee - “Any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, or in such circumstances as the President after appropriate consultation...may specify...” (Refugee Act of 1980, 2016, p. 23)

Refugee Policies - Public policies which apply to refugees.

Refugee Resettlement - “The selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them—as refugees—with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 416).

Refugee Resettlement Organization - As used in this study, a VOLAG, VOLAG affiliate, or another nonprofit organization with a primary mission of refugee resettlement or refugee resettlement assistance.

Refugee Resettlement Worker - A person in the resettlement country who is an employee or former employee of a refugee resettlement organization and who had direct contact with refugees.

Stateless Person - “A person who is not considered a national by any State, either because s/he never had a nationality or because s/he lost it without acquiring a new one” (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2011, p. 417).

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT RECRUITING FLYER

The recruiting flyer below was provided to participants after the initial conversation.



Volunteers Wanted for a Research Study

The Impact of Current Refugee Policies on Refugee Resettlement Workers/Employees and Their Organizations

This flyer is an approved request for participation in research that has been approved by the Texas State Institutional Review Board (IRB).

This research will capture the impact of the current administration's refugee and immigration policies on the work that refugee resettlement workers/employees do and the organizations where they work.

I am looking for refugee resettlement workers/employees who would like to participate in two interviews to discuss these issues and share their knowledge on the current state of refugee resettlement organizations.

If you are interested in participating in this research please contact Bill Crooks at 757-817-1134 or at wwc12@txstate.edu.

This project (2018633) was approved by the Texas State IRB on May 2, 2018. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Denise Gobert 512-245-8351 – (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager 512-245-2334 – (meg201@txstate.edu).

Figure 7. Recruitment flyer for participants.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW ONE—SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS

The following questions guided the first episodic narrative interview. Other questions were asked depending on the flow of the interview and the responses.

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself and your background.
2. How did you become a refugee resettlement worker?
3. Please describe your experiences as a refugee resettlement worker when you first began.
4. Tell me about a typical day for you as a refugee resettlement worker.
5. Describe your recent experiences providing refugee resettlement services.
6. How did you learn the skills you use as a refugee resettlement worker?
7. What do you think a person should know to be able to work as a refugee resettlement worker?
8. Tell me about changes, if any, you have observed in your organization over the last ____ months.
9. Tell me how you think refugee resettlement will look over the next five years.
10. Describe the current political climate with regard to refugees.
11. Is there anything you would like to say or add that we have not discussed?

APPENDIX E

ARTIFACT ELICITATION

Let's schedule a follow-up meeting to continue our discussion. In addition, I would like you to bring an object, or a photograph, or a document you think represents your opinion or political view on current U.S. refugee resettlement policies or represents a change in yourself or your organizations as a consequence of current refugee resettlement policies.

You may bring any of these things (an object, a photo, or a document), or all of them, if you like. I only ask you limit the total to three things. At our next meeting, I would like to hear your reasons for choosing the items you did and what you feel they represent.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW TWO—SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS

The following questions guided the second episodic narrative interview. As with the first interview, other questions were asked depending on the flow of the interview and the responses. This interview began with questions on the artifact or artifacts brought by the participant.

1. Tell me the story of this artifact.
2. Describe how you feel when you see/read this artifact.
3. Tell me how this relates to what is happening in refugee resettlement today.
4. What is your political philosophy regarding refugees?
5. Tell me about recent policies regarding refugees and refugee resettlement on which you have a strong opinion.
6. Tell me how you feel these policies are affecting you, the refugees, and the refugee resettlement process.
7. Please, tell me how you feel about being a refugee resettlement worker today.
8. What would you like to see happen in refugee resettlement?
9. What advice would you give to a person new to the type of work you do?
10. Is there anything you would like to say or add that we have not discussed?

