Federal and Local Acceptance of Refugees: The Dual Structures Promoting Community Inclusion

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Thesis submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
In
Political Science

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May 6, 2019
Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: Refugee resettlement, public-private partnership, hierarchical, community-based, nonprofits, local government, integration, inclusion

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ABSTRACT

This thesis asks the question: what roles do local governments and nongovernmental organizations play in resettling refugees in U.S. cities? To answer this question, I conducted a case study of the refugee resettlement structure and process as it occurs in the city of Roanoke, Virginia. I find that two governance structures dictate how refugees are resettled into the city. The first stems from federal refugee policy, which establishes the use of a public-private partnership between federal and state governments and federated civic organizations. The second is an evolving local-level grassroots organizational structure that assesses the needs of refugees in Roanoke following their initial resettlement. In the case study on Roanoke I examine the support roles and practices of government institutions and nongovernmental organizations during the initial refugee resettlement period. Additionally, I examine aspects of long-term service provision and additional supports that move refugees towards social and economic inclusion. I conducted interviews with government and non-governmental leaders to grasp their understandings of existing practices and norms of local-level refugee resettlement. I also examined local survey data, economic and demographic data, media reports, and other public documents prepared by government agencies and nonprofit organizations. I identify who offers, or influences decisions about, specific supports for refugees at different times throughout the resettlement/integration process. I will suggest further implications of the supports provided for how they structure the pattern of refugees' economic and social inclusion. This thesis is designed to contribute to the limited literature on the process of local-level refugee resettlement in U.S. cities.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This thesis asks the question: How are refugees resettled by government agencies and private organizations at the local level? To answer this question, I examine how the U.S. preference of public-private partnerships to initially resettle refugees in U.S. cities produces a hierarchical structure that flows from federal policies and agency oversight to state and local level policies and practices. This structure exhibits a quasi-governance phenomenon in which both public and private actors make discretionary decisions on policy implementation throughout the resettlement process. I find also that besides the initial federal structure, a second local network structure forms among grassroots organizations that work to extend federal objectives and address service gaps in the formal resettlement structure. These unaddressed gaps primarily concern longer-term supports to promote refugees being socially and economically included in their communities. I performed a qualitative case study analysis of local refugee resettlement as it occurs in the City of Roanoke, Virginia. I conducted interviews with resettlement stakeholders among government agencies and private organizations in order to grasp their understandings of local-level refugee resettlement service provision. I also examined local survey data, economic and demographic data, media reports, and other public documents prepared by government agencies and nonprofit organizations. This thesis is designed to contribute to the limited literature on local-level refugee resettlement and the use of public-private partnerships for the provision of social services in the U.S.

Dedicated to my mother, whose devotion to her children knows no bounds. Through her provision of unconditional love, I discovered my passion for helping others. She is a mother who wanted to provide her children with a good life.

In this she was a success.

Also, to my father who taught me the value of hard work. He labored in hopes of a brighter future for his sons. His strong work ethic is only surpassed by his devotion to family and the love he bestows upon his children.

Finally, to my grandmother Maxine who showed me what strength and the will to endure means. If she can endure the trials of life, including the loss of a beloved son, then I can do the same.

I strive to be like them and like them, I strive to be better.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the staff of **Commonwealth Catholic Charities**, especially Laura Murphy, whom took the time to share with me the stories of their commitment to help refugees create a new life in Roanoke. Also, I would like to thank the many other government and non-government respondents who agreed to be interviewed for this research including Roanoke City Public Schools, Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services and Department of Health, Roanoke Public Libraries, Blue Ridge Literacy, Blacksburg Refugee Partnership, the Refugee Dialogue Group, and finally Mayor Sherman Lea.

Professor Weisband, thank you for pushing and challenging me to be better than I was and more than I am. Your mentorship and friendship are something I will always cherish.

Professor Christian Matheis, thank you for teaching me the art of criticality. By questioning the status quo, your insights on "persons seeking refuge" is what led me to look deeper into refugee resettlement in the United States and the structure that supports it. For that, I am truly grateful.

Professor Karen Hult, Professor Ryan Briggs, and Professor Karen Kitchens thank you for your patience and for taking the time to advise me in my time of need. You provided me with the methodological tools necessary to advance my skills in observation and taught me to consistently ask how I can improve.

Finally, I would like to thank my mentor **Professor Deborah Milly** whose patience, unending willingness to help, and dedication to empowering her students led me to strive for excellence. I am truly lucky to have you as a teacher and more importantly as a friend. The lessons you bestowed upon me have been a guiding light in my research and in my life. Sincerely, thank you for all you do. Working with you is truly an honor and a privilege.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
BRL	Blue Ridge Literacy
BRP	Blacksburg Refugee Partnership
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
CBPR	Community-Based Participatory Research
CCAP	Community College Access Plan
CCC	Commonwealth Catholic Charities
CDC	U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CoRWC	Colorado Refugee Wellness Center
CRP	Comprehensive Resettlement Plan
CRR	Coalition for Refugee Resettlement
CWS	Church World Service
DGMQ	Division of Global Migration and Quarantine
DHHS	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOS	U.S. Department of State
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECDC	Ethiopian Community Development Council
EDN	Electronic Disease Notification System
EL	English Language
ELL	English Language Learners
EMM	Episcopal Migration Ministries
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
FAMIS	Family Access to Medical Insurance Security Plan
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
GED	General Education Development
GR	General Relief Program
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IEP	Individual Employment Plan
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRC	Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees
IRC	International Rescue Committee
LHD	Local Health Department
LIHEAP	Low-Income Household Energy Assistance Program
LIRS	Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services
MAA	Mutual Assistance Associations
MG	Matching Grant
MRA	Midwestern Resettlement Agency
MRS	Migration and Resettlement Services
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NHP	Newcomer Health Program
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
ONS	Office of Newcomer Services
ORR	Office of Refugee Resettlement
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRM	Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
R&P	Resettlement and Placement
RAISE	Refugee Agency for Integration, Self-sufficiency, and Equality
RAM	Roanoke Area Ministries
RCA	Refugee Cash Assistance
RCGA	Roanoke Community Garden Association
RCHD	Roanoke City Health Department
RCPS	Roanoke City Public Schools
RDG	Refugee Dialogue Group
RDHSS	Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services
RHS-15	Refugee Health Screener-15
RIHP	Refugee and Immigrant Health Program
RMA	Refugee Medical Assistance
RRO	Refugee Resettlement Organization
RRP	Refugee Resettlement Program
RRP	Roanoke Refugee Partnership
RSS	Refugee Social Services
RSSEP	Refugee Social Services Employment Program
SNAP	Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Plan
STEP	Skills Training for Earning Potential
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
TAP	Targeted Assistance Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine
USCCB	United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
USCIS	U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services
USCRI	United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
VADSS	Virginia Department of Social Services
VCCI	Virginia Community Capacity Initiative
VNIS	Virginia Newcomer Information System
VOLAG	Voluntary Agency
WR	World Relief Corporation

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

As of December 2017, there are an estimated 65.6 million refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced people globally. Out of those, 22.5 million are considered political refugees under the care of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA).[1] In 2016, 189,300 refugees were resettled among 37 countries with the United States taking in the highest number of resettled persons at 96,900.[2] When people who seek refuge cannot be repatriated to their country of origin or when they cannot stay in their country of first asylum they are referred by the UNHCR and UNRWA for resettlement into a third country. In the United States, refugees who have undergone a thorough vetting before entering the country are resettled in local communities, where state and local governments and nongovernmental organizations play a central role in assisting in their adaptation process.

This thesis asks what roles local government and nongovernmental organizations play in the resettlement process in Roanoke, Virginia. Using a qualitative case study, I find that refugee resettlement organizations (RROs) and state and local governments often interact and make decisions independent of federal policy directions in providing support services in ways that affect both the initial and long-term social and economic inclusion of refugees into the city of Roanoke.

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[1] "Unhcr Figures at a Glance," http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/figures-at-a-glance.html.

[2] Ibid.

1.1 Research Question

In answering the question of what roles local government and nongovernmental organizations play in the resettlement process in Roanoke, several other questions arise: namely, who specifically is charged with refugee resettlement in Roanoke? For instance, the resettlement organization Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) has resettled refugees in the city of Roanoke for more than 35 years. Furthermore, several state and local Roanoke city departments maintain responsibility for delivering health and social services and administering relief benefit programs to resettled refugees, sometimes by drawing on programs and services for the general population.

Additional questions arise about the role other local grassroots organizations and voluntary groups play during the resettlement process. How does the combination of CCC, state and local agencies, and local grassroots organizations navigate the demographic, economic, political, and social conditions of Roanoke when delivering these services? Who is responsible for making decisions about organizational practices and local refugee resettlement service initiatives? Do the decisions about resettlement initiatives occur at the local level or at state and national levels of the civic and governmental organizational structures?

These questions are meant to identify which actors are responsible for resettling refugees in Roanoke and to further identify how these local actors interact with each other at the local level to achieve federally mandated resettlement requirements. Further, these questions will clarify whether local actors' decisions outside of federal refugee resettlement policy drive local resettlement outcomes.

1.2 Argument

I find that two governance structures dictate how refugees are resettled in Roanoke, Virginia. The first stems from federal refugee policy, which establishes the use of a public-private partnership between federal and state governments and federated civic organizations. This structure is organized hierarchically and decisions flow from established policies and guidelines for initially resettling refugees. The second is an evolving local-level grassroots organizational structure that assesses the needs of refugees in Roanoke following their initial resettlement and creates initiatives based on those needs. However, stakeholders from both governing structures interact formally as required by established federal guidelines, but also informally in order to address service provision gaps that remain in current U.S. refugee resettlement policy.

CCC plays a definitive role in the first structure and in how refugees are able to access service provisions provided by the federal government and the state of Virginia. While it is the primary objective of CCC to aid refugees in becoming self-sufficient within a short amount of time following arrival, it also exhibits the ability to make discretionary decisions about service provision depending on the distinct circumstances surrounding their refugee clients. Similarly, Roanoke city departments are held to strict policy guidelines in determining whether refugees qualify for certain programs, while also making discretionary decisions.

Roanoke grassroots organizations play a critical role in shaping long-term refugee resettlement in Roanoke. Their role becomes important as refugees phase out of initial resettlement programs. They instead focus on helping refugees work towards social and economic inclusion in Roanoke and in the U.S. more broadly. They are influenced by guidelines in federal policies and interactions with actors in the federal refugee resettlement structure but

are not restrained by policy requirements or cooperative agreements in the way that CCC and state agencies are.

This thesis illuminates the independent and interactive decisions and practices of government officials and private actors at different points in the refugee resettlement process. That decisions are made both formally and informally speaks to the dynamics of the public-private partnership (PPP) and its ability to grant private actors the discretion to interpret public policy while administering services. While some practices adhere to policy requirements and government contracts and agreements, other practices exhibit opportunities for both public officials and private actors to act with discretion. For example, RRO caseworkers or the city manager may interpret avenues of delivering resettlement services that are not clearly defined in resettlement policy or PPP cooperative agreements. Not only does this type of decision making occur during the initial resettlement of refugees', it continues after contractual obligations and agreements have ended.

1.3 Significance of the Research Question

This thesis adds to a limited body of literature that discusses local refugee resettlement as it occurs in specific localities in the United States. It contributes to research and case studies that have analyzed resettlement practices in other U.S. cities of various sizes and economic standing. The thesis is meant to serve a practical applied purpose both as a source of best practices and observed weaknesses in the U.S. refugee resettlement structure and as a tool for comparison to other U.S. cities. It further serves as an extension of previous research by analyzing long-term resettlement practices that go beyond initial self-sufficiency standards common in most other studies.

Not only does the thesis serve an applied purpose by assessing service delivery methods at the local level, it also has an academic objective to extend the conversation on how governance may occur through public-private partnerships (PPP). The thesis will add to the discussion of PPP dynamics in certain sectors of the U.S. economy, including health, human and social services, but it also may inform discussion of infrastructure and provision of other public goods and services.

A final significant aspect of this case study is its occurrence during a shift from what can be considered an expansive resettlement ideology to a more restrictive resettlement ideology. Under the administration of President Barack Obama, the number of refugees accepted into the U.S. was increased and the administration's public comments tended to focus on humanitarian concern regarding the refugee crisis. In contrast, the administration of President Donald Trump decreased the number of refugees accepted into the U.S.; the president issued a controversial travel ban while simultaneously shifting public commentary from humanitarian concern to that of increasing national security. This shift in ideology presents an opportunity to observe conditions of change that may affect resource allocation, public opinion, and the number of refugees admitted into the U.S. All of these may impact resettlement locally. This thesis shows how Roanoke's local government and nongovernmental organizations perceive conditions of change at the federal level and how they choose to respond.

In sum, this thesis will qualitatively assess the local context of contractual adherence, policy implementation, organizational practices, decision making capabilities and other distinctive aspects of refugee resettlement as they occur in public-private partnerships.

1.4 Introduction of Concepts and Historical Background of U.S. Refugee Resettlement

In this thesis I often refer to a concept that I call the *refugee resettlement structure* or *system*. When referring to this concept I am speaking of the complex network of both governments and nongovernmental organizations that are involved in the resettlement of refugees into a third destination country when repatriation to country of origin or resettlement into a first country of asylum is not a durable solution. This structure is vast and consists of governments and nongovernmental institutions, officials, and other stakeholders on international, national, state, provincial and local levels. The extent of the refugee resettlement structure and its complexity cannot fully be described in this thesis. Rather than attempt a comprehensive analysis of this structure I describe a specific portion, the local aspect, as it occurs in the United States. Sovereign states vary in their systems for accepting refugees and for how they distribute social services and aid to refugees. The United States uses a public-private partnership (PPP) method as its preferred process for refugee resettlement.

Under the U.S. refugee resettlement PPP, voluntary agencies (VOLAGS) enter into cooperative agreements with federal and state governments to provide specific services to help aid refugees with resettlement into cities around the United States. This partnership entails the federal government providing funding and grants to VOLAGs and their affiliate refugee resettlement organizations (RROs) so they can develop staff and other resources to meet required resettlement objectives and outcomes detailed in agreements. These agreements require a certain amount of reporting and communication between the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and the VOLAGs responsible for resettling refugees. Federal funding is also distributed to state health and social service departments to provide cash, medical assistance, and other services to refugees during resettlement. The origins of the U.S. refugee resettlement PPP can be

better understood through an overview of the unifying international basis of the refugee resettlement structure the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees.

U.S. participation in refugee resettlement began before the end of World War II (WWII). The push for the U.S. to accept and resettle refugees was led by a coalition of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches along with several secular civic organizations during WWII as the devastation of European communities and the growing number of displaced people became more evident.[3] Under pressure from faith-based organizations (FBOs), the Truman administration agreed to begin accepting displaced people for resettlement in the U.S., but required FBOs to fund 100 percent of the cost of resettlement.[4] It was this early intervention by FBOs and secular civic organizations that initiated the modern U.S. refugee resettlement public-private partnership.

The 1951 Refugee Convention was created following WWII and addressed the large number of displaced people throughout Europe.[5] It established a definition for a political refugee as follows:

> As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his 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, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.[6]

The 1951 Refugee Convention, signed by 145 nation-states, obliges signatories collectively address the political and humanitarian needs of refugees. A number of durable solutions to the

[3] Jessica Eby et al., "The Faith Community's Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011)., 589.
[4] Ibid., 589.
[5] "The 1951 Refugee Convention," UNHCR, http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/1951-refugee-convention.html.
[6] Ibid.

"refugee problem" were agreed on by member States, including repatriation to country of origin, resettlement in first country of asylum, or resettlement into a third country.[7] However, the 1951 Refugee Convention had spatial limitations in that it primarily addressed the aftermath of WWII and the resulting refugees within Europe.

As human displacement increased globally, the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees expanded the spatial scope beyond Europe to include refugees worldwide.[8] The United States ratified the Protocol in 1968, adopting the international obligation to accept and resettle refugees when repatriation to country of origin or resettlement into first country of asylum are not durable solutions.

The U.S. process for accepting refugees remained ad hoc for several decades following the creation of the 1951 Convention and the U.S. ratification of the 1967 Protocol. In 1980, FBOs and secular organizations once again criticized the ad hoc approach to resettling refugees. Many faith-based organizations testified before the Select Committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy in Congress to advocate for comprehensive reform of refugee admissions policy to assure uniform treatment for all refugee groups regardless of their country of origin.[9] Their work, along with certain members of Congress, culminated in the passage of the Refugee of Act of 1980.

The Refugee Act of 1980 established the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), located in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, whose director is tasked with creating uniform policies and administering funding to states for refugee placement, cash assistance, healthcare assistance, English language instruction, and employment training that aids in local

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] "The Faith Community's Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States.", 590.

resettlement and integration. The act also introduced the concept of "economic self-sufficiency."[10] This self-sufficiency standard was, and still is, measured by employment placement outcomes for newly arrived refugees. Thus, employment and self-sufficiency remain the "primary indicators" used to "measure the success of refugee integration" in the United States.[11]

The concept of *integration* will appear here as an undertone throughout this thesis, but it remains difficult to define. Stephen Castles and co-authors write, "The very broadness of the integration process makes it hard to define in any precise way. Integration of newcomers to a society takes place at every level and in every sector of society."[12] However, Alastair Ager and Alison Strang stress the importance of having a normative conceptual framework of integration that can be used for "analysis of relevant outcomes" for refugees and other immigrants.[13] They further elaborate on their framework as follows:

> Key domains of integration are proposed related to four overall themes: achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection relates to language, culture and the environment. [14]

While the focus of this thesis remains with locating the practices and decision-making

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[10] "Office of Refugee Resettlement, the Refugee Act," Department of Health and Human Services, https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/resource/the-refugee-act.

[11] "The Faith Community's Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States." 597.

[12] Stephen Castles et al., "Integration: Mapping the Field," (Oxford: University of Oxford: Centre for Migration and policy Research and Refugee Studies Centre, 2002). 113.

[13] Alastair Ager and Alison Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21, no. 2 (2008). 167. The term immigrant is often used throughout this thesis. Many of the services provided by government agencies and private organizations for refugees are also used to help economic immigrants in Roanoke more broadly. Therefore, when observing service provision in Roanoke one must remain aware of the impact they have on the immigrant community at large.

[14] Ibid. 166. A detailed analysis of Ager and Strang's integration framework is provided in Appendix B.

roles of Roanoke city departments, CCC and other affiliates, it will also provide examples of the themes and indicators of integration provided in Ager and Strang's framework, especially the theme of *achievement and access* and the indicators of *employment, housing, education and health*. Some indicators are quantifiable, others are not. In other words, specific indicators or outcomes, although important, are not the focus of this thesis; rather, the focus will remain on how Roanoke stakeholders utilize various practices in service provision to achieve desired outcomes. With that being said, presenting certain examples of specific outcomes will help enrich the descriptive analysis of the resettlement structure in Roanoke.

Similarly, this thesis also uses the concept *inclusion,* which in context can be understood as being interchangeable with *integration,* but at times remains distinct. Castles provide a definition of inclusion:

> The process whereby immigrants or refugees become participants in particular sub-sectors of society: education, labour market, welfare system, political representation etc. The emphasis is on active and conscious processes: that are policies of public agencies or employers, as well as on the role of the newcomers themselves.[15]

The terms *inclusion* and *integration* remain relevant concepts to consider throughout this thesis: inclusion presents important aspects of processes stakeholders utilize in the refugee resettlement structure including those by refugees themselves, while the term integration focuses more on the aspects of outcomes derived from these processes. Along with integration, examples of economic and social inclusion will be presented throughout.

[15] Castles et al., "Integration: Mapping the Field."

1.5 Methods and Site Selection

To investigate the refugee resettlement structure and processes in Roanoke, I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews and follow-up interviews with stakeholders in Roanoke City departments, Commonwealth Catholic Charities, and its affiliates between August 2017 and November 2018. Interviewees included scholars and experts that specialize in local refugee resettlement, public-private partnership, civil society, and civic organizations. Because of the expansive nature of even the local refugee resettlement structure, interviews could not be conducted with all stakeholders.

The interviews included: four with Commonwealth Catholic Charities in Roanoke, one with the Roanoke Mayor's office, two with officials in the Virginia Department of Human and Social Services in Roanoke, one in the Roanoke City Health Department, one with Roanoke City Public Schools, two with scholars with expertise in resettlement and civil society, one with Roanoke's Public Library, and two with local grassroots organizations. One state-level interview was also conducted with an official at the Office of Newcomer Services (ONS) in the Virginia Department of Social Services.

I began the interview process by first contacting the office of the Mayor of Roanoke, Mayor Sherman Lea. The Office immediately responded expressing the Mayors' willingness to meet and discuss refugees in Roanoke. Following the end of the interview, the Mayor asked who else I wished to speak with. When I informed him of my plan for the interview process with city agencies, he wrote down a list of all of people I should speak with involved with refugee resettlement in Roanoke. He said that if they did not respond to my request for an interview to let him know and he would make sure that it happened.

Following interviews with local leaders of city departments and local offices of state agencies, I began the second portion of the interview process with the local resettlement organization in Roanoke, Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC). The resettlement supervisor for CCC said that she also was willing to share her experiences of providing services to refugees as they resettle them in the City. During this process the resettlement supervisor referred me to individuals in various grassroots organizations so they could also share their perspectives on the local aspect of refugee resettlement. In turn these individuals would refer me to others that they thought would be an important addition to my interview list. The interview process exhibited a network aspect in which all interviewees knew each other and were aware of the expertise of others in certain areas of service provision. All individuals with whom I came into contact were willing to share their experiences about refugee resettlement in Roanoke.

In addition to interviews, I drew on publicly available documents, including policy and contractual agreement documents, media reports, court case filings, statistical data, organization reports, others, and secondary sources.

Interviewees, public documents, and secondary sources often refer to refugees as clients or newcomers. I recognize the importance of an ongoing nomenclature debate surrounding refugees. However, this debate remains outside the scope of this thesis. Input from refugees on self-status determination and the implications of nomenclature were not gathered for this work, but I think it is important to note such ongoing discourse and debate. For purposes of academic clarity and practical continuity the term *refugee* is used throughout the remaining portions of this thesis as it has been, but when the term *client* or *newcomer* is used in quotes or description it is referring to refugees.

Finally, the term immigrant is often used throughout this thesis. Many of the services provided by government agencies and private organizations for refugees are also used to help economic immigrants in Roanoke. Therefore, when observing service provision in Roanoke, one must remain aware of the impact services have on the broader immigrant community.

1.5.A Site Selection: The City of Roanoke, Virginia

This thesis uses the City of Roanoke, Virginia as the site to research the local aspect of the refugee resettlement structure. I chose the City of Roanoke for several reasons. The first is the City exhibits a relatively long history of resettling refugees and an even longer history of incorporating immigrants. Commonwealth Catholic Charities, the local level Refugee Resettlement Organization (RRO) in Roanoke, has been resettling refugees in the City for over 35 years.[16] The relatively long duration of accepting refugees means that organizations, their practices, and interactions among stakeholders are established and grant conditions for meaningful observations. Second, Roanoke is a relatively small U.S. city. Previous research on refugee resettlement has often focused efforts on observing resettlement outcomes and practices in larger U.S. cities. Choosing a smaller U.S. city will broaden the geographic, economic, and demographic scope of refugee resettlement research.