REFERENCES

- Abbott, G. (2016). Governor Abbott statement on Texas' intention to withdraw from Refugee Resettlement Program [Press release].
- Adams, D. (2018, April 24). U.S. refugee resettlement offices close as flow of arrivals dries up under Trump. *Univision News*. Retrieved from <https://www.univision.com/univision-news/united-states/us-refugee-resettlement-offices-close-as-refugee-flow-dries-up-under-trump>
- Akinsulure-Smith, A. M., Espinosa, A., Chu, T., & Hallock, R. (2018). Secondary traumatic stress and burnout among refugee resettlement workers: The role of coping and emotional intelligence. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 31*(2), 202-212. doi:10.1002/jts.22279
- Alden, E. (2016). National security and U.S. immigration policy. *Journal of International and Comparative Law, 1*(1), 19-30.
- Alto, C. (2017, February 17). World Relief refugee agency closes down Nashville office. *The Tennessee Star*. Retrieved from <http://tennesseestar.com/2017/02/17/world-relief-refugee-agency-closes-down-nashville-office/>
- Alvarez, P. (2018, September 9). America's system for resettling refugees is collapsing. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/09/refugee-admissions-trump/569641/>

- American Immigration Council. (2015, November). An overview of U.S. refugee law and policy. Retrieved from https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/an_overview_of_united_states_refugee_law_and_policy.pdf
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C., & Pozo, S. (2014). On the intended and unintended consequences of enhanced U.S. border and interior immigration enforcement: Evidence from Mexican detainees. *Demography*, 51(6), 2255-2279. doi:10.1007/s13524-014-0340-7
- Archdiocese of San Antonio. (2016). Our mission. Retrieved from <https://ccaosa.org/our-mission#>
- Aster, K. (2012). Resettlement to the USA. Retrieved from <http://www.refugeelegalaidinformation.org/resettlement-usa>
- Ayón, C. (2017). “Vivimos en jaula de oro”: The impact of state-level legislation on immigrant Latino families. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, Online*. doi:10.1080/15562948.2017.1306151
- Baker, N. (1981). Social work through an interpreter. *Social Work*, 26(5), 391-397. doi:10.1093/sw/26.5.391
- Barnett, D. (2018). Do states have a say in the refugee resettlement program? *Center for Immigration Studies*. Retrieved from <https://cis.org/Report/Do-States-Have-Say-Refugee-Resettlement-Program>
- Bates, J. A. (2004). Use of narrative interviewing in everyday information behavior research. *Library & Information Science Research*, 26(1), 15-28. doi:10.1016/j.lisr.2003.11.003

- Baxter, M. (2018). Bringing refugees from crisis to flourishing: The role of resettlement agencies and the church in facilitating integration and stability. *Social Work & Christianity*, 45(3), 19-35.
- Board of Immigration Appeals. (2015). *Frequently asked questions about the Recognition and Accreditation (R&A) Program*. Retrieved from <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/recognition-and-accreditation-faqs/download>
- Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (2013). *Reframing organizations* (5th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Boswell, C., Geddes, A., & Scholten, P. (2011). The role of narratives in migration policy making: A research framework. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13(1), 1-11. doi:10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00435.x
- Boyd, C. M., Tuckey, M. R., & Winefield, A. H. (2013). Perceived effects of organizational downsizing and staff cuts on the stress experience: The role of resources. *Stress Health*, 30(1), 53-64. doi:10.1002/smi.2495
- Brown, A., & Scribner, T. (2014). Unfulfilled promises, future possibilities: The refugee resettlement system in the United States. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 2(2), 101-120.
- Bruner, J. S. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. S. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical inquiry*, 18(1), 1-21.
- Bruno, A. (2018). Refugee admissions and resettlement policy. *Congressional Research Service*, RL31269.
- Burstein, P. (2003). The impact of public opinion on public policy: A review and an agenda. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(1), 29-40.

- Calamur, K. (2017, January 30). What Trump's executive order on immigration does—and doesn't do. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/01/trump-immigration-order-muslims/514844/>
- Campbell, K. (2016). The “New Selma” and the Old Selma: Arizona, Alabama, and the immigration civil rights movement in the twenty-first century. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 35(3), 76-81.
- Ceballos, A. (2018, April 18). Florida loses resettlement offices as fewer refugees arrive. *Naples Daily News*. Retrieved from <https://www.naplesnews.com/story/news/government/2018/04/18/florida-loses-resettlement-offices-refugee-arrivals-decline/525717002/>
- Chacón, J. M. (2017). Immigration and the bully pulpit. *Harvard Law Review Forum*, 130(7), 243-268.
- Colligan, T. W., & Higgins, E. M. (2006). Workplace stress: Etiology and consequences. *Journal of Workplace Behavioral Health*, 21(2), 89-97.
doi:10.1300/J490v21n02_07
- Creswell, J. W. (2016). *30 essential skills for the qualitative researcher*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Darrow, J. (2015). The (re)construction of the U.S. Department of State’s Reception and Placement Program by refugee resettlement agencies. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 6(1), 91-119. doi:10.1086/680341

- Davidson, T., & Burson, K. (2017). Keep those kids out: Nativism and attitudes toward access to public education for the children of undocumented immigrants. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 16(1), 41-50. doi:10.1080/15348431.2016.1179189
- Davis, J. H. (2018, September 17). Trump to cap refugees allowed into U.S. at 30,000 a record low. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/17/us/politics/trump-refugees-historic-cuts.html>
- Davis, J. H., & Jordan, M. (2017, September 12). White House weighs lowering refugee quota to below 50,000. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/12/us/politics/trump-refugee-quota.html>
- Davis, J. H., & Sengupta, S. (2017, September 18). Trump administration rejects study showing positive impact of refugees. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/18/us/politics/refugees-revenue-cost-report-trump.html>
- de Oliver, M. (2011). Nativism and the obsolescence of grand narrative: Comprehending the quandary of anti-immigration groups in the neoliberal era. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(7), 977-997. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2011.559029
- Department of Homeland Security. (2016). Definition of terms. Retrieved from <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/data-standards-and-definitions/definition-terms>
- DeWitt, R.-L. (1993). The structural consequences of downsizing. *Organization Science*, 4(1), 30-40.

- Edwards, A. (2017, June 19). Forced displacement worldwide at its highest in decades. *United Nations High Commission for Refugees*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/stories/2017/6/5941561f4/forced-displacement-worldwide-its-highest-decades.html>
- Espinosa, A., Akinsulure-Smith, A. M., & Chu, T. (2019). Trait emotional intelligence, coping, and occupational distress among resettlement workers. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 11(1), 28-34.
doi:10.1037/tra0000377
- Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language* (A. M. S. Smith, Trans.). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Fraenkel, J. R., Wallen, N. E., & Hyun, H. H. (2015). *How to design and evaluate research in education* (9th Ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Gembalska-Kwiencień, A., & Milewska, E. E. (2018). Occupational stress: Its causes and consequences for employees. *International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference on Social Sciences & Arts SGEM*, 5, 463-469.
doi:10.5593/sgemsocial2018/3.3
- General Accounting Office. (1990). *Soviet refugees: Processing and admittance to the United States*. Retrieved from <https://www.gao.gov/assets/220/212425.pdf>

- Gilbert, R. (2017, September 27). Refugee resettlement organizations across U.S. prepare for historically low refugee cap. *The Daily Princetonian*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailyprincetonian.com/article/2017/09/refugee-resettlement-organizations-across-u-s-prepare-for-historically-low-refugee-cap>
- Gilliam, F. D. (1999). The "welfare queen" experiment: How viewers react to images of African-American mothers on welfare. *Nieman Reports*, 53(2).
- Gold, S. J. (1987). Dealing with frustration: A study of interactions between resettlement staff and refugees. In S. M. Morgan & E. Colsen (Eds.), *People in upheaval* (pp. 108-128). Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Guskovict, K., & Potocky, M. (2018). Mitigating psychological distress among humanitarian staff working with migrants and refugees: A case example. *Advances in Social Work*, 18(3), 965-982. doi:10.18060/21644
- Hafiz, S. (2017). Deportations. *In These Times*, 41(1), 25-25.
- Hansson, M. (2015). A global perspective on the non-financial consequences of downsizing. *Review of International Comparative Management*, 16(2), 185-204.
- Harvard Law School. (2017). *The impact of President Trump's executive orders on asylum seekers*. Retrieved from <https://today.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Report-Impact-of-Trump-Executive-Orders-on-Asylum-Seekers.pdf>