Commonwealth Catholic Charities resettles annually approximately 200 – 300 refugees in the City of Roanoke. This number is smaller than the resettlement numbers of other cities in Virginia, however, Roanoke accepts a more diverse range of refugees from different countries of

[16] Murphy, Laura. (Resettlement Supervisor, Roanoke CCC). In discussion with the author. August 30, 2018

Table 1.1 Roanoke City Refugee Allocations by Country of Origin 2013 – 2017

Country	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Grand Total
Afghanistan		17	33	80	71	201
Bhutan	71	29	10		7	117
Burundi		3	11			14
China				1		1
Cuba	5	8	23	18	2	56
Democratic Republic of Congo		13	58	25	11	107
Egypt					9	9
El Salvador					1	1
Eritrea	2		3	1		6
Ethiopia	6		1		4	11
Iran	6		12	2	5	25
Iraq	20	28	25	4	12	89
Ivory Coast	4	3				7
Jordan		2		1	13	16
Lebanon		1		13		14
Malaysia			1	3		4
Myanmar	21	10	15			46
Nepal	1			26	2	29
Other				8	12	20
Pakistan	5			22	15	42
Rwanda	2	3		8	7	20
Somalia	22	24	29	16		91
Sudan	9	17	5	5	5	41
Syria			2	8	2	12
Zimbabwe		12		2		14
Kenya				14	20	34
Tanzania				12	19	31
Turkey				3	3	6
Haiti				5		5
Ghana				3		3
Cameroon				1		1
Honduras					1	1
Grand Total	174	170	228	281	221	**1074**

Source: Data compiled through interviews and the Virginia Information for Newcomers System (VNIS)

origin than any other Virginia city.[17] Table 1.1 provides the number and range of refugees from different countries of origin resettled in Roanoke from 2013 – 2017.

[17] Tables are provided in Appendix A of other Virginia cities that exhibit larger refugee resettlement numbers but show less diversity among those resettled.

In the following sections a historical background for Roanoke is offered as well as current demographic, economic, and political conditions of the City. It is my belief that the context of refugee resettlement occurring under conditions distinctive to Roanoke help readers better grasp the findings presented in the case study. The importance of place is another undertone that will be addressed throughout this thesis and may illuminate why local government agencies and private organizations make certain decisions affecting local refugee resettlement in Roanoke.

1.5.B Historical Background for Roanoke, Virginia

> *The country surrounding this town had been richly blessed with the gifts of nature, and when formed had the most substantial blessings poured upon the face of the soil, from which the village drew its support. It literally flowed with milk and honey, and no country in the New South could boast of more prodigal gifts in a natural way than this lovely valley… During 1881 Big Lick seemed to suddenly cast off its lethargy and awake from its quiet repose with the avowed purpose of astonishing the world. All at once it began to lay off lots, the sound of the hammer and saw could be heard on all sides, and on February 3, 1882, the Legislature of Virginia changed the name of Big Lick to that of Roanoke, enlarging its territorial limits.*
>
> THOMAS BRUCE, Southwest Virginia and Shenandoah Valley 1891[18]

The Roanoke valley lies between the Blue Ridge and Virginia Highlands portion of the Appalachian mountain chain. The region has a rich history of early and subsequent European immigrant settlers.[19] Before their arrival the region was used as hunting grounds among several indigenous tribes. Cherokee visited the area from the south and Shawnee and Iroquois from the

[18] Thomas Bruce, *Southwest Virginia and Shenandoah Valley* (Richmond, VA: J.L. Hill Publishing Co., 1891)., 132,135.
[19] Donald E. Davis, *Where There Are Mountains: An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000)., 93-121.

north. [20] The peaks and valleys south of Shenandoah were surveyed by European traders and hunters as early as the mid-1600's but remained mostly unsettled until the mid-1700s. During this time farmers and tradesmen moved into the "great valley," particularly some notable English settlers from eastern Virginia and also Scotch-Irish and German settlers from Pennsylvania.[21]

During this time a small trading village grew up along the banks of the Roanoke River named Big Lick. The name referred to a group of salt outcroppings and marshes that attracted local wildlife including bison, deer, and elk.[22] Big Lick remained an agricultural village and fostered small trade until the junction of the Shenandoah Railroad, running south from Maryland, and the newly formed Norfolk and Western railway was created in 1882. The junction led the tiny village of Big Lick to reorganize into the Town of Roanoke that same year, and then charter as the City of Roanoke two years later in 1884.[23] The railroad brought rapid expansion and economic growth to the city and surrounding valley. The city grew so quickly that immigrants and visitors alike coined the nickname "Magic City" for Roanoke. This nickname is still sparsely used among local residents and businesses today.

Roanoke's geographic location made it an appealing site for railroad, manufacturing, textile, and furniture industries, as they could ship their products with passing coal cars to northern, mid-western and southern parts of the United States. A large sum of coal passed through Roanoke as it was carried from the Appalachian Mountains to power the industrial revolution. Many of the early trails used by settlers are paralleled by U.S. railway, interstate and highway systems as they navigate or cut through the steep grades of the Appalachian Mountains.

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[20] H. Tyler Blethen, "Pioneer Settlement," in *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*, ed. Richard A. Straw and H. Tyler Blethen (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
[21] Davis, *Where There Are Mountains: An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians*., 93-121.
[22] "City of Roanoke "History"," https://www.roanokeva.gov/934/History.
[23] Ibid.

[24] Thus, Roanoke has a close proximity to I-81, I-64 and I-77 making the region quickly accessible between the Northern, Southern, and Midwestern regions of the U.S. The heritage of the railroad industry in Roanoke still impacts the local economy today, although business and government leaders have been attempting to diversify economic strategies over the past three decades as coal and railroad jobs have waned in southwest Virginia.[25]

The region is also influenced by African American culture due to the history of slavery among the sparse farms and plantations dotting the valley, but further by the large number of emancipated peoples who migrated north following the U.S. Civil War.[26] By 1893, Black men made up approximately one-fourth of the male population in Roanoke.[27] The number of immigrants moving into Roanoke also increased as people sought economic opportunity from the burgeoning railroad industry. This included a large influx of Greek and Lebanese settlers in the late 1800's, followed later by other eastern and southern European immigrants. Roanoke now hosts residents of more than 100 nationalities.[28] Adding to this rich diversity is a population of newcomers who are, or once were, refugees. Their arrival into Roanoke was not necessarily one of economic choice, rather, it was the result of bureaucratic and organizational decision making. When refugees arrive in Roanoke, they confront localized economic and political factors that affect their resettlement and have been shaped by the history of Roanoke.

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[24] Blethen, "Pioneer Settlement.", 17-18
[25] Garry Kranz, "No Mountain Retreat," *Virginia Business Magazine*2002.
[26] John C. Inscoe, "Slavery and African Americans in the Nineteenth Century," in *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*, ed. Richard A. Straw and Tyler Blethen (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004)., 30-42.
[27] Mason Adams, "Poverty, Justice, and Education in Roanoke, Virginia," *Scalawag*, October 17 2017.
[28] Ibid.

1.5.C Roanoke Demographic, Economic, and Political Place-Based Factors

The City of Roanoke is a relatively small U.S. city with a population of approximately 99,300 as of 2016.[29] The racial and ethnic composition of Roanoke consists of 60.1 percent White or Caucasian residents, 28.1 percent Black or African American residents, 5.97 percent Hispanic or Latino residents, 2.72 percent who identify as two or more ethnicities, and 2.71 percent Asian residents. Out of all residents, 94.3% are U.S. citizens.[30]

Roanoke's economy supports employment of approximately 47,000 people.[31] Roanoke's economic sector include railway and transportation industries, finance and insurance services, healthcare and medical research, retail trade, education, construction, manufacturing, textiles and furniture making, and a diverse collection of hospitality and service industries. [32] Some of these industries have been in decline in the region over the past two decades including textiles, furniture making, and the railway.[33] Healthcare and social services make up the largest commercial sector in Roanoke, employing 17.6 percent of the population with Carilion Clinic being the largest employer with 10,000+ employees.[34] Carilion's partnership with Virginia Tech creating the Virginia Tech Carilion School of Medicine and Research Institute is considered by Roanoke officials and investors as a partnership that offers an environment in which new tech companies can startup and then remain in the area.[35] The Norfolk Southern Corporation, which operates railways transporting freight and passenger lines in and out of Roanoke, remains

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[29] "Data USA: Roanoke City, Va," https://datausa.io/profile/geo/roanoke-city-va/. Note: Data USA uses the American Community Survey (ACS), a tool provided by the U.S. Census Bureau, to calculate demographic changes between census collection years.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Kranz, "No Mountain Retreat."
[34] "Data USA: Roanoke City, Va". and "Roanoke Department of Economic Development - Major Employers," http://www.bizroanoke.com/About-Roanoke/Major-Employers.aspx.
[35] Mason Adams, "Regional Revival: Tech Sectors Helping to Rebuild Roanoke Area's Economy," *Virginia Business*2013.

another large employer with 1000 – 1499 employees.[36] However, former city manager Chris Morrill states that the Virginia Tech/Carilion partnership has shifted Roanoke from a "train city to a brain city."

Roanoke also has a robust private sector service industry supported by restaurants, hotels, cleaning and maintenance/repair services, and personal care services and when combined make up 17.5 percent of employment sector.[37] The next largest commercial sector is retail trade, with 12.2 percent of employment, followed by manufacturing at 9.7 percent.[38] A decline in manufacturing during the early 2000's, thought to be a symptom of globalization, has since reversed following the 2008 financial crisis.[39] The manufacturing sector in the Roanoke region has grown by 6.8 percent since 2010 and is ranked in the top 10 for manufacturing growth among midsized communities.[40] While job growth in Roanoke and the surrounding region falls behind national averages it continues to add both traditional manufacturing and tech industries at a rate that outpaces state and national averages.[41]

A diverse economic sector has consistently placed the unemployment rate in Roanoke below the national average despite the recession that followed the financial crisis of 2008. The trend of below national unemployment rate averages has continued over the past decade. However, the number of Roanoke residents who have dropped out of the job market, due to not being able to find work, is unavailable. Table 1.1 provides a comparison of the unemployment rates of the United States and the City of Roanoke, Virginia from 2013 through 2017.

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[36] "Roanoke Economic Development "Major Employers"," http://www.bizroanoke.com/About-Roanoke/Major-Employers.aspx.
[37] "Data USA: Roanoke City, Va". Note: This is combined percentages of "Accommodation and Food" with "Other Services, except public administration."
[38] Ibid.
[39] "Regional Revival: Tech Sectors Helping to Rebuild Roanoke Area's Economy."
[40] Cushman & Wakefield, "Roanoke Va, Market Report," (Glen Allen, VA: Thalhimer, 2018).
[41] Adams, "Regional Revival: Tech Sectors Helping to Rebuild Roanoke Area's Economy."

Table 1.22 National and Roanoke Unemployment Rates 2013-2017

U.S. / ROANOKE, VA	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE*	7.4%	6.2%	5.3%	4.9%	4.4%
ROANOKE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE*	5.7%	5.2%	4.5%	4.1%	3.8%

Source. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor *Annual rates calculated as an average of monthly scores provided for each year.

Regardless of low unemployment rates and a growing and diverse economic sector, poverty remains problematic for Roanoke affecting the white working class, minorities, and women. Roanoke has approximately 22,600 residents living below the poverty line, or 22.2 percent of the population. This percentage is considerably higher than the national average of 14 percent.[42] Roanoke's poverty rate is also higher than the Virginia poverty rate average, which is around 13 percent.[43] Although the largest percentage of residents below the poverty line is White or Caucasian residents at 44.9 percent, Black or African American residents are affected disproportionally as they make up 41.2 percent of those below the poverty line. Also, women make up 56.8 percent of residents below the poverty line.

The New York Times collected poverty data in 2015 from a 20-year Harvard study on upward mobility opportunity for children and found that Roanoke ranked in the bottom 10 out of 2,478 localities in the U.S.[44] The study found that these results were common among southern cities including Charlotte, North Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia, which also ranked low.[45] The commonalities found in Roanoke and other southern cities that contribute to higher rates of

[42] "Data USA: Roanoke City, Va". Note: This suggests that wages are low in Roanoke. The median income is $39,201 which is below the median income of the U.S. and Virginia.
[43] "Poverty, Justice, and Education in Roanoke, Virginia."
[44] Ibid. Note: The data may be skewed for Roanoke and other Virginia cities as they are considered independent from Virginia counties. While the city itself shows a negative correlation, the surrounding counties shows a positive correlation. Opportunity may be found in the region at large that is reflected in other cities that are not considered independent from the counties in which they reside. Even so the studies finding should still stand.
[45] Ibid.

poverty include "long-term neighborhood segregation, growing income inequality, quality of schools, violent crime rates," and "a smaller rate of two-parent families."[46]

Neighborhood segregation is not only limited to racial segregation but also includes economic segregation. Mason Adams writes, "Today, Roanoke remains a highly segregated city, not just by race but also by class. The lines blur, of course, but longtime residents know that rich Whites live in southwest, poor Whites live in southeast, Blacks live in northwest, and northeast is more of a melting pot."[47] Other data in the Harvard study place Roanoke in the 98th percentile for racial segregation, 91st percentile for economic segregation, and the 98th percentile for homes with children and single mothers.[48]

One way that Roanoke's leadership strives to reverse these trends is through supporting public education initiatives. The on-time graduation rate in Roanoke has increased from less than 60 percent for 2007-2008 to 89.67 percent for 2016-2017 and the on-time graduation rate for Black students was even higher at 89.97 percent for the same academic year.[49] These rates fall slightly below the Virginia rate of 90 percent in both categories. Even with these improvements, 40 percent of Roanoke minority children attend schools where two-thirds of all students are in poverty. The president and CEO of United Way of Roanoke Valley, Alfira DeVries says, "Surroundings matter greatly to kids…If they see people who have done what they're capable of doing, they may believe they have opportunities ahead of them."[50] In discussing outreach programs for impoverished Roanoke residents, Monica Seiler, the captain of The Salvation Army of Roanoke says, "People in Roanoke want to help, but many don't know how. It's often easier

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Matt Chittum and Sara Gregory, "Decades of Inequality and Lack of Opportunity Have Generational Cost in Roanoke," *The Roanoke Times*, May 6, 2017.
[49] Adams, "Poverty, Justice, and Education in Roanoke, Virginia."
[50] Chittum and Gregory, "Decades of Inequality and Lack of Opportunity Have Generational Cost in Roanoke."

to address someone's immediate needs than the root of the problem, so short-term solutions abound, sometimes at the expense of long-term solutions."[51]

The revitalization and diversification of the Roanoke economy continue to have positive effects in the city and surrounding region, but the effects are dispersed disproportionately. In his first State of the City address in 2016, Roanoke Mayor Sherman Lea praised recent economic success in the city before a crowd of mostly business leaders but before doing so noted the following about poverty:

> Before talking about the future, I think it's important to note our challenges: Roanoke's population includes a significant number of people who live in poverty. Part of our responsibility as leaders is to invest in our community and do what we can to reverse this situation. It is vital for us to provide opportunities for these citizens to lift themselves out of poverty and become active in the things that will move our community forward.[52]

Many representatives of the nonprofit community are happy that poverty is now part of the discussion.[53] Changes in education statistics show that the city is responding to the challenge's poverty presents.

Economic and demographic place-based factors must be considered when discussing the resettlement of refugees in Roanoke, but further consideration should also be given to political climate and attitudes, another place-based factor in Roanoke. Politically, Roanoke has a council-manager (CM) form of government in which six members are elected to a relatively small council compared to other larger U.S. cities.[54] The mayor, elected separately as the seventh member of Roanoke City council, serves as "first among council members" and has a "bully

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Sherman Lea, "2016 State of the City," (Roanoke, VA2016).
[53] Adams, "Poverty, Justice, and Education in Roanoke, Virginia."
[54] Kathy Hayes and Semoon Chang, "The Relative Efficiency of City Manager and Mayor-Council Forms of Government," *Southern Economic Journal* 57, no. 1 (1990). 167.

pulpit" enhanced ceremonial and advocacy role while also voting on council measures.[55] A city manager, hired and fired by Roanoke City council, maintains executive authority over city employees and municipal departments.[56]

Roanoke resident voting trends lean heavily towards the Democratic Party. In the 2016 presidential election, Hillary Clinton received 56.1 percent of Roanoke residents' vote compared to 38.5 percent won by Donald Trump.[57] In the same election, Roanoke was one of two localities in Virginia's 6th congressional district in which Republican incumbent Bob Goodlatte did not carry a majority of the vote; Harrisonburg, Virginia was the only other locality. In city council elections, the overwhelming majority of candidates either run as Democrats or as Independents. It is rare that Republican candidates run for city council and the last time a Republican held a seat on city council was in 2004.[58]

Roanoke politics were cast into the national spotlight in 2015 following the remarks of then Roanoke Mayor David Bowers when he called for local government and nongovernmental agencies to halt resettling Syrian refugees in the city. He stated, "I am convinced that it is presently imprudent to assist in the relocation of Syrian refugees to our part of Virginia."[59] He continued his comments regarding his call to "suspend and delay" assistance to Syrian refugees: "I'm reminded that President Franklin D. Roosevelt felt compelled to sequester Japanese foreign nationals after the bombing of Pearl Harbor," he said, "and it appears that the threat of harm to

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[55] Ibid. 167.

[56] Ibid. 167.

[57] "2016 Virginia Presidential Election Results," Politico, https://www.politico.com/2016-election/results/map/president/virginia/.

[58] Matt Chittum, "Roanoke Election Offers a Chance for a Council Makeover, or Endorsement of Status Quo," *The Roanoke Times*, Apr 28, 2018 2018.

[59] "Roanoke Mayor: No Syrian Refugees to Roanoke Valley until Security Assured," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Nov. 18, 2015.

America from ISIS now is just as real and serious as that from our enemies then."[60] The Mayor drew swift international criticism and despite initial attempts to stand by his comments, pressure from Roanoke City council for him to resign and rebukes from outspoken critics among national democratic leadership forced him to walk back his statement. He later apologized to Americans of Japanese descent. Bowers stated, "I've worked hard for 16 years to be a friendly mayor to all the 105 nationalities in our city, and I want to continue to do so."[61]

Amidst the fallout following Bowers' statements on Refugees, Roanoke was removed as a "Welcoming City" by the organization Welcoming America, a national organization that promotes inclusivity for immigrants and refugees.[62] Many local business leaders wanted Roanoke to be placed back on the Welcoming City list, and Welcoming America agreed to do so if the City would "re-affirm its support for the organization's values."[63] After a council member argued against re-affirming a previous proclamation by Bowers, now considered tainted, the Council instructed lawyers to draft a new proclamation to be delivered directly by the council rather than the Mayor, and it passed unanimously.[64]

Following this action Welcoming America reinstated Roanoke as a Welcoming City. According to its website Welcoming America values consist of the following:

> A Welcoming City or County is one that joins the Welcoming America network and works across multiple sectors, such as government, business, and non-profit, to create inclusive policies and practices such as making it easier for entrepreneurs to start a business or having government documents available in multiple languages. Welcoming Cities are guided by

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Daniel Victor, "Roanoke Mayor Apologizes for Japanese Internment Remarks," *New York Times*, Nov 20, 2015.
[62] Matt Chittum, "Roanoke City Council Passes Resolution Saying City Is Welcoming," *The Roanoke Times*, Dec 21, 2015.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

> the principles of inclusion and creating communities that prosper because everyone feels welcome, including immigrants and refugees.[65]

Welcoming America further describes the difference between a welcoming city and a "sanctuary city." A welcoming city "focuses on economic development and inclusion policies for immigrants and refugees," while a sanctuary city "implements policies prohibiting, limiting, or resisting the use of local resources and law enforcement to implement federal immigration laws."[66] However, it is important to note that Welcoming America does not discourage or repudiate such actions taken by sanctuary cities.

In their research on Welcoming Cities, Xi Huang and Cathy Yang Liu find that cities that participate in the Welcoming City program exhibit several commonalities, which lead local policy makers to join the program. Those commonalities include larger minority populations, higher college education levels, lower median household incomes, economic adversity, yet, greater fiscal and institutional capacity (revenue building capacity) than those found in other cities that do not participate.[67] Roanoke scores highly in all of these categories including immigrant population growth. Out of the 50 Welcoming City members in 2019, Roanoke ranked third from last in foreign-born population, at 3.1 percent in 2000, yet ranked third in immigrant population growth from 2001 to 2010 at 116.1 percent.[68] With a burgeoning immigrant population, the political attitudes of Roanoke remain an important place-based factor to consider moving forward.

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[65] "Welcoming America," https://www.welcomingamerica.org/programs/member-municipalities.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Xi Huang and Cathy Yang Liu, "Welcoming Cities: Immigration Policy at the Local Government Level," *Urban Affairs Review* 54, no. 1 (2016)., 26.
[68] Ibid., 9-10.

In an interview with the current Roanoke Mayor Sherman Lea, I asked about the circumstances surrounding Mayor Bower's comment and whether it was representative of the City as a whole. He responded that, "Roanoke has long been a welcoming city and a city that strives to be inclusive for all of its residents. Furthermore, it will remain a city that not only accepts refugees but welcomes them into the community."[69] He noted it was true a small percentage of Roanoke residents voiced concern over resettling refugees, but mostly those concerns were raised directly after Mayor Bowers' tenure had ended. He also admits that "still from time to time" he has to reassure a few residents that the process of resettlement is safe, but for the most part they are "easily reassured."[70] Mayor Lea continued speaking on the subject of security, saying:

> The age we are in means security remains in the back of my mind at all times and what concerns me is what concerns most Americans. Questions on whether refugees are vetted properly to make sure they don't pose a threat to the community are valid. However, I try to see the best in everyone, and refugees are simply looking for a chance to enhance their lives. I believe that Roanoke residents should trust the federal government for assessing security and look to local government to strengthen and enhance their lives. This includes refugees and other newcomers. The city has accepted and welcomed newcomers for a long time. We will continue to do so.[71]

This thesis considers the demographic, economic, and political conditions of place, along with historical influences, when making observations on the local aspect of refugee resettlement. Place-based factors distinctive to Roanoke may constrain how actions and practices are formed in Roanoke and may limit some of the findings in this thesis. Other limitations on the findings in this thesis are considered as well.

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[69] Lea, Sherman. (Mayor of Roanoke, VA). In discussion with the author. September 6, 2017
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

1.6 Limitations

In the emphasis on service providers in one city, this thesis possesses limitations. Since the findings rely on the testimony of those that deliver resettlement services, it lacks perspective from refugees for whom this process is meant to serve. This may result in a service delivery perspective bias. Furthermore, the thesis identifies specificities in service provision that may be distinctive to Roanoke. The analysis of these practices may not be representative of refugee resettlement in other U.S. states and cities. In fact, some U.S. states use alternative models of service delivery within the refugee resettlement structure. One example includes the Wilson-Fish model in which the state government appropriates funding to VOLAGs and private organizations for the entire delivery of resettlement services and assistance benefits rather than utilizing local branches of state agencies.[72] Therefore, the findings in this case study may be somewhat different from studies that observe the Wilson-Fish model. However, this study will still offer opportunities to compare similarities and differences between these models.

1.7 Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 offers a detailed review of literature on the U.S. refugee resettlement structure and concepts that pertain to the resettlement process. The chapter first examines the formation of civil society in the U.S. and its interconnectivity with governments on federal, state and local levels. Second, it narrows the civil society discussion to the historical role of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in refugee resettlement. Following this it overviews U.S. federal and state policies and an identification of the problems the refugee resettlement structure faces in the

[72] Blessing Enekwe, "Refugees and Resettlement: A Qualitative Analysis of Refugee Integration through Social & Support Services" (Dissertation, University of Maryland, 2016).

United States. Finally, Chapter 2 reviews case studies of local refugee resettlement in different cities throughout the United States.

Chapter 3 examines the federal hierarchical structure that works to initially resettle refugees in the City of Roanoke. The chapter examines the positionality of key stakeholders in this structure and locates the various roles and services they provide throughout the initial resettlement process.

Chapter 4 demonstrates how the hierarchical structure presented in Chapter 3 gives way to a grassroots organizational structure that steers refugees toward opportunities for social and economic inclusion in Roanoke.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis by providing an analysis of the findings in the case study. The chapter will expand on the implications of public-private partnership and governance in local refugee resettlement. It will also illuminate how local resettlement stakeholders are able to address place-based and ethno-cultural factors. The chapter discusses implications for long-term social and economic inclusion of refugees. Finally, the chapter will recommend areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

2.1 Introduction

In asking how public-private partnerships characterize local refugee resettlement, this thesis finds a basis in literature on the historical formation of links between civil society and the U.S. national government and other aspects of the federal system as well as that on the public-private partnership dynamic found in the U.S. refugee resettlement structure. To examine this literature, I consider how debates over whether and to what extent civil society federations emerged autonomously from or through intervention from governments. Following this, I examine literature on government accessibility by nonprofits to advocate for policy outcomes and the historical role of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in past refugee resettlement policy. The second section of this chapter presents literature that describes the current U.S. refugee resettlement structure and locates the different public service capacities in which federal and state governments rely on voluntary agencies and their affiliates to help refer, process, and resettle refugees. Finally, I examine previous local-level case studies of refugee resettlement in the United States and consider the authors' various perspectives on how place-based factors, ethnocultural differences, and resettlement agency factors affect resettlement outcomes. The different analytical approaches these studies used inform the analysis of Roanoke presented in subsequent chapters.