- Huber, L. P., Lopez, C. B., Malagon, M. C., Velez, V., & Solorzano, D. G. (2008). Getting beyond the 'symptom,' acknowledging the 'disease': Theorizing racist nativism. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 11(1), 39-51.
- Indeed. (2017). Immigration & refugee specialist. Retrieved from <https://www.indeed.com/cmp/Catholic-Charities-of-Northwest-Florida/jobs/Immigration-Refugee-Specialist-087f1de5c384cb0e?q=Refugee+Resettlement>
- International Rescue Committee. (2017). The IRC's impact at a glance. Retrieved from <https://www.rescue.org/page/ircs-impact-glance>
- Iowa Department of Human Services. (2017a). History of the bureau. Retrieved from <https://dhs.iowa.gov/refugee-services/history>
- Iowa Department of Human Services. (2017b). Voluntary agencies (VOLAGs). Retrieved from <https://dhs.iowa.gov/refugee-services/voluntary-agencies>
- Jordan, M. (2018, March 1). Spurned by U.S. and facing danger back home, Iranian Christians fear the worst. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/01/us/iranian-christian-refugees.html>
- Kaleem, J. (2017, October 24). Trump administration announces new vetting rules for refugee admissions. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-refugee-vetting-20171024-story.html>
- Kellner, D. (2016). *American nightmare: Donald Trump, media spectacle, and authoritarian populism*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: SensePublishers.

- Kelly, J. F. (2017a). *Enforcement of the immigration laws to serve the national interest*. Washington DC. Retrieved from <https://www.dhs.gov/publication/enforcement-immigration-laws-serve-national-interest>.
- Kelly, J. F. (2017b). *Implementing the President's border security and immigration enforcement improvements policies*. Washington DC. Retrieved from <https://www.dhs.gov/publication/implementing-presidents-border-security-and-immigration-enforcement-improvement-policies>
- Khera, J. (2019). Stranded by Trump's US, refugees build new life in Austria. *AFP News*. Retrieved from <https://ph.news.yahoo.com/stranded-trumps-us-refugees-build-life-austria-024708587.html>
- Khrebtan-Hörhager, J., & Avant-Mier, R. (2017). Despicable others: Animated othering as equipment for living in the era of Trump. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 46(5), 441-462. doi:10.1080/17475759.2017.1372302
- Krogstad, J. M., & Radford, J. (2017, January 30). Key facts about refugees to the U.S. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/30/key-facts-about-refugees-to-the-u-s/>
- Kteily, N., & Bruneau, E. (2017). Backlash: The politics and real-world consequences of minority group dehumanization. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 43(1), 87-104. doi:10.1177/0146167216675334

- Lamothe, D. (2014, December 29). Meet Operation Freedom's Sentinel, the Pentagon's new mission in Afghanistan. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2014/12/29/meet-operation-freedoms-sentinel-the-pentagons-new-mission-in-afghanistan/?utm_term=.c8ae156a43f2#comments
- Largey, M., & Lopez, A. (2016, September 21). Texas threatens to withdraw from Refugee Resettlement Program. *Texas Public Radio*. Retrieved from <http://tpr.org/post/texas-threatens-withdraw-refugee-resettlement-program>
- LegiScan. (2017). Texas Senate Bill 4. Retrieved from <https://legiscan.com/TX/bill/SB4/2017>
- Levasseur, E. S. (2017, March 10). President Trump's March 6, 2017 Executive Order on immigration. *The National Law Review*. Retrieved from <https://www.natlawreview.com/article/president-trump-s-march-6-2017-executive-order-immigration>
- Lopez, A. (2017, February 7). Nonprofits formally take over federal refugee program in Texas. *KUT 90.5 Austin's NPR Station*. Retrieved from <http://kut.org/post/nonprofits-formally-take-over-federal-refugee-program-texas>
- Lowery, W., Kindy, K., & Tran, A. B. (2018, November 25). In the United States, right-wing violence is on the rise. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/in-the-united-states-right-wing-violence-is-on-the-rise/2018/11/25/61f7f24a-deb4-11e8-85df-7a6b4d25cfbb_story.html?utm_term=.e2e15d521602

- Lusk, M., & Terrazas, S. (2015). Secondary trauma among caregivers who work with Mexican and Central American refugees. *Hispanic Journal of American Sciences*, 37(2), 257-273. doi:10.1177/0739986315578842
- Lynch, C., De Luce, D., & McLeary, P. (2016, August 16). The U.S. helped birth South Sudan. Now Americans are being beaten and targeted by its troops. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/16/the-u-s-helped-birth-south-sudan-now-americans-are-being-beaten-and-targeted-by-its-troops/>
- Magña, L. (2016). Comparing and contrasting the rationales for SB 1070 and HB 56: A short analysis. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 35(3), 82-86.
- Martin, P. L. (2017). Election of Donald Trump and migration. *Migration Letters*, 14(1), 161-171.
- Martínez, G. A. (2012). Arizona, immigration, and Latinos: The epistemology of Whiteness, the geography of race, interest convergence, and the view from the perspective of critical theory. *Arizona State Law Journal*, 44(1), 175-211.
- Mayer, J. D. (2004). What is emotional intelligence? *UNH Personality Lab*, 8.
- Mayo, J. (2012). Court-mandated story time: The victim narrative in U.S. asylum law. *Washington University Law Review*, 89(6), 1485-1522.
- Mazzei, P. (2018, July 23). Congratulations, you are now a U.S. citizen. Unless someone decides later you are not. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/23/us/denaturalize-citizen-immigration.html>
- Meckler, L. (2018, January 8). Refugee admissions to the U.S. decline. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/refugee-admissions-to-u-s-off-to-slow-start-in-fiscal-year-2018-1515330001>

- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. (2018, March 14). Definition of immigrant. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/immigrant>
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mishra, A. K., & Spreitzer, G. M. (1998). Explaining how survivors respond to downsizing: The roles of trust, empowerment, justice, and work redesign. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), 567-588. doi:10.2307/259295
- Mohl, R. A. (2016). The politics of expulsion: A short history of Alabama's anti-immigrant law, HB 56. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 35(3), 42-67.
- National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. (1978). *The Belmont Report: Ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects of research*. Retrieved from https://videocast.nih.gov/pdf/ohrp_belmont_report.pdf
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2017). *Resolute Support mission: Key facts and figures*. Retrieved from http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2017_05/20170523_2017-05-RSM-Placemat.pdf
- Obama, B. H. (2016). Presidential determination on refugee admissions for fiscal year 2017. *Federal Register*, 81(196), 70315-70316.
- Office of Refugee Resettlement. (2012, July 17). Voluntary agencies. Retrieved from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/resource/voluntary-agencies>
- Office of Refugee Resettlement. (2013). About Wilson/Fish. Retrieved from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/programs/wilson-fish/about>