2.2 Civil Society, Public-Private Partnership, Nonprofits and Faith Based Organizations

2.2.A Institutional Formation of Federated Civic Organizations in the U.S.

The historical and institutional formation of civil society helps illuminate the complex relationship between federal, state and local governments, and civic organizations. Civic

organizations often advocate for certain policies that are informed by their societal goals. This section demonstrates that large federated organizations function in concert with U.S. governmental institutions and that national organizations are not far removed from local civic voluntarism.

In their research on the institutional origins of civic voluntarism in the United States, Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson argue that previous notions that early U.S. voluntary civic organizations were small and disconnected from government are incorrect.[73] Instead most local voluntary groups were branches of larger "supra-local" groups that utilized the newly formed U.S. federal system of government as a template to form their own hierarchical governance structure within civil society. They write that an, "institutional approach to civic life suggests that state, politics, and society are – for better or worse – inevitably intertwined."[74]

Their view, however, opposes widely held beliefs among others, such as Peter Drucker who "contrasts America's tradition of 'voluntary group action from below' to 'the collectivism of organized governmental action from above," and George Will, who "portrays voluntary groups as neighborly 'little battalions' doing battle with the federal government's big battalions."[75] Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson also find that classic liberal theorists "rarely disparage" the federal governments' relationship with local civic organizations, but communitarians posit that "national interventions have compromised local civic virtue." [76] Indeed, Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson contend scholars have also made "similar presumptions" that national level forces can be "at best irrelevant to," and perhaps worse, may be "obstructive"

[73]Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," *The American Political Science Review* 94, no. 3 (2000).
[74] Ibid., 542.
[75] Ibid., 527.
[76] Ibid., 527.

or harmful to civil society (The contrary but equivalent argument of civil society's possible negative impact on democracy will be discussed later).[77] Social capital theorists such as Robert Putnam and Gerald Gamm have argued in a similar fashion that the "civic core was in the periphery" because most associations were created in small communities and were mostly "homogeneous."[78] These perspectives on civil society lead to what Skocpol, Ganz and Munson refer to as the "small is beautiful school of civic virtue" where theorists posit that voluntary civic organizations are structured horizontally rather than vertically, and "sustain face-to-face networks essential for healthy democracy."[79]

To challenge the *prima facie* view of the "small is beautiful" camp, Skocpol, Ganz and Munson use a theory presented by Arthur Schlesinger that takes into account "voluntary bodies of sizable membership." They posit that indeed large associations that enroll the memberships of hundreds of thousands, to even millions, have been present since early in the development of U.S. civil society. The ability for these larger "trans-local" associations, or associations with a federated organized hub and small localized branches, to form was due to the availability of the organizational plan provided by the U.S. constitution, thus, blue prints were available for civil society to mimic.[80] Skocpol, Ganz and Munson describe this early process as follows:

> According to institutional theorists of organizational development, organization-builders who face complex challenges in conditions of uncertainty are inclined to copy well-understood, already legitimate models in their environment. Dynamic variants of sociological institutionalism suggest that innovative adaptations of this sort are likely when ambitious but somewhat marginalized organizers (such as immigrants to America) confront unprecedented challenges or opportunities and are able to draw on a new "repertoire" of collective action. After the American Revolution, the U.S. Constitution

[77] Ibid., 528.
[78] Ibid., 528.
[79] Ibid. 528
[80] Ibid., 533.

> offered a widely understood and prestigious model for cross-local coordination in an era when popular mobilization made sense for all kinds of purposes. Once some groups used this model successfully, others found it legitimating and competitively advantageous to follow suit.[81]

The authors add that rather than this method diverging into class segmented association building (due to industrialization), the U.S. Civil War reinforced the legitimacy of federalism as the "preeminent model for large-scale association building."[82] It was necessary for all to organize to rebuild.

The trans-local federations that used this model stabilized and became a driving force for civic voluntarism not only in local communities, but at state and national levels as well.[83] This model allowed for large civic membership growth especially in smaller cities where the authors research showed the highest level of federated civic organizations. Skocpol, Ganz and Munson write, "Constructed as intricate combinations of organizational authority and member engagement, America's great voluntary federations could help geographically mobile citizens create, coordinate, and sustain local voluntary groups as well as simultaneously generate sufficient clout to affect politics or societal mores beyond as well as within local communities."[84]

The perspective provided by Skocpol, Ganz and Munson illuminates the continuity of civil society's health not only lying in "local face-to-face interactions alone but in the nature of connections between powerful supra-local institutions and local or particular endeavors."[85] The vitality of civic voluntarism may be tied to its parallel, historical growth in the U.S. national

[81] Ibid., 533.
[82] Ibid., 533.
[83] Ibid., 533.
[84] Ibid., 541.
[85] Ibid., 542.

government, and therefore, may want to consider shifts in democratic processes from representative governance to increasing private sector governance and vice versa. These shifts can be better understood within the dynamic of public-private partnerships in which decision-making occurs by both government officials and private actors.

2.2.B Public-Private Partnerships and Shifting Governance

USCCB and its Virginia affiliate CCC enter into cooperative agreements and contracts with both the U.S. federal government and the state government of Virginia to provide specific services to refugees as they are resettled in Virginia localities. Among these localities is the City of Roanoke. A review of the dynamics that govern partnerships between government and private entities to provide public goods and services is offered here. What follows is an analysis of public-private partnership dynamic and its dual role as a managerial and political force shaping how public goods and services are provided to U.S. citizens and those under the protection of the United States federal government.

The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) defines public-private partnerships (PPPs) as:

> An agreement between government and one or more private partners (which may include the operators and the financiers) according to which the private partners deliver the service in such a manner that the service delivery objectives are aligned with the profit objectives of the private partners and where the effectiveness of the alignment depends on a sufficient transfer of risk to the private partner.[86]

[86] Graeme A. Hodge and Carsten Greve, "On Public-Private Partnership Performance: A Contemporary Review," *Public Works Management & Policy* 22, no. 1 (2017). 57.

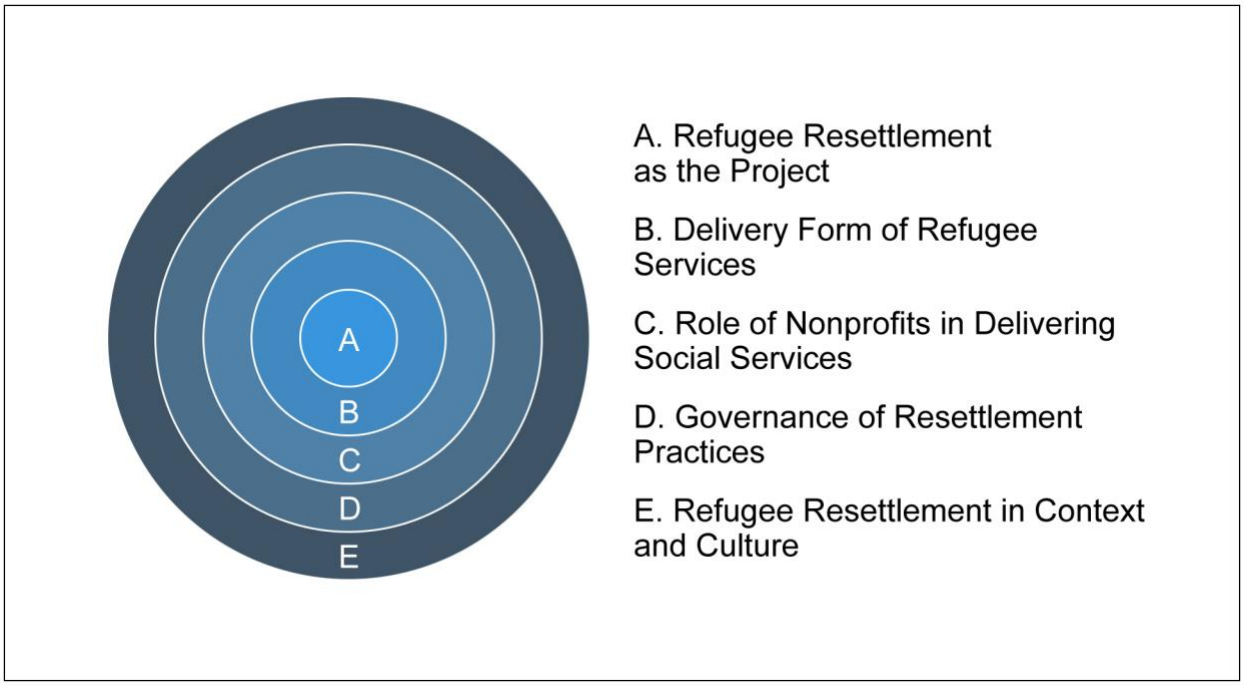
Van Ham and Koppenjam describe PPPs broadly as the "cooperation between public-private actors in which they jointly develop products and services and share risks, costs and resources which are connected with these products and services."[87] Graeme Hodge and Carsten Greve conducted research on the success of specific infrastructure public-private partnerships, but placed infrastructure P3s, as they refer to PPPs, in a category of "one of several different families of partnership activities between the two sectors (public-private)."[88] They write that "while conversations about P3s can be complex in the disciplines of engineering and project finance, they remain stubbornly ambiguous, fluid, and slippery in the disciplines of political science, public policy and administration."[89] Hodge and Greve lay out a conceptual approach to understanding the complex dimensions of what they call the "P3 phenomenon," placing it not only as a "procurement or managerial entity," but as a "political entity" as well.[90] This structure is represented in Figure 1.

Circle A represents a "specific project or activity" a government wishes to complete or engage.[91] For example, as this thesis will outline later in detail, local refugee resettlement is viewed as the PPP itself, and "comments on the success or failure of the project amount to comments about" the PPP.[92] In other words "refugee resettlement" as a product is being described in this nested view of public-private partnerships.

Circle B represents PPPs as a "specific type of delivery mechanism with a specific institutional and financial architecture in place to initially fund" the project and see to its

[87] H. Van Ham and J. Koppenjan, "Building Public-Private Partnerships: Assessing and Managing Risks in Port Development," *Public Managment Review* 4 (2001).
[88] Hodge and Greve, "On Public-Private Partnership Performance: A Contemporary Review." 57.
[89] Ibid. 57
[90] Ibid. 60
[91] Ibid. 58
[92] Ibid. 58

Figure 2.1 Public-Private Partnership Phenomenon in Refugee Resettlement



Source. Modification of figure from Hodge and Greve (2017) to reflect refugee resettlement.

"continual operation."[93] Hodge and Greve note in the past this level of analysis primarily observed equal financing from both the public and private sectors. However, a shift has occurred towards more private financing, especially in the infrastructure economic sector.[94] They argue that this shift has led to, "a bundling of long-term contracts through a consortium," and perhaps more importantly, "new governance and accountability assumptions" have formed through this shift in funding under the PPP dynamic.[95]

Circle C represents "private finance delivery as a policy preference" for any given jurisdiction.[96] This ultimately legitimizes the role of the private sector into the wider context of a "mixed economy, whatever technical delivery option is chosen."[97] Circle D explains why PPP

[93] Ibid. 58
[94] Ibid. 58
[95] Ibid. 58
[96] Ibid. 59
[97] Ibid. 59

has "always had an inherent governance dimension." They explain this level with the following example:

> the Labour government of the United Kingdom throughout the 1990s struggled to develop its relationship with the City of London. But as Hellowell (2010) pointed out, P3 provided the incoming Tony Blair and his 'New Labour' government with advantages. Indeed, the use of private finance had the 'crucial [political] advantage that borrowing undertaken through it did not score against the main calculations of national debt' and borrowing was thus 'invisible' to public sector borrowing and investment measurements. Blair's re-branding of the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) as P3 not only assisted U.K. New Labour in establishing a stronger relationship with the City of London, but international promotion of P3 ideas then established this relationship to be cemented. Both of these political characteristics of P3 suggest that P3 continues to have an inherently political, and thus governance, context as well as any functional engineering or economic meaning.[98]

The final level, Circle E, represents PPP as a fluid process or the "need to innovate, to commercialize, and to professionalize."[99] An example the authors present of this level is the Beijing Line 4 construction project. The project has been labeled by the Chinese government as a PPP project even though it has "public ownership of just above 92% and would by western standards be considered a 'public-public' partnership."[100] In other words, in this instance, the PPP "brand represents change."[101] Or put differently, it represents societal change in which the view of the public has shifted towards the acceptance of PPPs as a new form of governance and a new method of delivering public goods and services.

This thesis primarily focuses on Circle B, or the delivery infrastructure in place that leads to certain outcomes in Circle A. However, it also provides, albeit not exhaustively, inferences of

[98] Ibid. 59
[99] Ibid. 60
[100] Ibid. 60
[101] Ibid. 60

success and failure in the other areas of the PPP structure. My analysis identifies where certain decision-making occurs in this infrastructure, whether by government or by private entities. Hodge and Greve write, "Interestingly, P3s are much like a form of quasi-governmental body, emerging in a multiplicity of forms through ad hoc processes, and frequently a function of executive rather than legislative decision."[102] Therefore it can be assumed that "success" not only lies in the efficiency and effectiveness of the PPPs, but also whether the PPPs, due to decisions made by private actors, are accepted as a form of legitimate governance. Nonprofits such as Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) are involved in a public-private partnership for refugee resettlement. Thus, governance under the PPP dynamic for refugee resettlement deserve further inspection.

2.2.C Non-Profits and Advocacy within the Public-Private Partnership Dynamic

Government regulations under the dynamic of Public-Private Partnership affect the ability of nonprofits to advocate for those whom they serve. Many nonprofits can be differentiated from for-profit private firms, often used for infrastructure projects, in how they are regulated by governments. Given that several nonprofits are involved in refugee resettlement in Roanoke, including CCC, this section will describe the PPP relationship between nonprofits and federal, state, and local governments.

Nonprofit status adds another dimension to the complexity of PPPs, as policies under the current tax code of the United States restrict political action that nonprofits can undertake while filing under the 501(c)(3) provision. In addition, or instead, many nonprofits have state-based charters. It should be noted here that the term non-profit can be misleading as Jeffrey Berry

[102] Ibid. 66

writes, "it is perfectly legal for non-profits to make a profit; it is impermissible to distribute any profits to shareholders, but making a profit is just fine."[103] There are also many types of nonprofits under the IRS tax code, 27 to be exact, but charities are the specific type of nonprofit being discussed here.

In a study of nonprofits and civic engagement, Jeffrey Berry argues that the current structure of the 501(c)(3) tax filing status has an impact on the amount of advocacy and lobbying that a nonprofit may engage in with both government representatives and administrative officials.[104] It also affects the ability of nonprofits to engage in grassroots lobbying among its members and in the communities which they reside.[105] The role of nonprofits delivering both health and human services continues to grow in the United States as "the push to keep government ostensibly lean and mean" has meant that social services have been "subcontracted to nonprofits so that new government employees do not have to be hired."[106] This trend continues, and it seems that privatization of what was once government provided services will continue into the future. Thus, the role of nonprofits providing services to the less fortunate, namely the poor, minorities, immigrants, and more particularly the focus of this study, refugees, continues to increase. This role of providing services is coupled with the role of connecting the less fortunate with government. Berry writes, "In every community in the country, there is a dense network of nonprofits that not only provide essential services to residents but also link neighborhoods to city hall."[107]

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[103] Jeffrey M. Berry, "Nonprofits and Civic Engagement," *Public Administration Review* 65, no. 5. (2005). 569
[104] Ibid., 576
[105] Ibid., 571
[106] Ibid., 569
[107] Ibid., 569

However, section 501(c)(3) hinders the ability to engage directly and indirectly with federal, state and local governments, as it "bluntly, if ambiguously, sets a limit on the amount of allowable legislative advocacy by these organizations."[108] Nonprofits as organizations have the ability to relay information to policymakers that concern both their members and the people they serve. However, as mentioned earlier, civic engagement via lobbying is potentially harmful or helpful in practice to democracy and is considered a paradox by many political scientists.[109] On the one hand, liberty entails the right to form associations, and on the other, the capability of associations to influence government officials can work against public good or even the liberty of those outside the association. Berry writes of James Madison's opinion in *Federalist No. 10*, "that the new constitution would free 'factions' to lobby for their own selfish goals."[110] However, Madison found that if the newly formed government acted to rein in or halt the formation of associations it would result in consequences more undesirable than the associations themselves. James Madison writes, "Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency."[111] The U.S. federal government has mechanisms in place to regulate such associations or "factions" as Madison refers to them. For example, nonprofit lobbying efforts can be regulated through tax code.

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[108] Ibid., 570 Note: This study occurred before the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Citizens United v. FEC changed how nonprofits could make expenditures through media platforms. The effects of this change are not assessed here, and the regulations being discussed in this paper are still intact. However, it is important to note possible avenues of indirect or direct influence of government officials and grassroots lobbying through the nonprofit sector outside of campaign finance.

[109] Ibid., 571

[110] Ibid., 572

[111] James Madison, "The Federalist Papers No. 10," United States Congress, https://www.congress.gov/resources/display/content/The+Federalist+Papers#TheFederalistPapers-10.

In addition to federal funding, nonprofits accept donations from private citizens who in return receive a federal tax deduction. Berry describes the rationale behind regulating nonprofits based on this tax structure:

> Tax deductibility is a powerful incentive for potential donors to contribute. For example, for those with a marginal income tax rate of 35 percent on their federal returns, a $1000 contribution to a 501(c)(3) effectively cost them just $650. Tax deductibility under section 501(c)(3) constitutes a tax expenditure. This, in turn, results in subsidy to nonprofits from those who don't contribute: If government chooses to spend money through tax expenditure for nonprofits, it must draw more revenues from other sources. If there were no subsidy for donations to nonprofits, our marginal tax rate could be a bit lower. Alternatively, if there were no subsidy for nonprofits, government could spend more on programs or create other subsidies.[112]

This subsidy structure provides the national government the legitimacy to regulate how nonprofit's fund advocacy, including direct lobbying of policymakers, and expenditures on grassroots organization in their communities. The ability for nonprofits to organize at the local level (grassroots), to educate and inform their constituents and the people they serve to mobilize could prove more effective than direct lobbying efforts.[113] However, this often does not occur out of fear of the non-profit losing its 501(c)(3) filing status over breaking regulatory standards in direct lobbying and indirect grassroots organization.

Berry goes further to explain how the regulatory framework, "outside campaign finance," gives an unfair advantage to "business lobbies who face few restrictions, whereas nonprofits are extensively regulated."[114] Companies like "Enron and the Teamsters Union have more rights in our political system than the Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation or the Children's

[112] Berry, "Nonprofits and Civic Engagement.", 570
[113] Ibid., 571
[114] Ibid., 572

Defense Fund."[115] The "substantial criterion" in the 501(c)(3) tax code expresses a vague regulatory measure that often makes nonprofits wary of any political activities including lobbying and community organization.

Berry's research provides an example of how the complex nature of PPPs can become muddied in the political realm. Limits, or perceived limits, to the scope of political advocacy that is possible affects nonprofits and the people whom they serve on behalf of the U.S. government. These limitations are often not found in the commercial sector which enjoys far more privileged lobbying access. Advocacy limitations, whether real or perceived, reflect an example of an adversarial relationship between the federal government and nonprofits. This occurs even though nonprofits have become an important extension of the federal welfare state through PPP long term contracts and cooperative agreements.

The federal-level analysis presented in Berry's research does not, however, examine how nonprofits navigate around governmental relationships locally. I find his claim that local-level grassroots advocacy is hindered by the U.S. tax structure may not be sufficiently supported by the evidence presented in his research. This thesis will examine whether the dynamics Berry presents actually hinder the ability of grassroots organizations in Roanoke to create opportunities for advocacy.

2.2.D The History and Role of Faith Based Organizations in Refugee Resettlement

USCCB and CCC are not only nonprofits; they are also faith-based organizations (FBOs), and as such, even further nuanced consideration must be given to their distinctive position in the complicated structure of refugee resettlement. Communities of faith and FBOs

[115] Ibid., 572

have played an essential role in responding to the issues faced by refugees even before international institutions, governments and subsequent norms began to politically address refugee status and needs. Eby, Iverson, Smyers and Kekic argue that the role of the faith communities led the United States in becoming "the leading refugee resettlement country in the world."[116] They write, "The public-private partnership for refugee resettlement in the U.S. would be impossible on the scale that exists today without the involvement of these faith-based organizations and community groups."[117] The authors emphasize the historical precedent of these faith communities in aiding refugees even before the creation of 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and "long before the U.S. ratified the 1967 protocol."[118]

Church World Service (CWS), a group of Protestant churches, along with Roman Catholic counterpart organizations, pressed the Harry Truman administration and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (ICR) for policies that would allow faith communities and voluntary agencies to resettle refugees from camps across Europe.[119] The initial agreements made with voluntary agencies required they provide 100 percent of the funding to resettle refugees in the United States. Eby, Iverson, Smyers and Kekic write, "Church World Service (CWS) received case files of refugees eligible of for resettlement and worked with the national leadership of its member denominations to contact local churches within their networks and secure sponsors, to assist refugees with employment, housing, and facilitating access to education, health and other services. Before the end of 1946, CWS had resettled 1,488 refugees in 32 cities across the United States; by the end of 1952, the number was in excess of 51,000."[120]

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[116] Eby et al., "The Faith Community's Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States.", 587.
[117] Ibid., 587.
[118] Ibid., 589.
[119] Ibid., 589.
[120] Ibid., 589.

On FBOs working on the local level, Eby, Iverson, Smyers, and Kekic emphasize organizations' ability to effectively provide expertise to "build relationships, establish local support networks, and meet people who can provide different forms of assistance, including facilitating access to services and employment opportunities."[121] Even ethnic and secular resettlement organizations often partner with FBOs and faith communities to strengthen their ability to resettle refugees effectively. Faith communities continue to be some of the strongest supporters and consistent source of volunteers in providing access to services in localities where refugees are resettled.[122]

One difficulty with FBOs acting as service providers is the possibility for proselytizing, or the attempt to convert an individual from one faith, or no faith, to another. However, the authors find that CWS follows principles found in the American Red Cross Code of Conduct which states, "1) Aid is given regardless of the race, creed, or nationality of the recipients and without adverse distinction of any kind; and, 2) Aid will not be used to further a particular political or religious standpoint."[123] Furthermore, the US Refugee Admissions Program makes non-proselytizing a requirement.[124] Even though this is a long standing principle for FBOs, the U.S. Constitution and cooperative agreements with the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) does not prohibit FBO workers, or volunteers, from discussing their faith. However, the authors find that most workers and volunteers "err on the side of caution" to not offend refugees of different faiths and consider the possibility that refugees may have been persecuted because of their spiritual beliefs in their country of origin.[125] Even with these

[121] Ibid., 592.
[122] Ibid., 593.
[123] Ibid., 594.
[124] Ibid., 594.
[125] Ibid., 595.

limitations Eby, Iverson, Smyers and Kekic find that faith communities' involvement offers unique opportunities in matters of faith. They write, "The nature of cross-cultural and inter-faith relationships can tend towards misunderstanding. However, it is precisely in the attempt to overcome these barriers – linguistic, religious, and cultural – that refugees and the communities that host them can learn a great deal from one another."[126] In other words, inter-faith and inter-ethnic learning helps to diminish fears and misconceptions on each side of the religious and ethnic equation during resettlement.