- Office of Refugee Resettlement. (2015, October 27). The history of the Matching Grant program. Retrieved from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/resource/the-history-of-the-matching-grant-program>
- Office of Refugee Resettlement. (2017, April 28). Wilson-Fish Chart. Retrieved from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/resource/wilson-fish-chart>
- Office of Refugee Resettlement. (2018, June 25). About the voluntary agencies Matching Grant program. Retrieved from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/programs/matching-grants/about>
- Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 695-705.
- Patnkin, J. (2016, July 13). US sends Marines to South Sudan to protect Americans. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/jul/13/us-sends-marines-to-south-sudan-capital-to-protect/>
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Payroll Paycom LLC. (2017). Refugee Services of Texas: Community wellness counselor. Retrieved from <https://www.paycomonline.net/v4/ats/web.php/jobs/ViewJobDetails?job=24444&clientkey=4B8A1928E9A68D3F835F138AAD26EF38>

- Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2016). The effects of immigration on the United States' economy. Retrieved from <http://www.budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2016/1/27/the-effects-of-immigration-on-the-united-states-economy>
- Petkovic, M., & Miric, A. A. (2009). Managing organizational knowledge while downsizing organizations. *Tourism and Hospitality Management*, 15(2), 257-265.
- Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). Chapter 4: U.S. public has mixed views of immigrants and immigration. Retrieved from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/chapter-4-u-s-public-has-mixed-views-of-immigrants-and-immigration/>
- Pogge, T. W. (1992). Cosmopolitanism and sovereignty. *Ethics*, 103(1), 48-75.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1991). Narrative and self-concept. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 1(2-3), 135-153.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 8(1), 5-23.
doi:10.1080/0951839950080103
- Poushter, J. (2017, February 6). Diversity welcomed in Australia, U.S. despite uncertainty over Muslim integration. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/06/diversity-welcomed-in-australia-u-s-despite-uncertainty-over-muslim-integration/>
- Prewitt, K., Alterman, E., Arato, A., Pyszczynski, T., Robin, C., & Stern, J. (2004). The politics of fear after 9/11. *Social Research*, 71(4), 1129-1146.

- Prins, E., & Toso, B. W. (2012). Receptivity toward immigrants in rural Pennsylvania: Perceptions of adult English as second language providers. *Rural Sociology*, 77(3), 435-461. doi:10.1111/j.1549-0831.2012.00081.x
- Refugee Act of 1980, 8 U.S.C. § 1101 *et seq.* (2016).
- Refugee Council USA. (2017). Services upon arrival. Retrieved from <http://www.rcusa.org/integration-of-refugees/>
- Refugee Processing Center. (2016). About us. Retrieved from <http://www.wrapsnet.org/about-us/about/>
- Refugee Processing Center. (2019a). Admissions and arrivals: Historical arrivals broken down by region (1975-present). Retrieved from www.wrapsnet.org/s/Graph-Refugee-Admissions-since-19753519.xls
- Refugee Processing Center. (2019b). Interactive reporting, admissions and arrivals. Retrieved from <http://ireports.wrapsnet.org/>
- Refugee Resettlement Program, 45 C.F.R. § 400.2 (2017).
- Rein, L., Hauslohner, A., & Somashekhar, S. (2017, February 11). Federal agents conduct immigration enforcement raids in at least six states. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/federal-agents-conduct-sweeping-immigration-enforcement-raids-in-at-least-6-states/2017/02/10/4b9f443a-efc8-11e6-b4ff-ac2cf509efe5_story.html?utm_term=.935cb49731b8
- Roe, E. (1994). *Narrative policy analysis: Theory and practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Romero, M. (2008). Crossing the immigration and race border: A critical race theory approach to immigration studies. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 11(1), 23-37.
doi:10.1080/10282580701850371
- Rusaw, A. C. (2004). How downsizing affects organizational memory in government: Some implications for professional and organizational development. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 28(3), 482-500.
- Sabia, D. (2010). The anti-immigrant fervor in Georgia: Return of the nativist or just politics as usual? *Politics & Policy*, 38(1), 53-80.
- Sacchetti, M. (2017, August 30). Federal judge blocks Texas' harsh anti-sanctuary law. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from
https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/immigration/federal-judge-blocks-texas-harsh-anti-sanctuary-law/2017/08/30/05dd770a-8cd0-11e7-8df5-c2e5cf46c1e2_story.html?utm_term=.1a7dc465b0c3
- Sánchez, G. J. (1997). Face the nation: Race, immigration, and the rise of nativism in late twentieth century America. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 1009-1030.
- Sattar, F. (2011). *Institutional challenges to refugee resettlement in the United States*. Paper presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting - American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, Nevada.
- Schmitt, A., Borzillo, S., & Probst, G. (2011). Don't let knowledge walk away: Knowledge retention during employee downsizing. *Management Learning*, 43(1), 53-74. doi:10.1177/1350507611411630