Research by Stephanie J. Nawyn, on the other hand, warns of complications that may arise out of FBO involvement and inter-faith interactions during refugee resettlement. Past coercive proselytizing has occurred in exchange for assistance provision and differences in religious practice, both between and within faiths, can work to strain connections between refugees and service providers.[127] Nawyn writes, "Within resettlement NGOs, the religious beliefs and ethics of both refugees and resettlement workers become intertwined with the public sphere. Faith-based NGOs' position in resettlement allows them to lay claim to the otherwise secular activities of the state, thus, participating in what Casanova (1994) referred to as the 'deprivatization' of religion."[128] In light of this, Nawyn finds that the possibility of secular and religious lines being blurred is not only possible, but occurs regularly. Advocacy cannot be divorced from this concept either because of the role that non-profits, including a majority of which are FBOs, interact at the local, state and federal levels of government. Even with the possibility of overlap between religious, secular and civic-life, most VOLAGs remain in the sphere of providing social welfare and services devoid of religious influences, even though

[126] Ibid., 595
[127] Stephanie J. Nawyn, "Faith, Ethnicity, and Culture in Refugee Resettlement," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 49, no. 11 (2006)., 1510.
[128]Ibid., 1511.

religious influences may be at the center of their charitable convictions.[129] These issues cannot be overlooked as resettlement workers and volunteers try to navigate the challenges that refugees face as they resettle in the United States.

This thesis will examine how using a faith-based organization affects the resettlement structure locally. Are organization practices influenced by religious doctrine or do federal and state policies guide how services will be provided during the resettlement process?

2.3 United States Refugee Resettlement Structure

2.3.A U.S. Refugee Resettlement Structure and the Public-Private Partnership Dynamic

To identify and locate Refugee Resettlement Organizations (RROs) within the U.S. refugee resettlement structure, I turn to work by Joanne van Selm, which compares the different types of PPPs working in refugee resettlement in Europe and the United States. Van Selm locates five stages in which RROs and voluntary agencies (VOLAGs), "have a stake" in the resettlement process in the United States.[130] The first occurs at the referral stage in which the United States government relies on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), an "inter-government agency," the International Organization for Migration (IOM), an "inter-state organization," and VOLAGs for refugee referrals and to "assist in case preparation prior to Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) adjudication."[131] In 2003, following van Selm's research, the INS was reorganized under the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) into three offices; the U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services (USCIS), U.S.

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[129] Ibid., 1514.

[130] Joanne van Selm, "Public Private Partnerships in Refugee Resettlement: Europe and the Us," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4, no. 2 (2003). 162

[131] Ibid. 162 The INS used in this research has since been reorganized and placed in the Department of Homeland Security.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP).[132] Other researchers, such as Irene Bloemraad, find this departmental reorganization under national security apparatus problematic especially when "security is largely defined as against foreign threats."[133] According to van Selm's assessment, this partnered referral process occurs for "many if not most cases" of refugee resettlement in the United States.[134] VOLAGs receive funding from the U.S. Department of State to help with the preparation process, while the INS (now DHS) oversees the security and entry process for refugees prior to their arrival.[135]

The second stage in which VOLAGs have a stake in the resettlement process occurs with the decision of placement, or which refugees are to be welcomed by which cities or states (Iowa is considered equivalent to VOLAGs in this capacity).[136] Nine VOLAGs "meet weekly at the U.S. State Department's Refugee Processing Centre" for "allocation meetings."[137] These VOLAGs include: Church World Service (CWS), Ethiopian Community Development Council (ECDC), Episcopal Migration Ministries (EMM), Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), International Rescue Committee (IRC), U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI), Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services (LIRS), United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), and World Relief Corporation (WR).[138] The VOLAGs consider refugee family reunification and health concerns when deciding which locality to place refugees.[139] The third stage of resettlement in which the nine national VOLAGs, more specifically their local

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[132] Irene Bloemraad, *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2006)., 250.
[133] Ibid., 250.
[134] Selm, "Public Private Partnerships in Refugee Resettlement: Europe and the Us.", 162.
[135] Ibid., 162.
[136] Ibid. 163
[137] Ibid. 163
[138] "Office of Refugee Resettlement; Voluntary Agencies," https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/resource/voluntary-agencies. Accessed 11/25/2017
[139] "Public Private Partnerships in Refugee Resettlement: Europe and the Us." 163

subsidiary RROs, play a role is in greeting refugees upon arrival to their destination city of resettlement.[140]

Fourth, and perhaps the most complicated role of VOLAGs and their subsidiary RROs in refugee resettlement, and most aligned with the research undertaken in this thesis, is in the provision of the "full range of integration and social services available to refugees in each state."[141] Finally, the fifth stage of the resettlement process that VOLAGs and RROs play a role is in advocacy and policy shaping. Among PPPs, advocacy actions by RROs can often appear as being "adversarial" toward government officials. This is due to the dual roles that RROs have in resettlement: delivering services to refugees and potentially lobbying to create new policies or change existing ones. Van Selm writes, "The lobbying role is not one that will disappear-nor should it. However, it is this role that may also complicate public-private partnerships. As advocates, officials might sometimes view the RROs with cynicism. As government partners, RROs might also risk losing some credibility with populations at a certain point as they might be seen to be 'bought in' to the existing system."[142] This aspect of the refugee resettlement PPP and the issues that arise from lobbying was discussed at some length in the previous sections.

The United States has a distinctive model of PPP in the refugee resettlement system compared to its European, Australian and Canadian counterparts. According to van Selm the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) has a "wide range of social integration and welfare-related issues" that are covered by federal policies and programs but does not implement them; this is due to the size of the ORR which has relatively small office with roughly 30 employees.[143] Instead the federal government employs a large funding apparatus that "enable[s] 10 voluntary

[140] Ibid. 163
[141] Ibid. 163
[142] Ibid. 164
[143] Ibid. 170

agencies [including the state of Iowa] and numerous mutual assistance associations to implement the various elements of its plan."[144] Writing about the policy objectives of the ORR she states, "It implements none of these itself." However, this portion of van Selm's research seems to be incomplete, as will be apparent later in this thesis, in that both governmental and nongovernmental partners are responsible for delivering services at the state and local levels. Further, simply because funding is dispersed by the federal government to state and local governments does not eliminate the role the federal government plays in monitoring service delivery at the local level. This is especially evident in the role of oversight conducted by the ORR and its ultimate role as the PPPs' long-term contract guarantor.

2.3.B U.S. Refugee Resettlement Problems and the Well-Being of Refugees

Regardless of the long-standing practices of government agencies and NGO's, namely VOLAGs and decades of service provision, practical challenges exist for resettling refugees in locales around the United States. Research offered by Norman Zucker illuminate these issues, which he places in three categories. The first category is systemic-managerial problems (Levels 2 and 3 in Hodge and Greve's model), which refer to the "interrelationships of the actors – refugees; federal, state, and local agencies; and the volags – in resettlement."[145] One example of a systemic-managerial problem is disruptions that occur at the local level because of changes in federal administration which filters down through bureaucracy. This can often lead to a change in how standing refugee resettlement policy is interpreted, therefore, changing service delivery methods and reporting requirements. Drastic fluctuations in the number of refugees entering the

[144] Ibid. 170

[145] Norman L Zucker, "Refugee Resettlement in the United States: Policy and Problems," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 467, no. The Global Refugee Problem: U.S. and World Response (1983)., 182.

U.S. resettlement system can also occur due to presidential authority over border control. VOLAGs can also exhibit managerial problems that result from the practice of non-uniform policies and procedures among their satellite offices in different cities and locales. Finally, problems may arise due to resource availability, including the availability of qualified and knowledgeable personnel which may diminish "administrative capabilities" to resettle refugees.[146]

The second category according to Zucker is philosophical problems (Levels 4 and 5 in Hodge and Greve's model) that "remain open-ended," and deal with such questions as whom to accept as refugees, at what level the government should intervene, how much funding should be allocated, and of those funds, how much should be public versus private. The final category is refugee-specific problems (Level 1 of Hodge and Greve's model), which include issues that impact refugees' day to day living, and how, in turn, refugees may impact the community in which they have been resettled.[147] Instances of this issue can include both economic and cultural aspects.

Research by Anastasia Brown and Todd Scribner finds that continual analysis of the refugee resettlement system is necessary to locate specific problems faced by refugees and the resettlement agencies charged with integrating them into host societies. They write, "In addition, recent studies by private organizations have identified the need to commission further analysis on the institutional structures, relationships, processes and funding of the domestic resettlement program."[148] Brown and Scribner find that early employment requirements and self-sufficiency

[146] Ibid., 183.
[147] Ibid., 184.
[148] Anastasia Brown and Todd Scribner, "Unfufilled Promises, Future Possibilities: The Refugee Resettlement System in the United States," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 2, no. 2 (2014)., 103.

standards work as a hindrance to refugees becoming "accustomed to their new surroundings."[149] The simultaneous objectives of the PRM – to resettle the most vulnerable – and the ORR – to promote self-sufficiency – may also conflict and work as a disservice to those who are traumatized by experiences in their country of origin.[150] Brown and Scribner contend that increased funding to support programs such as English language instruction and employment training will better serve refugees as they integrate. Decreasing time constraints for locating early employment so refugees can adjust to their new surroundings would also help those most vulnerable. Brown and Scribner contend these changes would also lead to easier navigation of complex U.S. social service systems including healthcare, and to help foster better communications with law enforcement.[151]

Further, Brown and Scribner find that the perception of refugees by host communities changed with the shifting view of refugee assistance to a form of welfare in the 1980s. Policy and rhetoric from neo-liberal agendas has had lasting effects on how Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) and Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) are viewed by the public. They write, "Instead of recognizing financial and medical support for these communities as transitional assistance meant to help refugees acclimate to a new homeland – as they should be understood – the use of assistance became viewed by some as a form of dependence."[152] Resettlement assistance for refugees declined by 48% during this shift in budgetary conservatism during the 1980s.[153] To counter public opinion paradigms, Brown and Scribner suggest publishing studies showing the benefit of accepting and resettling refugees. This action could raise awareness of little-known

[149] Ibid., 106.
[150] Ibid., 107.
[151] Ibid., 108.
[152] Ibid., 109.
[153] Ibid., 109.

refugee societal contributions such as tax revenues generated from refugee entrepreneurship.[154] Low amounts of funding still remain an issue for resettlement agencies as they work to adequately provide services and meet the basic needs of newly resettled refugees.

Another problem Brown and Scribner identify is secondary migration. Secondary migration occurs when a refugee voluntarily moves out of the initial locale of resettlement to seek better employment or to find an ethnic network established by previously resettled refugees from their country of origin. In many instances of secondary migration RROs' ability to provide aid and assistance to refugees becomes more difficult or may end altogether as contact ceases between the RRO and refugee. Even though not implicitly stated by the authors, the issue of secondary migration also alludes to the laissez-faire practices of the federal government when it comes to keeping track of resettled refugees to ensure they are being provided the necessary assistance. This will be discussed further in the case study presented in coming chapters.

Finally, Brown and Scribner discuss a flawed system of coordination and information sharing among the agencies involved in resettlement. They recommend that the role of the Coordinator for Refugee Affairs should be enhanced to streamline information sharing between international admission offices and local resettlement offices and that could better serve for a smoother transition.[155] This would include sharing information collected in admissions such as health and mental health records and an in depth analysis of refugees' life and experiences.[156] While confidentiality remains a concern, there may be avenues to share this type of information so that resettlement agencies can be better prepared for specific issues facing individuals and families to be resettled. Also, increased sharing of information could occur between the federal

[154] Ibid., 111.
[155] Ibid., 114.
[156] Ibid., 115.

government and resettlement agencies on budgetary analysis and the proposed number of refugees to be resettled for any given fiscal year. Lags in the current budgetary system and the sharing of that information forces many resettlement agencies to be reactive instead of proactive.[157]

Findings in this research inform this thesis to explore the question of the problems that local resettlement stakeholders face. How is information shared between government agencies and resettlement organizations? Further, how do federal policies that emphasize self-sufficiency and early employment dictate how local government agencies and organizations form resettlement practices.

2.3.C A State-level Comparison of Refugee Outcomes in the U.S.

The previous section located past and current problems in the U.S. refugee resettlement structure, but a question worth asking is what outcomes refugee resettlement produces. Although this thesis addresses the processes of service provision more than outcomes, data on refugee outcomes are useful for establishing background on the results of resettlement service provision and for suggesting what to pay attention to in the case study.

In a report presented to the Transatlantic Council on Migration, Michael Fix, Kate Hooper and Jie Zong assess socioeconomic outcomes of different refugee populations across four states; the study also allows them to test for a "lottery effect."[158] The "lottery effect" is a phenomenon that "shapes the integration of refugees resettled in different locations where different labor markets, housing costs, and social welfare benefits affect their long-term

[157] Ibid., 115.
[158] Michael Fix, Kate Hooper, and Jie Zong, "How Are Refugees Faring: Integration at U.S. And State Levels," ed. Lauren Shaw and Michelle Mittelstadt (Washington D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2017). et al.

prospects and potentially spur secondary migration."[159] Other researchers note these regional and local economic and social factors as "place-based factors" and have considered them as having a strong effect on integration outcomes.[160]

Fix, Hooper and Zong find that several differences in assistance provision occur among U.S. states. An example is the funding of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) which can vary depending on the state of resettlement. Under this program, cash benefits paid out to families were $789 per month in New York and $704 per month in California, while Texas only offered $285 per month and Florida, $303.[161] The authors also find that political climates vary by state, with the governors of Texas and Florida vocally opposing the resettlement of refugees from certain countries, but the governors of California and New York not doing so.[162]

Fix, Hooper and Zong analyze individual factors such as education levels, language ability and employment placement among differing groups of refugees in the states listed above. While they find considerable variations in levels of education occurred among refugees of differing country origins, overall, refugees' education levels mirrored the U.S.-born population, with the exception of Florida.[163] In English language proficiency, refugees' Limited English Proficient (LEP) score was approximately 10% higher than that of other immigrants and once again "varied widely" among different groups of refugees.[164] Most employment indicators revealed that refugee men attained higher levels of employment than U.S.-born men, while

[159] Ibid., 2.
[160] Katrina D. Connolly, "The Importance of Place for Refugee Employment in the U.S.: A Comparative Case Study" (Dissertation, The George Washington University, 2013)., Et al.
[161] Fix, Hooper, and Zong, "How Are Refugees Faring: Integration at U.S. And State Levels." 11. Note: The researchers did not attempt to factor in or offer explanations of differences in funding due to political influences or determine whether relative cost of living should be considered.
[162] Ibid., 11.
[163] Ibid., 14.
[164] Ibid., 15.

refugee women attained an equivalent employment rate as U.S. born women. However, once again, employment rates varied by country of origin.[165] The authors associate high employment numbers with the strong "work-first" emphasis of the current resettlement system. Notable exceptions to employment trends were found among refugees with "significant mental and physical health problems" and among those with "brain waste." Brain waste occurs among those with "high professional qualifications," who, "owing to limited English language proficiency and difficulty" in "obtaining professional credentials" have trouble in finding appropriate employment matching their skill set.[166] The focus on early employment and self-sufficiency may affect results in refugees' underemployment, which remains considerably higher than U.S. born citizens with a college degree.

Despite employment levels being greater or equivalent in most cases to U.S.-born citizens, newly arrived refugees have "low incomes, experience poverty, and rely on public assistance" more than other immigrants. Income gains for refugees resettled between 2006 – 2011 are considerably less than gains made by U.S. born households and also less than gains made by refugees who arrived during the 1980's, suggesting a falling income trend among newly-arrived refugees.[167] Variations in income levels across states are not pronounced. Finally, most refugees' ability to obtain public health insurance depends on whether states have chosen to expand Medicaid programs, as this omission can create a barrier to refugees to healthcare access, as the "cost of paying out of pocket is beyond the reach of many uninsured patients."[168]

The results of this study display limitations of place-based arguments, which the authors admit "may not be as pronounced than previously thought." They write:

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[165] Ibid., 16.
[166] Ibid., 16.
[167] Ibid., 17.
[168] Ibid., 18.

> National origins, rather than settlement location, seem to be more highly correlated with how refugees fare across a range of socioeconomic indicators such as employment, underemployment, and income. What accounts for the similarity of group outcomes despite state policy differences? One potential explanation may be the extensive network of the nine voluntary agencies that have been so central to the U.S. refugee resettlement program and that work across many different states. The breadth of these networks may mediate some state-to-state policy differences by effectively evening out the integration supports refugees receive nationwide.

The report offered by Fix, Hooper, and Zong shifts emphasis from place-based factors as having the most effect on state-level refugee settlement outcomes to the impact of country of origin and individual traits of refugees. However, the authors allude to the fact that the role of RROs may be understated as well. VOLAGs and other RROs may have a role in filling in service gaps more profound in certain states. Federated civic organizations may exhibit a unifying service provision doctrine that cross state borders and result in similar refugee outcomes nationwide.

2.4 Local Refugee Resettlement Case Studies

This section examines previous local-level refugee resettlement case studies and informs my analytical approach for the case study I conduct on refugee resettlement in Roanoke, Virginia. This section forms a basis for the kinds of questions I ask in my own research. The authors presented here offer various perspectives on the conditions that influence services and practices that initially affect refugee resettlement outcomes.

Irene Bloemraad continues research of the argument presented by Fix, Hooper, and Zong by examining *how* immigrants and refugees are settled by host communities rather than *where* they are settled. In her book, *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the*

United States and Canada, Irene Bloemraad studies the ability for immigrants and refugees to "politically incorporate" in their new host society.[169] She accomplishes this by conducting a local level comparative study of government institutions and ethnic and settlement organizations in Toronto, Ontario, and Boston, Massachusetts.

Bloemraad argues that while country of origin and personal traits as well as place-based factors, certainly matter, especially for the duration of time it takes for immigrants and refugees to politically incorporate, the reception they receive in host communities matters equally and in some cases more.[170] Bloemraad argues that, "formal organizations offer a greater ability to assist large groups of people because they pool resources."[171] This ability sometimes overrides social aspects and networks available to newcomers in each community. The function of pooling resources meets the need for financial, material, and "intangible" goods "such as accumulated collective knowledge."[172] In other words, NGO's that specialize in resettlement and integration have critical settlement and resettlement knowledge in specific communities and have the ability to apply that critical knowledge to "navigate state and local services, and governmental policies and procedures."[173] Bloemraad finds that much of migration scholarship today neglects focusing on the important role that organizations play at the local level and instead focus on social capital.[174] She writes, "Immigrants' political incorporation rests in part on the community's

[169] Bloemraad, *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*.
[170] Ibid., 26 – 64 Bloemraad provides a statistical analysis with high levels of confidence that show that funding, institutional structure, civic organizations and other aspects of local settlement play an equal and sometimes larger role in immigrants' political incorporation than do rational choice, country of origin, education levels, English language ability and other individual traits. In the case of language and education, settlement and resettlement organizations can affect outcomes post settlement and continually.
[171] Ibid., 83.
[172] Ibid., 83.
[173] Ibid.,83.
[174] Ibid., 162.

capacity to organize, that is, on the available stock of organizations serving new and established migrants."[175]

Bloemraad analyzes the relationships that exist between government and civic organizations and presents a model of "structured mobilization" in which a "close" relationship between the two can increase organizations' capacity to successfully integrate more immigrants and refugees.[176] Contacts and relationships between government agencies and voluntary agencies provide an advantage for achieving successful resettlement outcomes and for building effective strategies to promote aspects of integration into local communities. Her findings show the significance that local civic organizations have in their role of providing settlement services and forming partnerships with local government agencies. However, her research does not determine what local organizations actually do or how their practices and coordination move refugees from initial resettlement towards political incorporation.

Daniel Trudeau takes a different approach in his 2006 dissertation in which he inspects claims that neoliberal policies, which dissolve state centralization into the private realm have an impact on the construction of citizenship. He conducts an historical examination of Vietnamese refugees who were resettled in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota between 1975 and 1985 and then compares it to a contemporary survey on the responsibilities of nonprofits that enter into partnerships with the federal government and continue refugee resettlement through 2006.[177] He finds that such partnerships have reshaped both government institutions and nonprofits into a "shadow state" relationship.[178]

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[175] Ibid., 162.
[176] Ibid., 162.
[177] Daniel C. Trudeau, "American Citizenship and State Devolution: Nonprofit Organizations and the Dominance of Liberal Citizenship in the Context of the Shadow State" (Dissertation, University of Colorado, 2006)., Et al.
[178] Ibid., 37.

When Trudeau examines the formation of citizenship among refugees within this structure he finds, based on the concept of economic self-sufficiency "that most nonprofits indoctrinate," that service delivery helps to form a political subject according to the ideologies of liberalism and to a lesser degree civic republicanism. This is opposed to the formation of a neoliberal ideology among refugees (which he expected to find).[179] Liberal theory postulates that the granting of formal or legal rights to the individual by the state and the ability for these individuals to maintain a level of economic self-sufficiency allows for independent decision making, therefore, creating a legal status of citizenship.[180] Alternatively, civic republicanism posits that while legal individual rights are "important for people to participate as equals", it also emphasizes "civic and moral responsibilities that individuals have to the political community that they need to meet in order to participate as citizens in self-government and deliberative determination of the common good."[181]

Trudeau also finds that nonprofit organizations exhibit subtle aspects of resisting government requirements in service contracts, especially requirements that concern eligibility of services. An example of this resistance is shown when nonprofits choose to serve immigrants that fall outside legal refugee status and then not report their actions to government agencies that provide funding. Trudeau offers a valuable framework for understanding how local practices by nonprofits, specifically RROs, shape citizenship on a national level and also construct the

[179] Here, when referring to "neoliberalism" I mean an offshoot of liberal ideology that extends the principles of free market capitalism, deregulation, welfare reform, and further aspects of the privatization of public services. Neoliberalism is often referenced to describe political ideologies especially familiar in U.S. and European politics in the 1970s – 1990s. However, the concept of neoliberalism and the boundaries between it and liberalism, or whether its practices are continuing is not presented here in detail. It refers to what I consider to be outside parameters of classical liberalism.

[180] Trudeau, "American Citizenship and State Devolution: Nonprofit Organizations and the Dominance of Liberal Citizenship in the Context of the Shadow State.", 54-57.

[181] Ibid., 58-60.

importance of community membership at the local level. Therefore, when inspecting the practices of local organizations and their government partners in Roanoke, we can determine aspects of citizenship formation through their provision of services according to contractual requirements, but also by recognizing actions and practices that may occur outside of policy and contractual parameters. While Trudeau overviews generalized actions by RRO's in Minneapolis-St. Paul he lacks analysis of specific services that RROs provide locally.

Jessica Darrow begins the process of locating RRO actions by using "street-level analysis" to observe specific practices of caseworkers within RROs in Chicago, Illinois. She writes, "The street-level perspective offers a systematic way to understand what happens in refugee resettlement agencies, what they do, and how resettlement policy is delivered. It asks not just what the formal policies are and how they have evolved over time, but what contributes to how the policy is implemented."[182]

In her comparison of two resettlement organizations she presents four key findings. The first is that the complexity of the refugee structure, the admission and allocation policy, and the U.S. funding apparatus "drive inconsistency and unreliability down the organizational chain, so that the consequences are felt at the point of service delivery."[183] Second, local RROs respond to inconsistencies differently and this affects how services are delivered.[184] Third, RRO caseworkers are "influenced by performance measures associated with their grant contracts."[185] And finally, policy implementation differs between RROs depending on "levels of resources at

[182] Jessica H. Darrow, "The Politics and Implementation of U.S. Refugee Resettlement Policy: A Street-Level Analysis" (Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2015).
[183] Ibid., 5.
[184] Ibid., 5.
[185] Ibid.,6.

workers' disposal", "worker identity", agency culture, and "capacity building behaviors such as establishing and maintaining good relationships with partner organizations and companies."[186]

Darrow finds that practices varied between RROs and that the variations were mostly due to inconsistent refugee arrival numbers and inconsistent funding, as well as individual caseworkers' discretionary choices.[187] Darrow's research shows that refugee clients may encounter different practices of service provision depending which resettlement agency they are assigned. Therefore, national policy including the Refugee Act of 1980 meant to streamline service provision and make it uniform for all refugees is still being shaped at the local level via discretionary decisions of RRO caseworkers. Darrow's work informs this thesis to ask whether discretionary actions are taken by resettlement organization workers in Roanoke. However, Darrow does not observe if local government agencies also use discretion when providing federal and state-level services to refugees.