- Scribner, T. (2017). You are not welcome here anymore: Restoring support for refugee resettlement in the age of Trump. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 5(2), 263-284.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22, 63-75.
- Simpson, M., & Dominguez, A. (2017). The Texas "Show me your papers" bill. Retrieved from https://www.aclutx.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/sb_4_summary_one_page_version_-_english_05.11.17.pdf
- Smith, S. (2017, February 3). Young people less likely to view Iraqi, Syrian refugees as major threat to U.S. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/03/young-people-less-likely-to-view-iraqi-syrian-refugees-as-major-threat-to-u-s/>
- Steimel, S. (2016). Negotiating knowledges and expertise in refugee resettlement organizations. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2(1), 1-15.
doi:10.1080/23311886.2016.1162990
- Stoner, C. R., & Hartman, R. I. (1997). Organizational therapy: Building survivor health and competitiveness. *SAM Advanced Management Journal*, 62, 25-41.
- Thorsen, D. E. (2010). The neoliberal challenge: What is neoliberalism? *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice*, 2(2), 188-214.
- Tope, D., Pickett, J. T., & Chiricos, T. (2015). Anti-minority attitudes and Tea Party Movement membership. *Social Science Research*, 51, 322-337.
doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.09.006

- Torbati, Y., & Rosenberg, M. (2017, December 21). Exclusive: State Department tells refugee agencies to downsize U.S. operations. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immigration-refugees-exclusive/exclusive-state-department-tells-refugee-agencies-to-downsize-u-s-operations-idUSKBN1EF2S5>
- Trump, D. J. (2017a, January 25). Executive order: Border security and immigration enforcement improvements. *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/25/executive-order-border-security-and-immigration-enforcement-improvements>
- Trump, D. J. (2017b, January 25). Executive order: Enhancing public safety in the interior of the United States. *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/25/presidential-executive-order-enhancing-public-safety-interior-united>
- Trump, D. J. (2017c, March 6). Executive order: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/03/06/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>
- Trump, D. J. (2017d, January 27). Executive order: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States. *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/27/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>

- Trump, D. J. (2017e, October 24). Executive order: Resuming the United States refugee admissions program with enhanced vetting capabilities. *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-executive-order-resuming-united-states-refugee-admissions-program-enhanced-vetting-capabilities>
- Trump, D. J. (2017f, March 6). Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Homeland Security. *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/03/06/memorandum-secretary-state-attorney-general-secretary-homeland-security>
- Trump, D. J. (2017g). Presidential determination on refugee admissions for fiscal year 2018. *Federal Register*, 82(203), 49083-49084.
- Trump, D. J. (2017h). Presidential proclamation: Enhancing vetting capabilities and processes for detecting attempted entry into the United States by terrorists or other public-safety threats. *The White House*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-proclamation-enhancing-vetting-capabilities-processes-detecting-attempted-entry-united-states-terrorists-public-safety-threats/>
- Trump, D. J. (2018). Presidential determination on refugee admissions for fiscal year 2019. *Federal Register*, 83(212), 55091-55092.
- Tsui, A. (2018, February 18). In crackdown on MS-13, a new detention policy raises alarms. Retrieved from <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/in-crackdown-on-ms-13-a-new-detention-policy-raises-alarms/>

- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2017a, November 15). Central American Minors (CAM): Information for parole applicants. Retrieved from <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/humanitarian-parole/central-american-minors-cam-information-parole-applicants>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2017b, November 9). In-country refugee/parole processing for minors in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala (Central American Minors – CAM). Retrieved from <https://www.uscis.gov/CAM>
- U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. (2018). USCIRF concerned by denial of Lautenberg refugees from Iran [Press release]. Retrieved from <https://www.uscifr.gov/news-room/press-releases/uscifr-concerned-denial-lautenberg-refugees-iran>
- U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. (2017a, June 21). Case manager, Raleigh, NC. Retrieved from <https://workforcenow.adp.com/jobs/apply/posting.html?client=immandrefu#>
- U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. (2017b). Restoring what's been lost. Retrieved from <http://refugees.org/explore-the-issues/refugees-facts/>
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2017). Operation Inherent Resolve: Targeted operations to defeat ISIS. Retrieved from <https://www.defense.gov/OIR/>
- U.S. Department of State. (2017, January 20). U.S. Refugee Admissions Program FAQs fact sheet. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/j/prm/releases/factsheets/2017/266447.htm>
- U.S. Department of State. (n. d.). Refugee admissions. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/j/prm/ra/>

U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). The Reception and Placement Program. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/j/prm/ra/receptionplacement/>

U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2011). *Refugee assistance: Little is known about the effectiveness of different approaches for improving refugees' employment outcomes*. (GAO 11-369). Retrieved from <http://www.gao.gov/assets/320/317300.pdf>.

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2018, December 21). Combating Gangs. Retrieved from <https://www.ice.gov/features/gangs>

United Nations. (2017). World refugee day: 20 June. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/events/refugeeday/background.shtml>

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2011). *UNHCR resettlement handbook*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/4a2ccf4c6.html>

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2014). *USA country chapter: UNHCR resettlement handbook*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/4a2ccf4c6.html>

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2016). *Global report*. Retrieved from http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/gr2016/pdf/Book_GR_2016_ENGLISH_complete.pdf

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2017). Resettlement in the United States. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/resettlement-in-the-united-states.html>

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2018a). Figures at a glance. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/figures-at-a-glance.html>

- United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2018b). *Global trends: Forced displacement in 2017*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/statistics/unhcrstats/5b27be547/unhcr-global-trends-2017.html>
- University of Texas at Austin. (2017). The Texas Politics Project: Immigration. Retrieved from <http://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/polling/search/topic/immigration-13>
- Ura, A. (2017, September 30). Texas officially withdraws from refugee resettlement program. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/09/30/texas-officially-withdraws-from-refugee-resettlement-program/?utm_term=.0881bfc3e850
- Vargas-Hernandez, J., Noruzi, M. R., & Irani, F. N. H. A. (2011). What is policy, social policy and social policy changing? *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(10), 287-291.
- Wessler, S. F. (2018, December 19). Is denaturalization the next front in the Trump administration's war on immigration? *The New York Times Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/magazine/naturalized-citizenship-immigration-trump.html>
- Willis, R. (2018). The use of composite narratives to present interview findings. *Qualitative Research*, 1-10. doi:10.1177/1468794118787711
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (Sixth ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Young, J. G. (2017). Making America 1920 again? Nativism and US immigration, past and present. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 5(1), 217-235.

Yoxall, M. (2018). At the 'frontiers' of humanitarian performance: Refugee resettlement,

theatre-making and the geo-politics of service. *Research in Drama Education:*

The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 23(2), 210-227.

doi:10.1080/13569783.2018.1438179

Yuliyanto, H. (2017). *Phenomenon of knowledge management implementation in an*

organization. Paper presented at the The 2nd International Conference on

Vocational Higher Education (ICVHE) 2017: The Importance on Advancing

Vocational Education to Meet Contemporary Labor Demands, Bali, Indonesia.