Katrina Connolly differs from the local-level researchers presented thus far; she researches the effects that place-based factors have on resettlement while attempting to hold ethnicity constant. She conducts a comparative case study of Burmese, Bhutanese, and Iraqi refugee employment outcomes across the three U.S. cities. In this study she asks how contextual factors in destination cities relate to refugee employment outcomes. The contextual factors on which she focuses include local policies, attitudes of the receiving community, and employment opportunities.

By creating a matrix across cities, Connolly concludes that contextual factors of place do indeed play a role on the employment rates of refugees. She writes, "a city with two sets of factors will have higher refugee employment rates: first, factors that contribute to the availability

[186] Ibid., 6.
[187] Ibid., 172.

of jobs and second, factors that contribute to accessibility."[188] Out of these factors she ranks local availability of low skill jobs conducive to non-English speakers as the most important. Other factors related to low skill job availability include lower city unemployment, smaller ratio of refugees to low skill job market, larger city population, smaller ratio of refugees to city population, resettlement agency outreach to encourage employer willingness to hire refugees, larger co-national communities, linguistic clusters by employer, higher percentage of English speakers in linguistic group, and Right-to-Work policies.[189] A second tier of factors relating to accessibility include larger residential refugee clusters for carpooling, larger residential ethnic clusters for childcare, higher percentage of the city population that uses public transportation for commute, professional recertification, translated exams and interpreters for driver's license exams, and eligibility for the earned income credit.[190]

Connolly admits two outside factors present certain challenges to the results of her study which are "local affiliate services" and "refugee demographic backgrounds." Another consideration of this type of analysis depends on her use of the concept of self-sufficiency and whether locating employment is the only factor that concerns refugee resettlement service providers. Further, there is a question whether employment alone is what constitutes self-sufficiency. Connolly's narrow focus on employment rate outcomes neglects how other services provided by RRO's such as in housing, healthcare, and education may affect refugee outcomes as well. However, Connolly's results present a convincing argument that place-based factors play a significant role in refugees' ability in achieving employment in the short-term following arrival. Tension between how government institutions view self-sufficiency standards and how

[188] Connolly, "The Importance of Place for Refugee Employment in the U.S.: A Comparative Case Study.", 500.
[189] Ibid., 501.
[190] Ibid., 501. Her reference to EIC eligibility explains the increased ability of a refugee family to purchase a vehicle for transportation.

RROs view them arise in Connolly's study. This alludes to the question of whether the focus of service providers largely remain humanitarian or focus on employment objectives prioritized in federal policies.[191] How service provider practices overcome place-based factors is also an important question her work does not fully address.

Blessing Enekwe's work extends the discussion on resettlement agency effects in her comparative analysis of two state service delivery models in Maryland and Massachusetts. Maryland uses a state-level public-private partnership method of service delivery while Massachusetts uses the Wilson-Fish model.[192] As mentioned in the introduction the Wilson-Fish model involves the state subcontracting all modes of service provision to VOLAGS, RROs and other private and nonprofit organizations rather than maintaining a division of labor between state institutions and RROs. Enekwe's study makes a state-level service delivery model assessment but does so through local-level research. She finds that the PPP model fosters a significant level of collaboration between state institutions, private organizations and community institutions and leads to "enhanced resource sharing and service delivery" for refugees.[193] The Wilson-Fish model, alternatively, allows for resettlement to occur in additional localities around the state rather than forcing refugees to be centrally located around a hub or a "one-stop-shop" center.[194]

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[191] Ibid., 516.

[192] Enekwe, "Refugees and Resettlement: A Qualitative Analysis of Refugee Integration through Social & Support Services." Enekwe categorizes Public-Private Partnership differently than most other refugee resettlement literature. While most consider the federal, state and local levels as a PPP system, she seems to differentiate between state-run service provision and PPP service provision. However, it is my understanding that even in states she considers state administered programs (including Virginia) she neglects to tease out the division of service provision responsibilities between state entities and private sector organizations. Both organizations and states agencies receive grants, funding or reimbursements from federal agencies. Her research fails to define where a PPP is present and where it is not. This is problematic in some of her research, but her use of integration indicators remains valid for this thesis.

[193] Ibid., 122.

[194] Ibid., 122.

In researching the practices of several RROs, Enekwe focused on initial Reception and Placement (R&P) program services delivered in the first eight months following arrival including: providing transportation upon arrival; cultural orientation; locating housing and household items; school enrollment for children; making appointments for health screenings; and referring the client to the appropriate state institution for TANF, Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) and Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA). Enekwe located refugee outcomes in employment, housing, education, and health and compared them to the means, markers, and indicators provided in Ager and Strang's integration framework. Enekwe determined that both the PPP and Wilson-Fish models could be considered as working to successfully move refugees towards integration.

Enekwe's observations, however, are limited to the first eight months following arrival and may not provide a thorough representation of indicators of "successful integration" beyond initial resettlement. I think it is important to additionally observe practices in long-term service provision and locate opportunities of social and economic inclusion.

Maria Vukovich researches how ethno-cultural traits affect outcomes in refugee resettlement. Vukovich conducts a case study examining the distress levels of refugees from Bhutan/Nepal, Burma, Iraq, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) during the first year of resettlement in Denver, Colorado.[195] She uses community-based participatory research (CBRP) as a strategy to examine "cultural and social determinants of refugee health disparities."[196] Her findings show Iraqi refugees display the highest distress levels, followed by refugees from the DRC, Bhutan/Nepal, Burma, and Somalia. Post arrival, refugees who are

[195] Maria M. Vukovich, "Exploring Ethnocultural Differences in Distress Levels of Newly Arrived Refugees During Early Resettlement: A Mixed Methods Study" (Dissertation, University of Denver, 2016). Et al.
[196] Ibid., 5.

found to have higher levels of distress were also more likely to describe uncomfortable or unsafe living conditions along with temporary housing conditions and a lack of privacy. They also display higher rates of unemployment, low-income levels, and have barriers to English language accessibility and cultural knowledge.[197] Refugees with lower distress levels report finding employment easily, have a satisfactory income, have comfortable and safe living conditions, and have close family and friends in the area. Pre-arrival conditions that correlated with higher distress levels include differences in trauma and "refugees' understanding about events that led them to flee their country of origin."[198]

This research identifies disparities between different ethnocultural groups, and it corroborates data presented by Bloemraad that ethnocultural differences do play a role in how refugees may perceive and experience resettlement and integration into U.S. society. Once again, a question remains about how RROs might address ethnocultural differences through their organizational practices. By conducting a case study of Roanoke resettlement organization and government institutional practices, this thesis observed whether resettlement organizations and local government agencies were aware of ethnocultural differences and, if so, how they resolved any related difficulties that arose.

2.5 Chapter Conclusion

The literature offered in this review presents a U.S. refugee resettlement structure that is governed by dynamics of public-private partnerships connecting civil society and government institutions. The sharing of cost, labor, and benefits in this structure is complicated by a host of contextual specificities including humanitarian concerns, economic self-sufficiency standards,

[197] Ibid., 130-131.
[198] Ibid., 132.

place-based factors, ethnocultural differences, shifts in public opinion, complicated and inconsistent funding structures, fluctuating refugee entry numbers, administration changes and many more. At the center of this structure is a refugee in need of resettlement and the start to a life devoid of persecution and imminent danger. Here one finds the roles of refugee resettlement organizations and government institutions converging to deliver the services needed for refugees to resettle and acculturate to a new society.

The local case studies in this chapter present several interpretations as to why refugees' experiences may vary across the U.S. The researchers identify factors that may limit successful refugee resettlement outcomes and refugees' ability to integrate into U.S. society. While some, including Connolly and Vukovich, argue that place-based factors and ethno-cultural factors are at play in limiting or promoting successful outcomes, as indeed they are, Bloemraad, Darrow, and Enekwe contend that how refugees are resettled affects resettlement outcomes equally or more. However, what these resettlement organizations specifically do in concert with government agencies and other affiliates during refugee resettlement is still largely absent in existing research. Further, previous research tends to focus only on the initial resettlement and does not confront longer term service provision or who exactly is charged with providing those services.

What follows is a case study of refugee resettlement in Roanoke, Virginia. In this case study I will identify and locate the responsibilities, roles, and practices of government institutions, refugee resettlement organizations, and their affiliates that work to overcome many of the obstacles presented by previous literature. By doing so I will identify how interactions between resettlement stakeholders produce two distinct governing structures that work to resettle refugees initially and long-term.

CHAPTER THREE: A HIERARCHICALLY STRUCTURED WELCOME: INITIAL REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT IN ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

3.1 Introduction

The first segment of the case study of Roanoke, Virginia, presented in this chapter illuminates how the refugee resettlement structure unfolds at the local level. It does so by demonstrating how a hierarchically-organized process sets the stage for the City and its residents to develop their initiatives for local refugee resettlement. This chapter focuses on how refugees are initially resettled during the first 8 months to a year following their arrival in Roanoke. Initial resettlement can be best viewed as being governed by a top-down hierarchical structure that consists of government and nongovernment actors with specific roles at specific times during the resettlement process.

The structure of this federal refugee resettlement system evolved from the historical relationship between the federal government and private faith-based and secular organizations. A subsequent public-private partnership formed and led to the formation of the Refugee Act of 1980. The act was passed by Congress to address ad hoc processes that were considered inadequate for effectively resettling refugees into local communities around the United States. The Refugee Act of 1980 produces a streamlined process that places refugees into local communities as well as creates policy guidelines for how local organizations are to provide services for their respective refugee population; this streamlined refugee resettlement process can be viewed as a "one-size fits all" program. In other words, refugees receive the same federally mandated benefits and services regardless of where they are resettled and their country of origin. However, there are instances where local level service providers exercise discretion to make decisions that break away from the "one-size fits all" prescriptions. The Refugee Act of 1980

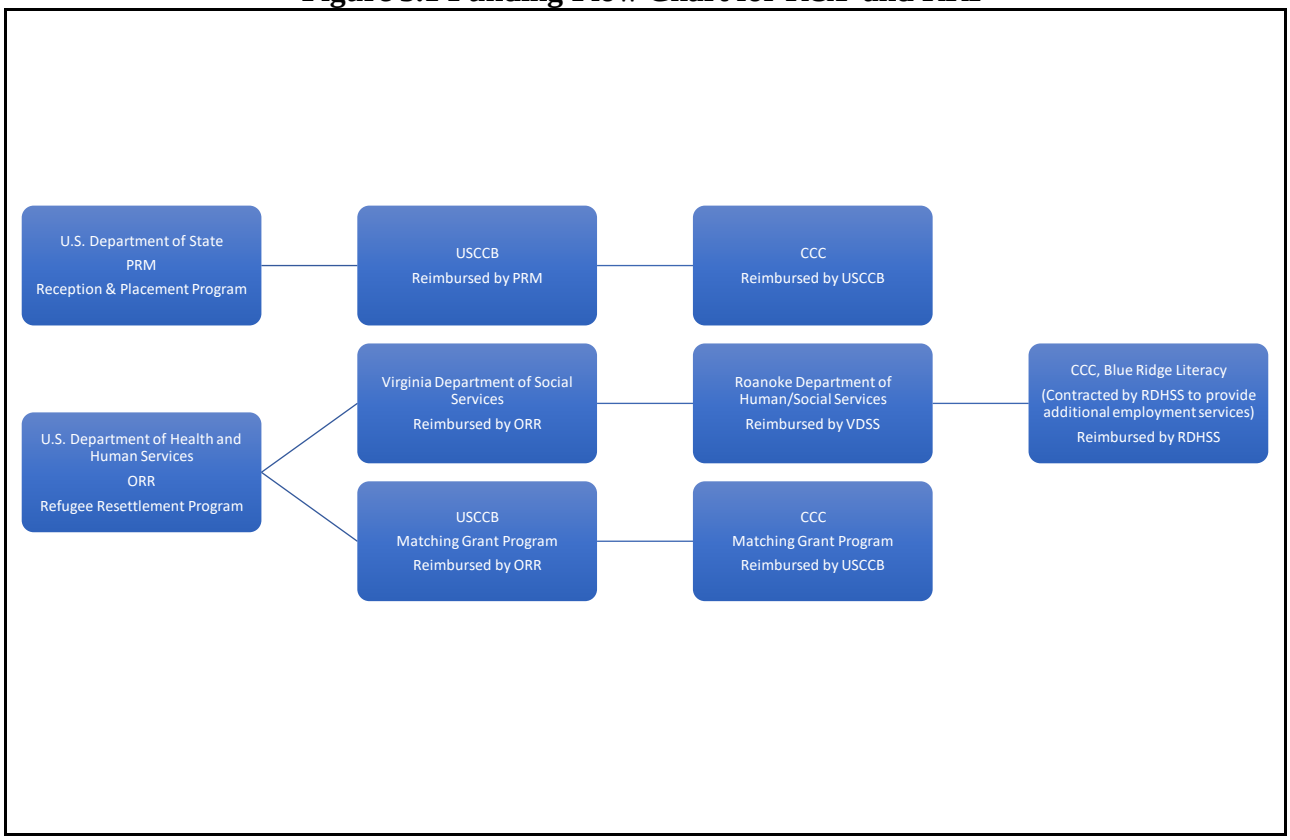
also defines the hierarchical order of the refugee structure including who is responsible for delivering services and who is responsible for oversight of this service provision.

In the case of Roanoke, the hierarchical order created by refugee policy places the federal government at the top of this refugee resettlement structure. In conjunction with the federal government and federal policy mandates, the state of Virginia establishes state level guidelines for refugee resettlement within the state. Next in the hierarchical chain is USCCB who carries out refugee resettlement objectives by using a large network of local affiliate organizations including Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) throughout Virginia. USCCB works with both the federal government and the state of Virginia to carry out specific objectives during the resettlement process. CCC directly provides services to new refugee arrivals along with local offices of state agencies. This chapter highlights the way these primary actors at federal, state, and local levels contribute to the approaches for resettling refugees locally.

3.2 Government and Organizational Hierarchy and The Funding Apparatus for Initial Refugee Resettlement

The primary role of the key agencies at the top of this structure is to allocate refugees to specific localities around the U.S., provide resettlement program oversight, and to provide federal funding to support refugee resettlement. The federal apparatus that provides funding to state governments and private organizations for refugee resettlement is bifurcated into federal programs between two U.S. executive branch offices. The first is the Reception and Placement (R&P) program overseen by the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), which is housed in the U.S. Department of State. The second federal program is the Refugee Resettlement Program (RRP) overseen by the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) housed in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Funding provided by these programs impact the

Figure 3.1 Funding Flow Chart for R&P and RRP



Source: Figure is based on information gathered through interviews.

ability of local nonprofit organizations to resettle refugees in Roanoke. For example, refugee resettlement organizations (RROs) depend on a steady flow of funding in order to maintain operations and successfully provide specific services required by federal cooperative agreements to refugees. Figure 3.1 provides a visual of the reimbursement system for the R&P program and RRP discussed in more detail below.

The state of Virginia plays a role in state level refugee resettlement oversight and as an intermediate liaison for federal funding reimbursements to local offices of state agencies in Roanoke. Local offices of state agencies provide federal refugee assistance benefits as well as provide resettlement services. The following subsection details the roles of the federal government and the state of Virginia. It also explains shared governance and responsibility roles

established by cooperative agreements between federal and state agencies, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), and Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC).

3.2.A Uncertainty in Numbers: Reception and Placement Program

The Reception and Placement program (R&P) addresses the cost of refugees' initial placement into their U.S. destination city.[199] It is meant to supplement the cost of housing, food, clothing, home furnishings, pocket money, cultural orientation, assistance with health screenings, English language training, and initial employment services. The funds provided by the R&P program are to be combined with existing and projected private funds and other resources of the VOLAG in which the PRM has entered into a cooperative agreement to resettle refugees into a locality. Under this agreement PRM provides $2,075 to the VOLAG for each refugee it sponsors and resettles.[200]

In the case of Roanoke, the federated VOLAG responsible for resettlement services is USCCB. USCCB, in turn, uses Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) to deliver these services locally. According to the resettlement supervisor for CCC in Roanoke, its organization receives a one-time payment of $925 per refugee from USCCB. There is a gap of $1150 between the $2,075 initial disbursement by PRM made to USCCB and the $925 payment made to CCC by USCCB to resettle refugees. I was unable to reconcile why this gap existed among respondents in Roanoke. However, cooperative agreements between PRM, USCCB, and CCC make allowances to use initial funding for administrative costs.

[199] Determination of those defined as refugee follows Section 207(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act
[200]"Fy 2018 Notice of Funding Opportunity for Reception and Placement Program," U.S. Department of State, https://www.state.gov/j/prm/funding/fy2018/269042.htm. Note: The amount is determined under the current fiscal year cooperative agreements and is subject to change each year.

R&P service period guidelines call for services to be provided by USCCB and CCC within 30 days after arrival, but this can be extended to 90 days if all services have not been provided. Further, in an associated but separate agreement the PRM provides additional funding for VOLAGs' administrative and operating costs depending on the number of refugees expected to be resettled for a fiscal year and its capacity to resettle those refugees.[201] Resettlement agencies are allowed to use a portion of the funds from the *per refugee allocation* for operating costs as well. Annual U.S. refugee admission numbers, determined by the President of the U.S., also impact funding and cash flow for VOLAGS and their affiliates. Under section 207 of the Refugee Act of 1980 the President is required to determine admissions numbers after "appropriate consultation" with Congress.[202] Despite this requirement President Trump has determined admissions numbers without consultation. Instead, his administration informed Congress of projected admission numbers without consultation. This drew sharp bipartisan criticism in 2018 by Senators Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) and Dianne Feinstein (D-California) of the Senate Judiciary Committee.[203]

In 2018 VOLAGs were informed by officials in the PRM that the admissions projection for fiscal year would be 50,000 and to plan accordingly.[204] However, President Trump set the official cap at 45,000 and the administration had only admitted around 20,000 as of early September 2018 with the end of the fiscal year approaching on September 30, 2018.[205] The dramatic reduction in admissions compared to President Obama's caps set at 85,000 in fiscal

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[201] Ibid.
[202] "Public Law 96-212," Government Publishing Office, https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-94/pdf/STATUTE-94-Pg102.pdf.
[203] Seung Min Kim, "Grassley, Feinstein Slam Trump Administration for Not Consulting Congress on Refugees," *Politico*, Sept 27, 2017.
[204] "Fy 2018 Notice of Funding Opportunity for Reception and Placement Program".
[205] Priscilla Alvarez, "America's System for Resettling Refugees Is Collapsing," *The Atlantic*, Sept 9, 2018.

year 2016 and 110,000 in fiscal year 2017 has placed an immense financial strain on the resettlement system.[206]

All nine of the federated VOLAGs have cut staff or closed offices due to the sharp reduction in admissions and federal funding.[207] Pricilla Alvarez writes:

> Catholic Charities USA—which works with the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, one of the nine resettlement agencies—has had eight of its offices close, said Lucas Swanepoel, the organization's vice president of social policy. He added that an additional 14 will close by the end of this year [2018], leaving approximately 50 offices available for resettlement efforts, down from 64.[208]

A cut in admission numbers produces uncertainty among workers in VOLAGs and their affiliates. Continuity of the R&P program exhibits a significant reliance on the direct number of refugees admitted into the U.S. The ability for Refugee Resettlement Organizations (RROs), including CCC to successfully resettle refugees into their respective communities also relies on steady admission numbers.

3.2.B Matters of the State of Virginia: Refugee Resettlement Program

The Refugee Resettlement Program (RRP), housed in the Department of Health and Human Services in the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), is more complex than the R&P program and involves more actors, including at the state level. In Virginia, the ORR works in partnership with the Virginia Office of Newcomer Services (ONS), located in the Division of Community and Volunteer Services in the Virginia Department of Social Services. The ONS

[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.

director, also the Virginia State Refugee Coordinator, serves as the federal funding liaison between the ORR and local RROs. Virginia, as all states in the U.S., is required to create a State Plan according to requirements and guidelines set forth in the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act and the Refugee Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-212). The administration of services and benefits in the state resettlement plan is regulated by 45 CFR, Part 400. The State Plan is a "legally binding document between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the federal Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, and Office of Refugee Resettlement," legally positioning both the federal and state government in the hierarchical chain of governance for refugee resettlement.[209]

The Virginia Plan authorizes the ONS and Refugee Coordinator to exercise statewide oversight and details the range of services and programs available to refugees. The ONS also provides oversight of USCCB and CCC in the resettlement structure hierarchy. The ORR and PRM may decide to conduct oversight of any public or private agency for their respective programs at any level, whether state or local. Figure 3.2 provides a visual representation of federal and state policies, and government and nongovernmental actors involved in the refugee resettlement structure. These include actors at the federal, state, and local levels.

The ONS and the Virginia Refugee Coordinator oversee the provision of Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA), Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA), and refugee services provided by local refugee resettlement organizations including Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC). These programs are known as refugee specific assistance programs. In addition to *refugee specific* programs, *non-refugee specific* public assistance programs, available to all Virginia residents, are also available to refugees. Refugee status granted by the federal government entitles refugees to

[209] "45 Cfr Part 400 - Refugee Resettlement Program," Legal Information Institute at Cornell University, https://www.law.cornell.edu/cfr/text/45/part-400.

Figure 3.2 U.S. Refugee Resettlement Structure
Organizational Chart for Guiding Policies and Departmental Oversight[210]

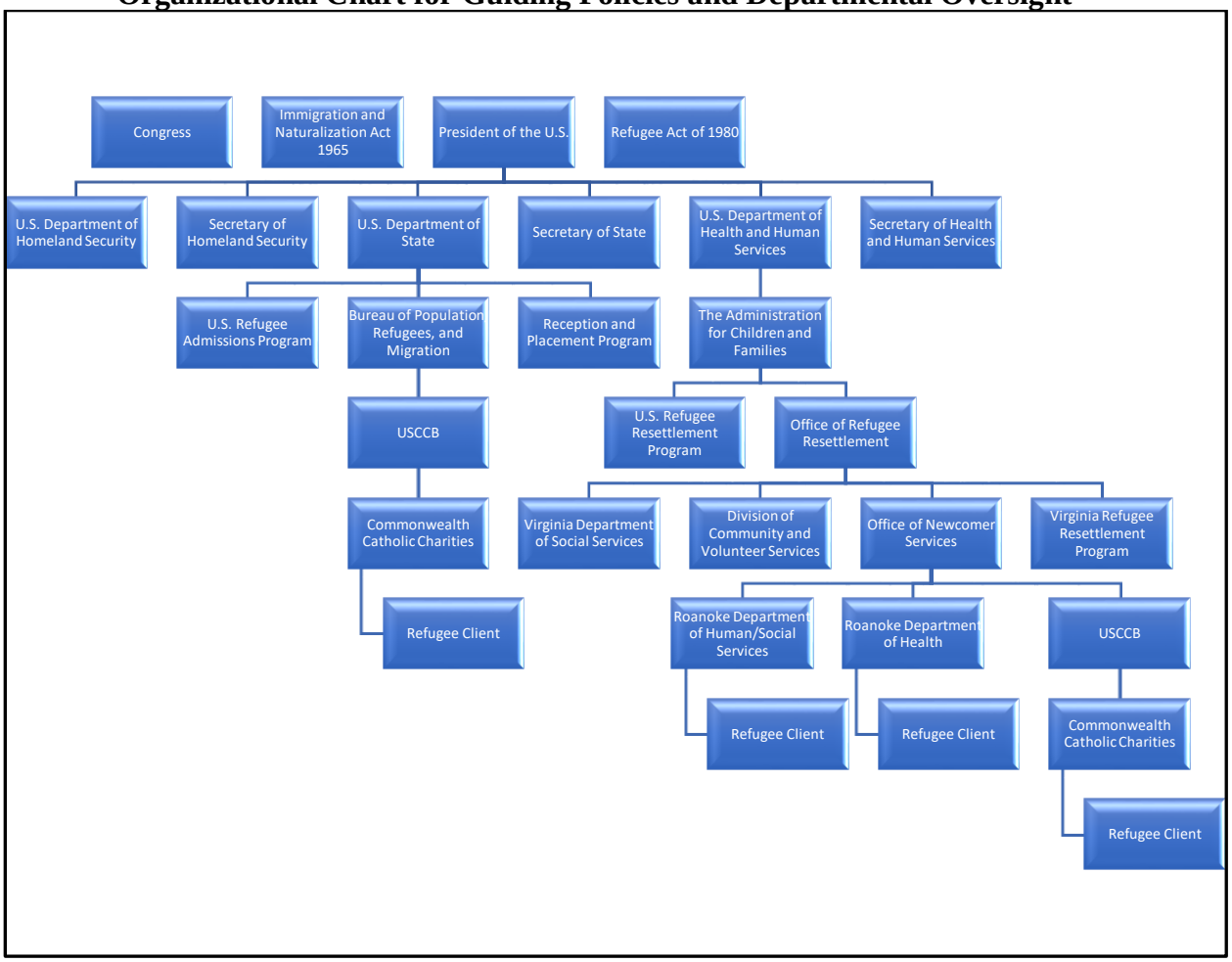

Figure is based on information gathered through interview process and secondary documents. Sources: 45 CFR, Part 400., Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program Manual., U.S. Dept. of State., U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services.

apply for all Virginia assistance programs. Non-refugee specific programs include Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Medicaid, the Family Access to Medical Insurance Security Plan (FAMIS), Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP), General Relief

[210] Figure 3.1 does not show every aspect or program involved in the resettlement process. Many smaller programs are embedded in this structure at the state and local levels. This will be described as necessary throughout the study. It represents the hierarchy for the primary actors and programs involved in resettlement. Congress, depicted here, provides an oversight role, and the DOS and DHS work as partners in the U.S. admissions program. DHS is responsible for security checks and screening prior to arrival and DOS is responsible for admission protocols and operating the R&P program through PRM.

Table 3.1 Roanoke Refugee Resettlement Service Providers and Benefits and Services

Reception and Placement Program	**Refugee Resettlement Program**		
Commonwealth Catholic Charities	**Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services**	**Roanoke Department of Health**	**Commonwealth Catholic Charities**
Secure Refugee Housing	RCA	Refugee Health Screening	Provide Access to Community Services
Furnish Housing	RMA	Refugee Health Screener (RHS 15)	Employment Services
Provide Initial Food	**General Public Assistance Programs**	Referral to Primary Care Physician	Case Management
Provide Pocket Money	TANF	Referral to Mental Health Physician	Foster Care Services**
Enroll Children in School	MEDICAID	Referral to Specialist	
Cultural Orientation/EL Classes	GR	Immunizations	
Employment Services	LIHEAP		
Case Management	FAMIS		
IOM Travel Loan Repayment*	Other Programs Available to General Public		

Source: Table is based on information gathered from interviews and the Virginia Resettlement Plan *The IOM Travel Loan is an interest free loan refugees receive to pay for travel to their U.S. destination city. CCC works with refugees on repaying the loan and, in doing so, helps them to establish U.S. credit. **Foster Care Services are in accordance with separate Unaccompanied Refugee Minor guidelines and corresponding cooperative agreements.

Program (GR), Low-Income Household Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), and other Virginia Department of Social Services programs available to the general public. Table 3.1 provides a breakdown of the benefits and services by the R&P program and the Refugee Resettlement program. It also breaks down the various benefits and services delivered by local branches of state agencies and those provided by CCC. In other words, it shows the division of labor between public and private actors at the local level of the refugee resettlement structure.

What is missing, however, from Table 3.1 and from local level refugee resettlement literature presented earlier is detail on how local state offices and private organizations implement these services and benefits and whether there is coordination between these agencies while doing so. Put differently, the arrangement of benefits and services shown in the table is not the end of the story on local resettlement, as these do not explain, for example, what is entailed in providing access to community services and what cultural orientation entails?

Documenting the roles and practices of government and nongovernment organizations at the local level in Roanoke helps to answer questions of which actors perform what services. Mapping roles and practices also involves teasing out whether the actions of local offices of state agencies and refugee resettlement organizations flow from this hierarchically organized resettlement structure and if they exhibit influences on service provision at the street-level. Finally, this case study will be able to address limitations presented by other studies that argue the effects that place-based factors, ethno-cultural differences, as well as other limiting factors have on local refugee resettlement outcomes. Researchers often make claims about how place-based factors and ethno-cultural traits affect refugee resettlement outcomes; however, they rarely

confront the ability of resettlement agencies to mitigate the influence of these factors.[211] This case study will help to fill in that gap.

3.3 Commonwealth Catholic Charities: Opening the Door to Roanoke, Virginia

> *The mission of Commonwealth Catholic Charities is to provide quality, compassionate human services to all people, especially the most vulnerable, regardless of faith. We envision a world where poverty is alleviated, people of all races and faith are treated with respect, and all are inspired to serve. Commonwealth Catholic Charities is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization dedicated to alleviating human suffering and restoring hope, dignity and opportunities to Virginia's residents since 1923.*
>
> -Commonwealth Catholic Charities Mission Statement

For Roanoke, Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) stands as the primary and only organization subcontracted by USCCB for initial refugee resettlement. Practices of Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) follow the hierarchical structure during the initial refugee resettlement period of eight months to a year following arrival. How CCC navigates the federal and state-led programs and provides services while under direct and indirect governmental oversight helps to illuminate the complex public-private partnership dynamic as it works to resettle refugees in Roanoke. This section shows that even though federal policies dictate much of how resettlement services should be provided, CCC is not completely unable to make local decisions outside of federal and state cooperative agreements. Although, federal and state governments may offer a "one-size fits all" program, CCC still plays a decision-making and advocacy role that shapes resettlement on the ground in Roanoke while simultaneously performing its cooperative agreement requirements.

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[211] Connolly, "The Importance of Place for Refugee Employment in the U.S.: A Comparative Case Study."; Vukovich, "Exploring Ethnocultural Differences in Distress Levels of Newly Arrived Refugees During Early Resettlement: A Mixed Methods Study."

Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) is based in Richmond, Virginia and has offices in seven locations in Southern Virginia. These include the cities of Charlottesville, Hampton Roads, Norfolk, Norton, Petersburg, Richmond, and Roanoke. In addition to refugee resettlement, CCC provides the City with adoption services, citizenship instruction, a food pantry, foster care, housing and financial counseling, immigration services, interpreter services, pregnancy counseling, and refugee employment services.[212]

Of the two CCC offices in Roanoke, the office that houses refugee resettlement services is located approximately seven blocks, or a little over a half of a mile, from downtown Roanoke. It is also located in close proximity to a major bus route and the transportation hub in Roanoke. The office is housed in a large, older brick home perched on a hill between downtown Roanoke and the residential community of West End. An addition on the back and side of the structure houses a busy food pantry that donors shuffle in and out with boxes and bags of food goods to be donated and dispersed. Each time I visited, people were coming and going and little could be known about whether they were donors, volunteers, employees or clients of CCC.

Next door to the CCC house is a large brick structure that looks as though it were a church at one point. The building now accommodates Roanoke Area Ministries, better known as the RAM House. The RAM House is an ecumenical, multi-faith, non-denominational, all-inclusive ministry that provides a day shelter for Roanoke's homeless, daily lunches, and emergency financial aid to those in need.[213] The surrounding neighborhood is dotted with mature oak trees, parks with playgrounds, and early to mid- 20th century Victorian and Georgian homes. Some of the homes in the area are in disrepair and seemingly vacant while others appear to have

[212] "Connect with Us," Commonwealth Catholic Charities, https://www.cccofva.org/connect. Note: Resettlement services and refugee employment services will be presented later.
[213] "Ram," Roanoke Area Ministries, https://www.raminc.org/.

undergone recent renovation and returned to their former grandeur. Some are inhabited by commercial ventures while others remain residential. CCC and RAM house are a dividing line between the residential areas and commercial spaces leading downtown. The buildings create an island of charity between business and community.

The small entry to CCC is littered with posters advertising community events and available services. Brochures and an advertisement offering an opportunity to become part of a Virginia Tech study with rip away phone numbers are also taped to the doors. To the left is a small office with a friendly staff member who readily greets visitors. To one's right is a closed wooden door painted with the second half of the Bible verse from 1 Corinthians 13:13, "But the greatest of these is love." The home-like structure with its separate rooms and its bustling friendly staff offers a comfortable and welcoming environment. The CCC office is one of the first places that newly arrived refugees come into contact with their new community, and the place where many of their resettlement needs will be determined and carried out.

A CCC organization director and six additional staff members are responsible for refugee resettlement in the Roanoke CCC office. Each staff member is responsible for specific aspects of initial refugee resettlement. Their positions include a case manager, employment specialist, education specialist, school liaison, medical liaison, and a resettlement supervisor/coordinator. Table 3.2 provides more detail on each staff member's functions within CCC.

The resettlement supervisor, with whom I had most of my conversations, readily filled in for other staff members as a "floater" when needed.[214] The Roanoke CCC director has the role of office administrator and as a coordinator among USCCB, CCC and partnered government agencies, especially at the state level. Additionally, the director is responsible for local refugee

[214] Murphy, Laura. (Resettlement Supervisor, Roanoke CCC). In discussion with the author. August 30, 2018.

Table 3.2 Commonwealth Catholic Charities Refugee Resettlement Staff Positions and Functions

Staff Position	Duties and Functions
Roanoke CCC Director	Serves as Office Administrator; Contact for Oversight Agencies; Policy and Strategy Implementation; Approves City Capacity Survey; Advocacy
Resettlement Supervisor	Supervises Resettlement Staff; Conducts City Capacity Survey; Case Management; Advocacy; Support and Substitute for Other Staff when Needed
Case Manager	Conduct Resettlement Preparations; Secure and Furnish Refugee Housing; Secure Food and Basic Necessities; Conduct Initial Intake Reports; Conduct Home Orientation; Conduct Follow-Up Visits; Make Initial Medical Screening Appointments; Contact Person for General Questions by Refugee; Provide Transportation
Employment Specialist	Foster Community Connections with Local Employers; Provide Employment Training and Tools; Act as Liaison Between Employer and Refugee; Attend Work Orientations; Provide General Employment Services
Education Specialist	Provide Cultural Orientation and Language Classes
Education Liaison	Enroll Refugee Children in Local Public School; Act as Liaison Between Refugee Families, Teachers, and Other School Officials
Medical Liaison	Make Medical and Mental Health Appointments; Arrange for Interpreters, U.S. Healthcare Orientation; Health Advocacy; Medical Community Outreach; Provide Transportation

Source: Table is based on information gathered through interviews with the Roanoke CCC Resettlement Supervisor and supporting documents, including CCC RFP No. Cvs-15-091.

advocacy and approving the annual city capacity survey that designates how many refugees Roanoke can efficiently and effectively resettle and support. The remaining staff members have expertise in their respective roles at CCC but are also prepared to assist or fill in for other staff

members when needed. The resettlement supervisor explained that serving clients is a team effort.[215]

3.3.A Commonwealth Catholic Charities Pre-Arrival Assessment and Preparations

The team effort by CCC begins before refugee's travel to Roanoke. Refugees are not allocated nor arrive in Roanoke in one group. Rather, they arrive in staggered numbers over the given federal fiscal year from October 1st to September 30th. This is due to the allocations process imbedded in the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program and the weekly allocation meetings scheduled between VOLAGs and the U.S. Department of State (DOS). However, the local level is not absent from this process. Each year the resettlement supervisor conducts a *capacity survey* for the City of Roanoke. The capacity survey informs USCCB and the DOS how many refugees Roanoke can accept and feasibly support in a given year. The survey is largely based on previous resettlement estimations that CCC has processed. The Roanoke CCC director also consults with City officials on the results of the capacity survey.

Following the U.S. admissions process, and after refugees are assigned to Roanoke for resettlement, CCC staff members are informed about expected refugee arrival dates. They begin to make several assessments and preparations before their clients arrive. All of the *pre-arrival* assessments, reviews, preparations as well as the immediate *post-arrival* services fall under the CCC service provision category known as *Case Management Services*. Case management services include 1) a pre-arrival assessment and review, 2) pre-arrival preparation, 3) an initial home orientation, 4) an intake assessment and interview, 5) application for cash, medical and other benefits, 6) development of the comprehensive resettlement plan (CRP), 7) referrals to

[215] Ibid.

health and mental health providers, 8) assistance with school placement, 9) cultural orientation, and 10) exploration of linkages with informal and formal community support systems.[216] The majority of these services are initiated by the case manager, but include collaboration with other staff members.

To begin the resettlement process, CCC staff members receive an information sheet for incoming clients. The resettlement supervisor noted that the information sheets contain what she considers "basic information."[217] The supervisor held up an example of the information sheet which she could not show me directly because of privacy concerns, but it was only one sheet of paper. She said it documents information such as country of origin, age of the individual, and basic medical information. She mentioned more background information would be welcomed and helpful. Indeed, other research has argued that detailed pre-arrival information including physical and mental health information, the "conditions of vulnerable populations", and an "in-depth analysis of a refugee's life and experiences" could be useful in locating special forms of support and help mitigate possible complications during resettlement.[218] For example, more detailed information regarding aspects of clients' previous employment history can alert CCC to avenues for employment placement in Roanoke. Interdepartmental information sharing can inform CCC about their clients' expectations of resettlement as well.

The lack of information-sharing from international and federal actors' places CCC in a position that requires it to duplicate information gathering. It is possible that refugees have already divulged personal information when being admitted into the U.S., but CCC may have to duplicate this process during intake assessments. Refugees continuously repeating stories of their

[216] "Rfp No. Cvs-15-091," ed. Virginia Department of Social Services (Richmond, VA2015).
[217] Murphy, Laura. (Resettlement Supervisor, Roanoke CCC). In discussion with the author. August 30, 2018.
[218] Brown and Scribner, "Unfufilled Promises, Future Possibilities: The Refugee Resettlement System in the United States." 114-115.

life history, including atrocities in their country of origin, country of first asylum, or in a refugee camp, can be a traumatic experience. Better information sharing among international, national, and local agencies and organizations could allow for more efficient and sensitive practices during resettlement.

Basic information sheets do provide adequate information that allows CCC to prepare for initial resettlement needs. This stage is known as the *pre-arrival assessment and review* and is conducted by the case manager in collaboration with the resettlement supervisor. The information sheet alerts CCC if refugee arrivals are a family unit or individuals and can provide resettlement workers with basic knowledge to aid in preparing needed services. For instance, the information sheet allows CCC to know how many bedrooms may be needed, how many children will need to be enrolled in public school, what furnishings the family or individual will need, and how much food should be stocked on the shelves or in the pantry.

Ethnicity and country of origin on the information sheet, along with the organization's cultural expertise gained from years of experience, guide preparation for cultural proclivities that may be encountered during resettlement. For example, this information can help in anticipating what religious needs a family may have, or what types of foods they may require.

The second stage following pre-arrival assessment and review is *pre-arrival preparation*. The pre-arrival preparation stage involves the case manager, again in collaboration with the resettlement supervisor, locating and procuring appropriate housing for refugees. It also entails furnishing the home and providing initial food and other staples. As for locating housing, CCC refugee housing practices will be described in greater detail below along with employment, education, and health care.

3.3.B Welcome to Roanoke: Initial Resettlement Services Following Refugee Arrival

The City's expansive growth spurred by the arrival of the railroad, following the Civil War, earned Roanoke the nickname Magic City. Today residents know Roanoke by another nickname. Perched atop Mill Mountain, which overlooks the City and surrounding valley, is the "world's largest man-made illuminated star."[219] The spectacle of this 88.5-foot star has led native-born and immigrant residents alike to call Roanoke the Star City. The star, also known as the Hollywood sign of the east, is one of the first noticeable objects when approaching the City of Roanoke, especially when arriving by air. The vast majority of refugees assigned to Roanoke arrive via air travel and are first welcomed by this large star fixed high above the valley. The first person, however, to welcome new arrivals to Roanoke is a staff member from CCC.

In order to reach U.S. destination cities, including Roanoke, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) arranges an interest-free loan for refugees. This loan is funded by the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM). Loans are used to pay for a refugee's travel expenses including airfare to their destination city and also to fund several initial health screenings. Every refugee over the age of 18 signs a promissory note agreeing to repay the funds provided by this loan. In the case of refugee resettlement in Roanoke, the collection agency, USCCB/MRS resettlement network, communicates with CCC which in turn works with refugees to begin the repayment process. Repayment efforts for this U.S. government loan usually begin around six months following arrival.[220]

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[219] "128-0352 the Roanoke Star," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/128-0352/.

[220] "Refugee Travel Loans Collection," United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/migrants-refugees-and-travelers/refugee-travel-loans-collection/index.cfm.

The IOM loan process means every refugee over the age of 18 arrives financially indebted to the U.S. federal government. Many of these loans can exceed upwards of $5000.[221] According to the resettlement supervisor, the IOM travel loan repayment process helps refugees establish a credit history in the U.S. The repayment of these loans also helps refugees understand the U.S. financial and debt system more broadly. Some refugees who arrive do not require financial assistance, although the resettlement supervisor admits, "that is not the case for most refugees."[222] By instructing refugees on financial literacy, CCC also becomes an educator in fiscal responsibility.

Upon their arrival at the Roanoke-Blacksburg Regional Airport, refugees are greeted by a staff member of CCC and then driven to their prepared housing. The supervisor explains that it is a USCCB/CCC requirement that a staff member pickup every refugee at the airport upon arrival even if they have family members in the area who may also be able to pick them up from the airport. They may be taken to family following initial contact with CCC, but she explains that meeting them upon arrival helps to establish communication as well as introduce them to the organization. It is also important that CCC is able to cover the basic arrangements of their housing, show them how to use appliances, and briefly go over the schedule for the coming days. This stage is known as the *initial home orientation*.

The initial home orientation presents an opportunity for refugees to ask questions they have about their new living arrangements and what they can expect in the coming days and weeks. The initial home orientation also requires a staff member to conduct a follow-up visit within 24 hours. Refugee safety remains a core concern for CCC staff members. In one example mentioned by a researcher, a Somali-Bantu family who had just arrived in Roanoke from a

[221] Beth Macy, "The Refugees of Roanoke," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 2015.
[222] Murphy, Laura. (Resettlement Supervisor, Roanoke CCC). In discussion with the author. August 30, 2018.

refugee camp in Kenya started a fire on the floor of their apartment. They were accustomed to a fire as their method of preparing food and as a source of heat in the refugee camp. Fortunately, nothing catastrophic occurred. This is an example of refugee-specific knowledge accumulated by CCC that is useful, and arguably critical, for refugee safety in future resettlement cases.

In the days following the initial home orientation, the CCC staff focus on creating a *Comprehensive Resettlement Plan* (CRP). The CRP is developed using the framework provided by Virginia's Comprehensive Resettlement Model.[223] The CRP is used to determine what services are needed and how those services should be delivered by:

- Involving all family members in its development along with the team of staff working with the family such as the case manager, the health and school liaison, and the employment and education specialist.
- Identifying the needs of each family member and resources already available including any U.S. ties the family may have, the specific refugee community the family identifies with or within the community to address these needs.
- Assessing the skills demonstrated or reported by employable individuals within the family to assist with job placement.
- Reviewing the progress made by the family and refining the CRP to address any new needs or challenges.
- Recognizing successful resettlement of a refugee requires a holistic approach involving a continuum of services from arrival to self-sufficiency.[224]

The process of creating an individualized CRP for each refugee begins within five days of arriving in Roanoke. This stage is known as the *intake assessment and interview*. The case manager initiates this process with each refugee family member and with those who arrive as individuals.

[223] Note: Virginia's Comprehensive Resettlement Model is provided in Appendix B.
[224] "Rfp No. Cvs-15-091."

The case manager informs new arrivals in detail what roles and responsibilities the agency has throughout the resettlement process to help them navigate in their new community.[225] The case manager describes what federally funded social services are available to them and the agency's commitment to help them reach their own personal goals.[226] The case manager also informs refugees of the rights provided by their U.S. refugee status and details what specific services CCC provides during resettlement.[227] The intake process also introduces refugees to all staff members who are responsible for the different aspects of their resettlement. Staff members, including the health and school liaisons and the employment and education specialists, conduct intake assessments of their own for their respective service delivery areas. However, this process does not occur in one sitting. The resettlement supervisor explained to me that an initial general intake assessment is completed within the first five days following arrival, followed by a thorough employment intake assessment that is completed within 10 days after arrival.

The caseworker and other staff members of CCC treat the CRP as a "working document" and can change and reorganize service delivery options as the refugee becomes accustomed to their new living conditions and to U.S. society in general.[228] The CRP is used to craft specific strategies for meeting each family member's goals and needs during the resettlement process. The CRP is reviewed periodically during home visits to ensure those needs or goals are being met or at least worked towards.[229] The CRP remains an important instrument to consider during resettlement. I could not directly view any of the CRP's because of privacy rules, but their

[225] Ibid. 6.
[226] Ibid. 6.
[227] Ibid. 6.
[228] Ibid. 7.
[229] Ibid. 7.

importance was mentioned several times throughout the interviews I conducted with the resettlement supervisor.

Another aspect of initial resettlement the case manager performs is helping refugees *apply for cash and medical assistance* as well as other available state benefits.[230] This process occurs within seven business days following arrival to ensure refugees receive the necessary assistance benefits until they can find employment. The resettlement supervisor explained that new refugee families with underage children are automatically enrolled in TANF. In the case of individual refugees, a decision is made to either place them in the Match Grant (MG) program or have them apply for Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA). The MG program requires an individual to take the first job they are offered during resettlement. The MG program, however, is not viable for families due to low benefit amounts. Other more carefully considered employment options may work around family issues such as childcare needs but may require more time rather than the refugee simply accepting the first employment option that becomes available. RCA is only available for eight months following arrival, so it is a relatively short-term assistance program compared to TANF, which provides benefits for a longer period. Both TANF and RCA have work requirements that will be further discussed below in the section on Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services.

CCC also helps refugees *apply for medical coverage* within 7 to 10 business days following arrival. All refugee children are eligible for Medicaid in the state of Virginia. Most adults, however, do not qualify for Medicaid because of state income requirements. Instead, Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) is offered to adults who do not qualify for Medicaid. The benefits in this program are only available for eight months making it non-viable for long term

[230] Ibid. 6.

health care provision. The Virginia legislature voted to expand the Medicaid program in the state in 2018 which, as the resettlement supervisor explained, should alleviate many concerns and hurdles CCC and refugees encounter trying to acquire health care coverage. However, work requirements and other conditions may limit some of the benefits of the planned expansion. The resettlement supervisor stated that achieving healthcare coverage through employment is ideal for their clients.

As of 2019, the MEDICAID expansion in Virginia requires that adults must be "lawfully present residents for five years" in order to qualify for benefits.[231] This requirement seems to block the eligibility of most adult refugees. Whether these requirements will change in the future is unknown to this thesis.

The case manager also makes *referrals to physical and mental health providers* for required health screenings and assessments within two weeks of arrival.[232] The referrals include making appointments at the Roanoke Department of Health for a basic health screening; immunization appointments needed for children attending public schools and to fulfill green card requirements for adults; an appointment for a Refugee Health Screener (RHS – 15), which screens for anxiety, depression, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); and any other medical screenings found to be necessary due to specific health needs.[233] While the case manager is responsible for initiating and coordinating appointments for initial screenings, the health liaison is responsible for delivering most CCC refugee health services.

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[231] healthinsurance.org, "Virginia and the Aca's Medicaid Expansion," https://www.healthinsurance.org/virginia-medicaid/.

[232] "Rfp No. Cvs-15-091." 7.

[233] "Pathways to Wellness: Integrating Refugee Health and Well-Being," (Seattle, Washington: Pathways to Wellness, 2011).

Another service CCC performs during initial resettlement is *school enrollment* for refugee children. The school liaison is a CCC position funded by Roanoke City Public Schools (RCPS). The school liaison works to gather the necessary information to enroll refugee children in school as soon as possible following arrival. Unlike many of the other initial resettlement objectives, there is no time requirement for school enrollment. However, the resettlement supervisor explained that this is done as soon as possible following any necessary immunizations children may require and following an orientation provided by the school liaison on educational processes in the U.S. and in Roanoke more specifically. The orientation helps to inform parents about what to expect from public schools and also serves as a chance for the school liaison to assess children's needs, so they can effectively collaborate with appropriate school officials.[234]

Adult education during initial resettlement primarily consists of a *cultural orientation* and language classes provided by the Education Specialist at CCC. The cultural orientation usually occurs within the first 30 days following arrival. However, the time limit for providing the cultural orientation may be extended but cannot exceed 90 days.[235] These are guidelines set by ORR for the R&P program.

Finally, CCC works to help new arrivals with *exploration of and linkages with formal and informal community support systems.*[236] The local exploration and linkage connection is nuanced depending upon the services a city provides to its residents and on the nonprofit and ethnic-cultural networks that are established in the city. The case manager maintains a working knowledge of available service providers and ethnic networks in Roanoke and surrounding communities. These include both public and private, formal and informal, secular and religious

[234] "Rfp No. Cvs-15-091." 7.
[235] Ibid. 7.
[236] Ibid. 8.

organizations and partnership networks. Examples include interpretation services; outside language instruction; public libraries; childcare services; churches, mosques, synagogues and other religious organizations; community organizations; public and private transportation services; education partners; Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs); and networks of volunteer agencies. The structure of these community linkages is vast, and Chapter 4 describes these connections and how they govern policy formation on the ground in Roanoke.

CCC staff members in Roanoke follow a detailed organizational action plan during initial resettlement formulated using the Virginia resettlement model. The Virginia resettlement model is constructed to meet requirements by the Reception & Placement (R&P) program and to meet some aspects of the Refugee Resettlement program. The initial resettlement plan constructed by CCC provides for a structured resettlement to Roanoke and follows specific time-oriented objectives. While completing initial resettlement requirements during R&P, CCC staff begin to shift their focus into aspects of service provision that will promote long term self-sufficiency. Locating employment for new arrivals is considered the most important aspect of self-sufficiency, especially considering societal expectations and mandates by the federal government. However, other aspects important for long-term outcomes are also confronted during and immediately following initial resettlement in the areas of housing, education, and health. Therefore, I will discuss each respective resettlement indicator in which CCC is involved including housing, employment, education, and health in detail.[237]

[237] Please see Appendix A describing the importance of housing, employment, education, and health as indicators of successful integration.

3.3.C Housing: Home is Where You Are Resettled

CCC staff members build relationships with landlords and property management firms throughout the city of Roanoke (and occasionally outside of Roanoke) that agree to provide housing for newly arriving refugees. CCC educates and relays information to landlords and property management agencies so they understand special circumstances that may accompany housing refugees. Circumstances may include unique acculturation processes depending on the refugee's country of origin, first country of asylum, or refugee camp experiences. According to one respondent, the CCC staff pass on their expertise to local landlords and property managers, which often occurs on a "learn-as-you-go" basis.[238] This positions CCC to be more than a procurer of housing, but also an intermediary between refugees and landlords in property management issues. It places them as well in the role of educators about refugee-specific knowledge to the housing community at large. The CCC resettlement supervisor informed me that it has several landlords they consistently work with who understand many aspects of resettlement and know what to expect from their new tenants.

CCC initially places refugees into private or commercially owned residential housing rather than public housing. According to the resettlement supervisor, this occurs for the simple reason that refugees arrive in the U.S. without social security numbers already assigned to them. Social security numbers are required to apply for public housing, but refugees do not obtain them until several weeks after arrival. To determine eligibility for public housing, a Local Housing Agency under the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) must take into consideration an applicant's annual gross income, elderly status, disability status, family status,

[238] Deramo, Michelle. (Director of Diversity Education and Initiatives, Virginia Tech). in discussion with the author. August 4, 2017

and citizenship or eligible immigration status, along with references on rental history.[239] None of this information, with the exception of immigration status, is available for CCC to even consider public housing as an option. Further, there is not a formal housing assistance program specifically available for refugees in the United States. Because housing is a basic need required immediately upon arrival, CCC must procure housing regardless of whether refugees have a social security number or an income. Placement into private or commercial housing may have both economic and cultural benefits and limitations. One benefit of locating housing in the private sector is that it prepares refugees for housing practices common in the local community and in the United States more broadly. Furthermore, since housing practices vary by country and many refugees have been relegated to refugee camps for some time or in some cases for others their entire lives, housing practices may be quite different from those to which they are accustomed.

Property management, renting practices, and ownership may be entirely new concepts for refugees or may at least differ from the practices of their native country or country of first asylum. The resettlement supervisor informed me that private housing and paying bills help refugees move towards the over-arching goal of achieving self-sufficiency. Refugees resettled in Roanoke vary in their familiarity with housing practices, but CCC has also obtained expertise from past experiences about the housing explanations needed during the initial resettlement process for persons from certain ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

The housing role of CCC has limitations. The resettlement supervisor informed me that housing is secured using R&P funds for 30 days, after which CCC's responsibility ends. After that time, it is the responsibility of the refugee family or individual to meet rent requirements on

[239] "Hud's Public Housing Program," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, https://www.hud.gov/topics/rental_assistance/phprog.

their own. However, CCC also helps refugees create budgets, and through these continues assistance with housing matters. Families often have an easier time paying rent by combining multiple sources of income. Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) benefits are equal to those provided by TANF; however, because MG benefits are considerably less, it is difficult for an individual to live alone. Therefore, CCC often places individuals with roommates with similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This also provides individual refugees an opportunity to combine incomes. This is an example of nuanced service provision not necessarily required by resettlement contracts. This also illustrates CCC's attempts to overcome a lack in federal refugee assistance.

CCC's discretion in procuring initial housing also enables CCC to choose specific neighborhoods within the City to focus resettlement. According to one Roanoke city official, 80 percent of refugees are resettled within a mile of the public library branch located in the Williamson Road community in Roanoke.[240] Williamson Road is considered Roanoke's main street and according to one Roanoke Times reporter the "main street of diversity in Southwest Virginia."[241] The neighborhood boasts the largest ethnic retail sector in Roanoke and the surrounding region. It includes Latino, Middle Eastern, African and Asian groceries, markets, and shops. Thus, through its practice of placing refugees in close proximity to such retail markets, CCC ensures easy access to businesses that provide goods and services that are ethnically familiar. Food items that are halal or kosher are within walking distance or a short public transit ride for most refugees. Another advantage of being resettled close together is that refugees can rely on friends and family for child care, language interpretation, and transportation opportunities for both appointments and carpooling to and from work.

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[240] Umberger, Sheila. (Director of Libraries, Roanoke Public Libraries). In discussion with the author. August 16, 2018.

[241] Lindsey Nair, "Exploring Ethnic Markets," *The Roanoke Times*, January 22, 2013.

The Williamson Road community is also the location of the Roanoke Department of Human and Social Services and the Roanoke City Health Department; both are housed in the same building. By placing refugees near the social service departments that provide many of their initial social service and health needs, CCC lessens the burden of longer, more complicated public transit travel and the need for local volunteers to provide transportation. This also ensures that volunteers have more availability to provide transportation to medical specialist visits, or to other appointments such as citizenship and language classes, or parent-teacher conferences.

At the same time, there are not always benefits to locating refugees in the same neighborhoods. Some researchers take issue with creating ethnic islands within a city and compare it to ghettoization.[242] Ghettoization did not seem to be a problem that concerned most respondents on resettling refugees in Roanoke. However, one researcher at Virginia Tech familiar with Somali-Bantu refugees in Roanoke noted that "skirmishes" and "instances of violence" had occurred between newly arrived Somali-Bantu refugees and second-generation U.S. native-born Somali-Bantu residents in the past.[243] The issue escalated to the point where CCC had to step in and facilitate moving the newly resettled refugees to another community.

Some refugees choose to move to other neighborhoods in Roanoke, and some even decide to move outside of the City or to another city altogether. In what is known as secondary migration, a refugee may leave the original destination city in order to join family or friends who live or have already been resettled in another U.S. city or county. They also may choose to move to a locality where there are more country of origin ethnic networks and communities than are present in Roanoke. If a refugee decides to leave the area during initial resettlement, they are no

[242] Peter Marcuse, "The Ghetto of Exclusion and the Fortified Enclave: New Patterns in the United States," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 41, no. 3. Et al.
[243] Deramo, Michelle. Director of Diversity Education and Initiatives, Virginia Tech. in discussion with the author. August 4, 2017. Dr. Deramo completed her doctoral dissertation on Somali-Bantu refugees in Roanoke.

longer eligible to receive the benefits that come from the R&P Program. However, they can still apply for state benefits depending on the state to which they move and they can receive long term employment services provided by resettlement agencies, if available where they move as well.

The resettlement supervisor informed me that the Roanoke CCC offers employment services to refugees who migrate to Roanoke from other U.S. cities. The resettlement supervisor also explained that Roanoke has experienced a small influx of refugees from other cities, primarily those located elsewhere in the south. This included secondary-migrants from Atlanta, Georgia. She could not explain, however, why the movements were occurring. She also noted that secondary migration out of Roanoke is a circumstance they occasionally encounter.

A researcher interviewed for this thesis said that there is a higher amount of secondary-emigration among certain groups from Roanoke, notably Somali-Bantu refugees.[244] Many Somali-Bantu refugees relocate to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where there is a strong ethnic enclave and ethnic networks. The resettlement supervisor noted that secondary migration, while sometimes problematic for the refugee, can also speak to refugees' agency and their ability to freely move within the U.S. as they see fit. However, the problem that follows such migration includes tracking these movements and the diminished ability for resettlement agencies to provide refugees with initial resettlement benefits and services. Secondary migration also presents challenges in collecting funds from refugees to repay the IOM travel loan, which may damage credit history.

After locating and securing housing, CCC is responsible for *furnishing the home* with the necessities a family or individual will need. Necessities include furniture, clothing, toiletries and,

[244] Ibid.

most importantly, food. The initial federal funding provided by the Reception and Placement program is considerably less than the cost of fully furnishing a home with new goods. Therefore, CCC relies on donations from the surrounding community and often shops for second-hand or gently used furniture and clothing in consignment shops such as Goodwill. CCC's on-site food pantry aide staff members in the ability to stock food items for new refugee arrivals. CCC staff have to consider religious and ethnic needs such as whether food needs to be vegetarian, halal, or kosher. Whenever possible, CCC tries to provide staples of the refugee's country of origin.

Employment and school preparation needs must be met as well. If a family with children is being resettled, then appropriate school supplies and clothing for the children will be necessary as well as work clothes for adults acquiring employment. However, many of these items are procured during the resettlement process as further steps following arrival. CCC also has to ensure that all appropriate utilities such as water and electricity are attained before refugees arrive. Following the 30 – 90-day R&P period, CCC shifts its focus to meeting objectives prescribed by the DHHS Refugee Resettlement Program and begin locating employment for refugees.

3.3.D Employment: CCC Employment Services and the Refugee Self-Sufficiency Paradigm

According to the resettlement supervisor, locating employment for new arrivals is an "important objective for CCC to achieve." Locating employment helps to provide income for new arrivals and may also provide refugees with health insurance benefits. Additionally, employment can give refugees a social environment conducive to interactions with native-born residents as well as previously resettled refugees. Much like the initial resettlement services in the R&P program, CCC employment services follows a detailed organizational action plan that

flows from federal level requirements, through state level programs, and finally results in nuanced local level practices.

Service provision expectations by the U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program are delegated to the individual states. States are required to formulate a refugee resettlement plan based on the federal framework. In Virginia, this program is called the Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program. This program is further divided into four programs by the VA Department of Social Services and include the Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) Program, the Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) Program, the Refugee Social Services Employment Program (RSSEP); which refers to employment services delivered by both the Refugee Social Services (RSS) program and Targeted Assistance Program (TAP), and finally the Refugee Unaccompanied Minor Program.

CCC is contracted by the state to provide RSSEP services and even operate portions of the Unaccompanied Minor Program. CCC's refugee employment services are organized to consecutively address requirements by both the R&P program and the Refugee Resettlement Program. The process appears seamless to their clients.

Locating employment for refugees begins with an employment intake assessment. The assessment entails detailed planning that considers the employment goals of the refugee. The employment intake assessment allows caseworkers to determine training, certification, or education goals the refugee may need or want. It also involves a comprehensive assessment of employment history, levels of education already attained, any viable skills the refugee may have, and any challenges that may affect employability. Such challenges may include limited English language ability, mental or physical disability or trauma, substance abuse or family violence, and low levels of education.[245]

[245] "RFP No. Cvs-15-091.", 6.

In most instances, refugee families and individuals arrive in Roanoke with at least one person having the ability to obtain employment.[246] However, this is not to downplay the challenges that some refugee have to obtaining employment. In Roanoke, some challenges are common, and some are less common. In many of the interviews I conducted, the challenge of English language attainment was mentioned as the most common ethno-cultural impediment to locating employment, followed by low levels of education. Obstacles due to mental distress are less common, though they are receiving more attention in Roanoke among the local government and partnered service providers as well as CCC.

Refugee information gathered during the employment intake and documented in the CRP is used to develop an Individual Employment Plan (IEP), which the Virginia Department of Social Services requires for RSSEP providers in Virginia, in this case CCC. The information in the IEP mirrors much of the information also kept in the refugee's CRP. This information includes a statement of the refugee's employment goals, an outline of the actions to be taken by the refugee and CCC to meet those goals, and a list of any challenges to meeting goals and how to overcome them.[247] The IEP is a cross-departmental document used by CCC and the Department of Social Services (DSS). CCC must review the IEP for service effectiveness every 30 days. If employment objectives are not being met, it must revise the plan. During intake CCC also assesses what further employment needs a family or individual has upon arrival. It must consider what income is needed in order for a refugee to support their family or themselves, the need for childcare and its availability, transportation to and from work, and whether the refugee has sufficient language skills needed for employment.

[246] Murphy, Laura. Interview. August 13, 2018.
[247] "Chapter 5: Refugee Social Services Employment Program," ed. Virginia Office of Newcomer Services, Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program Manual (Richmond, VA2015). 5.

Following the information gathering stage, CCC provides a number of *pre-employment services* in order to prepare refugees to enter the U.S. workforce. This includes a detailed U.S. employment orientation that takes place within 30 days of arrival. The employment specialist conducts the orientation and covers employee "rights and responsibilities in the workplace, expectations of an employer, appropriate work ethics, and work culture and time management."[248] CCC then *provides pre-employment training classes* to all refugees who are eligible for work. Employment training seeks to instruct the refugee in the following areas:

- Life and work (occupations and jobs available, employers in the area)
- Work environment (understanding key work terms, concepts; transportation)
- Time management (understanding calendars, schedules, punctuality)
- Communication and relationships (review of systems; communicating with peers and supervisors; understanding time off, overtime etc.)
- Health, safety and hygiene (understanding how to manage accidents, injuries, illness, emergencies)
- Money management (review of paychecks, deductions, taxes, benefits etc.)
- Work skills (understanding the interview process, resume writing, applications, job search, and basic computer literacy)[249]

Employment classes are held twice a week, and the employment specialist evaluates refugees' progress. The Employment Competencies checklist tracks a student's progress by measuring CCC's objectives for a refugee's general understanding of U.S. employment culture. Some examples of these objectives are: Student can read and understand a calendar; student knows how to complete a job application (practices in class); student understands common safety

[248] "Rfp No. Cvs-15-091." 9.
[249] Ibid., 9-10.

signs and equipment; student understands how and when one is paid for employment.[250] The level of information retention by the refugee is measured by placing the results of each objective in one of four categories: needs improvement, met expectations, exceeded expectations, or did not cover. CCC also places refugees in an English Language and Civics program. The language courses are tied closely with employment services and training courses. Both the employment specialist and education specialist contribute to aspects of preparing a refugee for employment.

Following the completion of employment training courses and obtaining appropriate documentation for refugees, CCC shifts its focus to *job placement*. Job placement, according to CCC organizational plans, involves the employment specialist helping refugees match intake information, qualifications, and acquired employment training to available employment opportunities in Roanoke. The employment specialist helps refugees fill out applications, coaches them on the interview process and will even sit in on an interview when allowed. If a refugee is hired and the employment specialist is allowed, they will accompany the refugee during employment orientations. The employment specialist also helps the refugee complete all employment and legal documentation when they are hired. Further, the employment specialist will arrange transportation when needed, including arranging car pools, volunteer transportation, or instructing the refugee on bus schedules and routes needed to reach the work site.

After a refugee has successfully been placed into employment, the CCC employment specialist conducts a *post-employment follow-up.* Follow-ups occur at 30, 60, and 90 days with the refugee's employer following employment. The employer also may contact the employment specialist at any time if there are concerns or issues that CCC may want to be made aware or possibly may need to intervene on. This rarely occurs however, and when it does it usually

[250] The complete Employment Competencies checklist I received from CCC in Roanoke is provided in Appendix C.

involves very common mix-ups due to language or cultural issues. Examples include misunderstanding about work hours, breaks, or working on certain days of the week (including religious observances). These issues are usually easily resolved, and the resettlement supervisor could not offer any examples of when they were not.

CCC is also responsible for *job development* activities, and *community engagement to promote refugee employment*. The job development role includes keeping abreast of all job opportunities in the local area and locating community partners who offer job training and skill enhancement programs. The employment specialist also utilizes online job resources such as Indeed, Craigslist, Monster, local job posting sites, online local newspapers, and state-sponsored programs such as the Virginia Registered Apprenticeship program to locate opportunities for refugee employment or training. According to the resettlement supervisor, most refugee employment is acquired through CCC's engagement with local employers.

CCC works to create relationships with employers in the City of Roanoke and surrounding areas. The employment specialist and resettlement supervisor seek out local employers who are willing to hire refugees shortly following arrival. Much as the CCC educates landlords on refugee specific expectations in housing, it does the same for employers. CCC has formed partnerships in multiple economic sectors, including manufacturing, construction, packaging, food service, and hospitality industries in Roanoke. Specific employers include Elizabeth Arden Warehouse, QVC and HSN distribution centers, several hotels and motels seeking housekeepers, Window World, and a new partner, Virginia Transformer Corporation, which is accepting many new arrivals as well as previously resettled refugees looking for better employment opportunities. Many, but not all, of the positions CCC works to secure are low-

skilled positions. Some employers offer opportunities for career advancement as well as for further education or training.

By continuing ongoing partnerships with the same employers, CCC is also able to place new arrivals into employment along with previously resettled refugees. This allows for those previously resettled and new arrivals to work together. According to the resettlement supervisor, this helps to overcome language barriers in the workplace, since former refugee clients are able to translate for and train new arrivals. This also provides the opportunity for refugees to arrange car pools for transportation to and from work sites. As mentioned earlier, many refugees also live in the same neighborhoods within the City, adding to the convenience of these arrangements. Living and working together also provide a sense of community among previously resettled refugees and new arrivals as they navigate employment, housing and transportation issues in close proximity to one another.

In my interviews with the resettlement supervisor and researchers who specialize in refugee resettlement, it became clear that the main objective for CCC, following initial Reception and Placement, is to find employment for refugees and to find it as quickly as possible. Many of CCC's practices for employment services are developed from cooperative agreement obligations and federal program guidelines and frameworks that emphasize instructing a refugee about how to find employment. However, time limited cash assistance benefits shift the focus of CCC staff from training refugees to find work to finding refugees work immediately with their employer partners. This is not to say that the CCC staff does not consider refugees' personal goals in finding employment important, but they position those as longer-term goals in most cases. The time sensitive nature of assistance benefits places a burden on the refugee to take immediate employment opportunities available to them. As already noted, both

RCA and RMA are available for eight months following arrival. This relatively short period also places pressure on CCC to place refugees into employment quickly. The state refugee plan requires CCC to "explain the financial consequences of not being employed when the cash and medical assistance ends."[251]

One researcher of Somali-Bantu refugee resettlement in Roanoke explained as the 8-month assistance period comes to an end for refugees, impatience between the CCC staff and refugees can occur.[252] The gap between CCC staff expectations and refugees' actual abilities are usually the cause of such tension. However, she identified as the root of such tension as being the time-limited assistance structure, especially for those refugees who may require more time to learn appropriate skills for employment. In this scenario, the employment aspect of resettlement becomes a "one-size-fits-all" program. CCC is forced to operate around this dynamic in which short-term assistance and funding structures constrain refugee employment expectations and the abilities of the CCC staff to help achieve goals the refugee may have.

For refugee families, time limits on assistance program benefits can be somewhat less problematic compared to those faced by individuals. Families who are resettled in Roanoke are often able to apply for and receive TANF benefits, which are available beyond the eight months that RCA is offered and that most individuals receive. This is why, as the resettlement supervisor explained, they help all refugee families apply for TANF almost immediately following arrival and avoid applying for RCA whenever possible. Regardless of the assistance program that benefits refugees, each has work requirements.

Another program administered by CCC and considered a specialty service is the Skills Training for Earnings Potential (STEP) program. Funding for this program is awarded through

[251] "Chapter 5: Refugee Social Services Employment Program." 4.
[252] Deramo, Michelle. Interview. August 4, 2017.

the Targeted Assistance Program (TAP). STEP is used for refugees with specialized skills but who cannot utilize those skills because of a lack of U.S. educational certificate or other professional certifications. CCC creates an action plan to recertify refugees who hold specialized certifications or education from another country. Refugees placed in this program must attain early employment while simultaneously working to achieve professional degrees and certificates. Often CCC will partner with community colleges and professional associations and organizations to achieve these goals. The resettlement supervisor explained that for three years they have been working with a refugee to be recertified as a pharmacist in the U.S. English language attainment presents a specific challenge in this case, especially considering the complex differences in medical terminology and culture. With this said, TAP funds are rarely used in Roanoke.

Finally, another assistance program that provides short term benefits for refugees is the Matching Grant (MG) program. The MG program is explicitly tied to the objective of locating early employment and reaching economic self-sufficiency without accessing TANF, RCA and other public cash benefits. The ORR awards funding on a 2:1 matching basis up to $2200 with any of the nine VOLAGs already holding contracts with ORR, including USCCB.[253]

This funding apparatus bypasses state agencies, and oversight is instead conducted by ORR and USCCB. At least 20 percent of the matched funds committed by USCCB/CCC must be cash and the remaining balance can be calculated by using "in-kind services or donated goods."[254] Interestingly, even though ORR awards to USCCB funds on a per capita or enrolled individual basis, the funds do not have to be spent by the resettlement agency using the same

[253] "About the Voluntary Agencies Matching Grant Program," Office of Refugee Resettlement, https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/programs/matching-grants/about.
[254] Ibid.

criteria. In other words, USCCB and CCC can spend the amount of the award they deem necessary for the refugee to reach self-sufficiency within 120 – 180 days following arrival. The ORR matching grant program guidelines state the agency must consider "local cost of living, lack of R&P, family support, and other factors, thus permitting local Matching Grant Program service providers to individually tailor services (higher or lower than the per capita rate) as necessary for each client to achieve self-sufficiency."[255] USCCB and CCC do not have to spend all of the matched funds they are granted.[256]

The MG program entails CCC providing specialized employment training and in some instances recertification of skills the refugee may already have upon arrival. This program also requires the refugee to accept the first employment position offered to them in Roanoke. The resettlement supervisor explained that CCC's use of the MG program has declined in recent years due to increases in the number of families being resettled as opposed to individuals. The period of assistance in the MG program is considerably shorter than that of TANF and RCA and therefore places an even greater burden on CCC and refugees to locate early employment.

While short-term benefit provision places constraints on CCC's employment placement practices, another topic in previous research implies that reporting requirements may exhibit similar effects. CCC is required to follow reporting requirements on employment outcomes to the federal and state governments. At the state level CCC is required to input employment information and outcomes into the Virginia Newcomer Information System (VNIS). The resettlement supervisor explained that any changes in a refugee's employment status or training

[255] Ibid.

[256] The CCC staff, primarily the resettlement supervisor and employment specialist, have the discretion to assess whether a refugee has immediate employable skills and can opt to place them into the MG program within 31 days following arrival. A family unit can be enrolled in the MG program; however, the resettlement supervisor explained that cash payments to the refugee from this program were very little each month and not suitable for most families. Cash payments to the refugee are around $200 per month.

must be reported in VNIS within five days of the occurrence. VNIS reporting follows case management guidelines under RSSEP and requires CCC to collect, input, and update information on a shared database with the Virginia Office of Newcomer Services (ONS) that include the following:

- Individual employment plan
- Record of contacts with the participant regarding all aspects of RSSEP service delivery
- Record of RSSEP employment activities including employer contacts, job referrals, entered employment
- A record of issues, concerns, and RSSEP interventions
- The type of instruction, the name of the teacher, and the cost per student[257]

In addition to accessing the information uploaded to the VNIS system, the ONS also receives tri-annual, mid-year, and year-end outcome reports from CCC. The ONS Program Consultant explained that they primarily look at employment progress and track whether placement occurs and how long it takes to find employment.[258] They also want to know whether refugee employment is full-time or part-time, whether health insurance is included, and what state benefits have been cancelled due to finding employment. ONS sends a representative to observe and participate in the Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group quarterly. This participation is in accordance with federal guidelines that state representatives meet with local administrators and refugee agencies to assess the resettlement process and local capacity to receive future refugees. (The Group will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.)

[257] "Chapter 5: Refugee Social Services Employment Program."
[258] Maxfield, Derek. (Program Consultant, Office of Newcomer Services, Virginia Department of Social Services). in discussion with the author. October 26, 2017.

Reporting to the federal government on employment outcomes, including to the ORR and PRM, occurs via USCCB. CCC sends a 90-day report to USCCB, which then relays the employment outcomes to ORR and PRM. ORR asks for quarterly reports from the refugee Dialogue Group meetings, which seems to satisfy the federal guideline that requiring quarterly coordination among federal, state and local actors involved in resettlement. PRM also receives employment outcome reporting from the ONS. Table 3.3 provides the format of reporting employment outcomes sent quarterly to federal and state agencies.

According to one researcher, federal reporting requirements established by the refugee resettlement guidelines equates to CCC "counting the silverware."[259] Organizations such as CCC are required to create reports from the bottom up, but rarely does action to address inadequacies occur in the reverse direction. For instance, reporting certain outcomes does not result in increased funding or other resources from federal agencies. Stephenson stated that refugee outcome reporting shows the gap between federal efficiency goals and concerns about the effectiveness of service by agencies and organizations at the local level.

At the local level, CCC must report refugee work requirement noncompliance to the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services (RDHSS). However, any additional information sharing between CCC and RDHSS on employment outcomes occurs informally rather than formally. The TANF and RCA work requirements oversight responsibility is deferred by RDHSS to the staff at CCC. I was informed by respondents at both CCC and RDHSS that they follow reporting guidelines provided by the VADSS. These guidelines allow each local VADSS office to determine whether they will outsource their work requirement oversight to the local

[259] Stephenson, Maxwell. (Professor, Director for Institute for Policy and Governance. Virginia Tech). in discussion with the author. August 17, 2017.

Table 3.3 Outcome Goals and Performance Standards: Refugee Social Services[260]

Indicator	Outcome Goal	Performance Standard
Employment (job) placement	Number of job placements made	80% of individuals enrolled in employment services placed in jobs
Full-time job placements	Number of full-time job placements	80% of all job placements full-time placements
Wage of full-time placement	Average wage of full-time placements	Average wage of all full-time placements $9.75/hr.
Public Assistance Terminations due to job placement	Number of public assistance terminations	90% of individuals who receive Refugee Cash Assistance have benefits terminated due to successful job placement
Jobs with health benefits or offering health benefits	Number of jobs with health benefits or that offer health benefits	80% of full-time job placements have health benefits or offer health benefits
Individual placed in job employed 90 days later	Number of individuals placed in a job that are employed 90 days later	80% of individuals placed in jobs 90 days later

Source: Modified table based on information gathered from Request for Proposals (RFP No. CVS-15-091) Commonwealth Catholic Charities, May 27, 2015.

RRO partner rather than conducting oversight in house. Both CCC and RDHSS respondents stated that the reporting of refugee work requirement noncompliance was rare in Roanoke.

CCC also reports to USCCB using both informal and formal methods. Formally, quarterly reporting of employment outcome measures is required in order for USCCB to report the information to ORR and PRM. The resettlement supervisor explained that federal agencies want reporting from the federated VOLAG rather than from the local resettlement agency. Informally, regular communications occur between CCC and USCCB about employee training, outcomes, and the general well-being of the Roanoke CCC office. Roanoke CCC, RDHSS and

[260]"Rfp No. Cvs-15-091."

representatives at ONS all reported during interviews that they work together on an informal as well as formal basis. The resettlement supervisor stated that they work more as partners and that formality and bureaucracy seem to fade away at the state level and even more at the local level. Partnership and collaboration are terms respondents used most to describe communication between agencies and organizations at the state and local levels.

The resettlement supervisor explained that service audits can and do occur by ORR, PRM, and ONS. The audits do not occur on a scheduled basis, but CCC expects audits from ORR and PRM every several years. CCC has also seen an increase in audits by the Virginia ONS, which increasingly are an annual occurrence. This indicates higher state level involvement in local outcomes, but neither the resettlement supervisor nor the ONS representative expanded on why the increase in audits is occurring. Both reiterated a partnership and coordinating relationship between ONS and CCC.

Finally, CCC receives funding and grants from private not for profit organizations and corporations for employment services. For example, United Way provided a grant to CCC to promote employment opportunity. In return for funding it requires what was described as "loose reporting and some employment outcome numbers."[261] Finding other private partners to fund programs, including employment services, is becoming more of a priority for the Roanoke CCC office due to shortages in federal funding. Reduced funding is a result of the dramatic reduction of refugee admissions into the U.S. under the Trump administration as previously discussed.

Clearly, much of CCC's funding, time, and resources go toward finding and procuring employment for new arrivals. This is driven by a self-sufficiency paradigm that appears in statute and in bureaucratic mandates in federal refugee resettlement programs. Employment programs,

[261] Murphy, Laura. Commonwealth Catholic Charities. Interview. Aug. 30, 2018.

sub-contracted to local resettlement organizations, are designed to steer new arrivals away from public assistance benefits. This is explicit in the short-term availability of assistance whether it is the one-time R&P grant, the 120-180 days of benefits in the Match Grant program, eight months of benefits in the RCA program, and the accompanying work requirements for each.

The self-sufficiency through employment paradigm is also apparent in reporting measures required by the ONS, ORR, and PRM. CCC documents and in-person interviews revealed how the concept of self-sufficiency was expressly tied to procuring employment. However, tracking outcomes in housing, education, and health also mattered to the staff of CCC, even if federal and state agencies were not as concerned.

3.3.E Education: CCC Adult Education Services and Partnering with Public-Schools for Refugee Children

The role CCC plays in providing educational services to refugees is bifurcated. The first branch includes providing specific on-site classes to adult refugees. The second involves enrolling refugee children into public school as soon as possible following arrival and acting as a liaison among refugee families, teachers, and school officials. These services are primarily delivered by the CCC education specialist and the school liaison. The resettlement supervisor also coordinates and substitutes in these roles when needed. Further, CCC uses volunteers for transportation needs as well as for tutoring. The partnership that CCC maintains with Roanoke City Public Schools (RCPS) goes beyond providing an education for children by explicitly involving their parents throughout the educational process. The adult learning program provided by CCC consists of cultural orientation and English Language (EL) and Civics courses required by the R&P program shortly following arrival.

Cultural orientation, provided by the case manager within 30 – 90 days following arrival, broadly covers U.S. cultural norms, community and neighborhood customs, and the rights and benefits of being a U.S. resident; it reviews national, state, and local laws and regulations. The orientation follows organizational guidelines on information that should be covered but may be adjusted for refugee client specific needs and for different levels of language learning ability. The orientation also instructs refugees on financial responsibility and helps construct a household budget in order to make the best of limited resources. This shows an example of a local agency response to the reality of low amounts of funding and cash assistance as well as the short-term delivery of benefits.

In addition to the cultural orientation the education specialist provides an EL/Civics program for adults. Adult refugees are enrolled into the program within 10 days of arrival. Following an *assessment of language and fluency skills,* conducted during the intake phase of resettlement, the education specialist determines the level, lower or intermediate/advanced, class the refugee should be placed. The program includes a 4-week class with 60 hours of instruction and training. Volunteers are also used during this program for transportation needs to and from classes and for individualized tutoring. Classes are offered year-round to effectively provide for the continuous flow of refugee arrivals throughout the year. Language skills and the retention of concepts, much as in the employment program, are documented during the program using an English as a Second Language (ESL) competencies sheet. The ESL competencies sheet measures for objective achievements such as; student can identify all upper- and lower-case letters, student can identify days of the week, student can speak or write their name and address, student understands the importance of being on time in the U.S., and understands the basics of going to the doctor. A full list of objectives is provided in Appendix D.

CCC maintains that this portion of adult education is designed to specifically address refugee needs following arrival. As mentioned earlier, the education program is strongly related to the employment services program. The program includes working with students on verbal and written communication, especially as it pertains to the workplace. However, the program also instructs using everyday circumstances the refugee will experience as they begin to settle into Roanoke. This includes using real life scenarios such as shopping in a supermarket and making doctor's appointments. The program uses traditional teaching techniques as well as role playing and interactive exercises.

Following the end of EL/Civics classes, CCC may refer refugees to Blue Ridge Literacy, a language learning organization, for further support in attaining the English language. The Executive Director of Blue Ridge Literacy explained that CCC provides very basic but important training that is fairly specific to employment.[262] (The role of Blue Ridge Literacy as a service partner will be discussed further in the next chapter.) Essentially, adult education by the CCC staff is a crash course in English language and civics in the U.S. It is, however, important to note that refugees arrive with different levels of English proficiency and education and that CCC attempts to tailor the education program to meet individual needs. The ability to make changes to education services for adults is constrained by limited funding and a constant flow of new arrivals.

For refugee children, CCC relies almost entirely on Roanoke City Public Schools (RCPS) to provide education and English language training. However, CCC stills plays an important liaison role between the school, refugee children, and refugee parents. RCPS funds the school liaison position at CCC. The role of the school liaison includes enrolling new refugee children

[262] Holladay, Stephanie. (Executive Director, Blue Ridge Literacy). in discussion with the author. Nov 5, 2018.

arrivals into public school after they have the required vaccinations. The English Language Learners (ELL) Coordinator for RCPS commented that the "school liaison role is a very important one."[263] The school liaison helps form relationships between the public-school system and refugee parents. Through a parental consent form, teachers and school officials are allowed to share student information with the school liaison. The liaison also may attend parent/teacher conferences, afterschool programs, and any other event that coincides with a new arrival's education or school activity. The school liaison remains involved until a time they, along with the child's parent/s, determines that their services are no longer needed.

The school liaison role offers an example of services provided that are not governed through strict guidelines in federal cooperative agreements. Federal requirements do not require CCC to go beyond enrolling children in school. However, a quasi-formal partnership exists between CCC and RCPS, and it is unclear whether this type of relationship between the Refugee Resettlement Organization and the local public-school system is unique to Roanoke, as cooperative agreements provided by Refugee Social Services grants do not include a school liaison position. Instead, this position may be part of the CCC initiative in partnering with local officials who want to make Roanoke a welcoming city.

As an extension of services offered with RCPS, CCC also aids refugees who wish to obtain higher education. These services are primarily offered to younger refugees who have graduated from high school but are also offered to adults with high school degrees or who have passed the General Education Development (GED) test. CCC helps clients fill out applications and other documentation and connects them with appropriate higher learning institutions. It

[263] Allder, Corey. (Coordinator for ELL Programs K-12). in discussion with the author. Jan 9, 2018.

partners with Virginia Western Community College in Roanoke. If an adult with less education wishes to complete the GED test, CCC will also help them with that.

While several respondents characterize classes CCC offers in-house for adult refugees as "basic," its educational supports go beyond federal government requirements. This may suggest a lack of support from CCC for adult refugees with limited education and language ability. The lack in adult education supports from CCC can be explained by both limited resources and the current self-sufficiency paradigm that positions employment as the most important indicator by oversight agencies. CCC tries to overcome these obstacles by referring adults with low levels of English proficiency and education to other community resources.

As shown here, CCC plays a role in education for new arrivals in two ways. First, it prepares adults for employment to achieve self-sufficiency as dictated by federal and state cooperative agreements. Second, it enrolls refugee children in Roanoke City Public Schools and acts as a liaison between school officials and teachers and refugee families. In other words, besides meeting requirements dictated by federal refugee resettlement policy, CCC is part of a process of shared responsibility with the local government, in this case RCPS, by collaborating to craft educational supports.

3.3.F Health: CCC Refugee Health Services and the Referral Process

Another step toward integration that extends local collaborative efforts and that is receiving more attention among activists and scholars is refugees' physical and mental health. CCC's role in providing health services mostly involves providing referrals, scheduling appointments, and providing transportation. However, it also helps refugees access medical assistance programs and acts as a liaison between new arrivals and medical providers. Some

services CCC provides are formally dictated by federal requirements in the R&P program and Refugee Resettlement Program, while others are part of collaborations through informal partnerships with local offices of state agencies.

Federal and state guidelines require that refugees receive basic health screenings and immunizations, but CCC opts to take further actions in addressing refugee health concerns. First, CCC provides refugees with a health orientation in which the medical liaison explains the U.S. healthcare system and local health resources available in the community. The case manager, in coordination with the medical liaison, arrange for initial health screenings and immunizations for refugee children so they may be enrolled in public school. CCC also arranges transportation by a staff member or trusted volunteer to the initial health screening appointments. The medical liaison attends these initial appointments whenever possible.

ORR requires CCC to complete referrals for initial screenings and report them to USCCB within 30 days, however, the local Roanoke Department of Health, according to state guidelines, has 90-days to process refugees. The resettlement supervisor noted that this is one area where actual reporting and completion requirements are mismatched between federal and state mandates. She claimed it would be helpful if everyone had the same time-table for completing and reporting required health screenings. Regardless of mismatched service time tables and thanks to the coordination between CCC's health liaison and the Roanoke Department of Health, CCC rarely encounters problems with reporting and time restraints. The Roanoke Health Department works with CCC to process refugees' health screenings soon after arrival. Children needing to be enrolled in public school usually take precedence in this process and are referred for immunizations as soon as possible.

Outside of federal requirements, CCC's health liaison helps foster partnerships with healthcare providers and healthcare advocacy groups in Roanoke such as the Roanoke Refugee Health Council. The liaison also works to provide orientations to healthcare providers on how to deliver "culturally sensitive" care to refugees.[264] CCC works with local organizations to provide translators when necessary and to help new arrivals understand diagnosis and treatments as well as going over any prescription instructions. Often the health care liaison will locate physicians in diverse fields who will work with their clients independently on a pro-bono basis. The health liaison is also responsible for maintaining the progress of refugee's health throughout the resettlement process.

The resettlement supervisor explained that the 8-month benefit limit of Refugee Medical Assistance presents challenges in ensuring that adult refugees receive adequate care. This adds to the priority of locating early employment, especially if those positions offer employer paid health benefits. In 2018, however, the Virginia state legislature decided to approve a federal Medicaid expansion originally offered as a part of the Affordable Care Act. Medicaid is a federal program administered and partially funded by states. The Virginia Medicaid expansion program may include caveats such as work requirements but its impact on adult refugees' ability to receive long-term care options is unclear. The resettlement supervisor was hopeful that the expansion would help eliminate many of the problems they face with refugee adult healthcare.

Elderly refugees who lack English language skills also suffer disproportionately in the area of health. Proficient English language ability is required to receive citizenship, but many older adults have difficulty learning the English language. Without citizenship, elderly refugees face myriad social assistance gaps, health coverage being one. Refugee assistance benefits end

[264] "Rfp No. Cvs-15-091." 7.

after five years and are predicated on a refugee's ability to apply for and obtain citizenship. Elderly refugees who cannot do so due to language barriers face precariousness when losing medical benefits.

The expansion of Medicaid in Virginia and the general challenges for adult refugees to receive healthcare reflects the current healthcare debate going on in the United States at the national level. The resettlement supervisor stated that health concerns especially for older refugees and a lack of coverage options for many others is an example of the large "coverage gap" between federal support and actual local need. In order to address the challenges presented by the current healthcare system, CCC works in a referral capacity to help refugees locate local organizations that can best serve their needs beyond initial resettlement objectives.

For CCC and its partners including the Roanoke City Health Department and the Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council, a growing concern is confronting mental health needs of refugees. This includes refugees who have endured trauma due to violence and persecution in their country of origin or sometimes in refugee camps. CCC provides a critical voice and junction for partners to collaborate and combine efforts in addressing mental health concerns.

The role that CCC plays in health service provision is limited in nature, but important especially during the first year of resettlement by providing the central role in forming health partnerships throughout the Roanoke community.

3.3.G Additional Concerns and Summary of CCC's Role in Refugee Resettlement in Roanoke

Several remaining concerns for CCC not addressed in the previous sections deserve some mention. One is the concern that Roanoke CCC has about the changing political climate towards refugees at the federal level. The resettlement supervisor expressed concern about the changing

nature of the public-private partnership under the Trump administration, as many smaller offices are falling under high fiscal duress. With drastic cuts in refugee admission numbers, she was unsure how long many of the smaller Catholic Charities' agencies would be able to survive the accompanying reduction in federal funding. At this point, reliance for funding is shifting towards the private sector, especially from corporate and individual donors. This aspect of public-private partnership reveals a distinctive dynamic, as multiple avenues of funding and even service delivery objectives begin to move from government reliance, accountability and oversight to private reliance, accountability and oversight.

The second concern is one that researchers mention about CCC and other faith-based organizations of proselytizing by groups subcontracting with the federal government to provide public services. The Virginia Plan states that "refugees may not be discriminated against because of their religious preference" and that "no staff person or volunteer may apply pressure upon a refugee to convert to a specific religion."[265] The resettlement supervisor also mentioned this and noted that non-proselytizing was a policy that they follow while helping refugees of different faiths.

Potential conflict beyond proselytization exists between faith-based organizations, which follow certain religious practices, and secular government agencies and organizations which follow public practices. In 2008 a 16-year old minor in the custody of CCC through the unaccompanied minors program sought and received contraception and later an abortion.[266] A CCC staff member authorized both actions to be taken. It is unknown whether this incident occurred in Roanoke, but still it affected all CCC's in Virginia and all Catholic Charities in the

[265] "Chapter 1: Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program Overview," ed. Office of Newcomer Services, Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program Manual (Richmond, VA 2015).
[266] Jian Lizama, "Catholic Officials Knew of Abortion Plan," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 2, 2008.

U.S. After the incident occurred the Archdiocese in Richmond, and later the USCCB, determined the actions to be in opposition of church teachings. Several staff members were fired, and a notice was sent to all Catholic Charities organizations nationwide. In the notice Catholic Charities employees were forbidden from providing or referring minors in their care to abortion services or giving access to contraceptive materials. The actions of USCCB and the ORR led American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to file a Complaint for Injunctive Relief against the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the sub agencies and subcontractors involved.[267] In the court document ACLU argued that USCCB's order allows for affiliates such as CCC to intentionally withhold information about legal reproductive health options. This includes informing their clients of a judicial bypass for minors under federal custody, so they may receive an abortion or contraception materials. Here one finds an example of the religious convictions of the organization having an effect on refugees who may not have the same or any religious convictions. This situation provides an example of a complication that faith-based organizations may have in a public-private partnership.

Regardless of these concerns, CCC still remains an important part of the refugee resettlement structure at the local level. From welcoming new refugee arrivals at the Roanoke/Blacksburg Regional Airport to transporting them to doctor appointments and parent teacher conferences; from procuring housing, clothing and food to locating their first employment, CCC plays multiple roles while introducing new refugee arrivals to the City of Roanoke. In one interview, the Roanoke director of Human and Social Services, he commented that, "CCC plays an important role in providing navigation to refugees so they can access city services, community partners, and quick access to state and federal benefit programs, a role that

[267] "American Civil Liberties Union Foundation V. Department of Health and Human Services; Administration for Children and Families," ed. United States District Court for the Southern District of New York (New York, NY). 2008.

is not readily available to other impoverished residents in need."[268] He continued that it often goes beyond what is required while resettling refugees. The Director's comments highlight the importance of CCC's role in Roanoke for refugee resettlement. CCC's contribution in the resettlement structure is guided by federal policies and cooperative agreement requirements, but the extent of its service provision do not end with what it is required to do. By delivering services to refugees through cooperative agreements, but then by going beyond what is mandated when possible, CCC provides a structured welcome to Roanoke, Virginia.

3.4 The Public Partner: Local State Agency Office's Role in Initial Refugee Resettlement

CCC is not the only actor involved in providing a structured welcome as refugees initially resettle in the City of Roanoke. As already mentioned, the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services (RDHSS) and the Roanoke City Health Department (RCHD) also provide benefits and services to refugees as they go through the initial resettlement process. This section demonstrates that RDHSS and RCHD are closely linked to the state in the hierarchical chain of governance in the refugee resettlement structure. RDHSS and RCHD are explicably tied to providing assistance benefits and services to the greater population of Roanoke residents as a whole. However, they perform refugee- specific services and benefits. Once again, CCC, RDHSS and RCHD are constrained by federal and state policies and guidelines in how they deliver refugee services and benefits, but they also exhibit some discretion.

As mentioned earlier, these local branches of state agencies are located in the same multi-story building located on Williamson Road, near where CCC locate most refugees upon arrival

[268] Martin, Steven. (Director of Human/Social Services, Roanoke, VA). in discussion with the author. October 6, 2017.

to the City. Travel to the departments is in walking distance for some and requires a short car or Roanoke Metro bus ride for others. The Virginia State Refugee Coordinator in the Office of Newcomer Services (ONS) conducts oversight of service provision by local Virginia Department of Social Services branches.

Each agency is responsible for delivering different forms of assistance whether it be procuring and providing cash or medical assistance or referring refugees to different avenues of medical assistance and conducting initial health screenings and vaccinations. Their services align with those of CCC already discussed What follows provides further detail and nuanced positioning of the public portion of the public-private partnership in the top-down, hierarchically-organized refugee resettlement structure as it unfolds locally.

3.4.A Roanoke Department of Human and Social Services

The Roanoke Department of Human and Social Services (RDHSS) provides several forms of assistance to refugees. The primary form is helping refugees obtain cash and medical benefits. The local branch is responsible for providing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA), Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA), and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits to refugees if and when they are eligible for such programs. Eligibility for most benefit programs is temporary and depends on meeting work requirements. The refugee-specific benefits, RCA and RMA and the subsequent services RDHSS provides, are funded through the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) housed in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.[269]

[269] Weekly benefits are provided to refugees who qualify for any of these assistance programs. The state government provides funds through an electronic TANF card or a check, mostly the case for RCA benefits, to the refugee client. Checks are provided at the local level and mailed by RDHSS or in some cases given to CCC to pass along to the refugee client. All funds dispersed at the local level are then reimbursed monthly by the state of

Due to the small amount of R&P funds that go directly to the refugee family or individual, RDHSS works with CCC to streamline the process of applying for assistance programs. The RDHSS employs approximately 65 people, and according to the RDHSS director, several of those employees specialize in handling refugees as a special case.[270] This highlights an effort by the local branch of state agency to treat refugees as a special case, even though not required to do so. Most assistance programs provided by RDHSS, with the exception of RCA and RMA, are offered to the general public. In fact, the director of RDHSS mentioned that he wishes organizations like CCC were utilized more for the general public as well to help them navigate the often-complicated bureaucratic systems.[271] New refugee arrivals are enrolled into TANF quickly after arrival, and those who are denied or are not eligible for are then helped by CCC and RDHSS to apply for RCA benefits. The application process is primarily handled by CCC. The coordination between CCC and RDHSS is important, especially due to application processes that may become complicated due to mixed family arrivals. The Virginia State Plan provides an instance of such a complication:

> For example: if an Application for Benefits includes a parent, two children under 19 who are in school, two children over 19, and an elderly relative, there would be four cases set up for that one application. There would be one TANF case for the parent and two children. There would be three RCA cases: one for each of the two children over 19 and one for the elderly adult.[272]

Virginia who is, in turn, reimbursed by ORR and the federal government. No local public funding is used to provide benefits for refugee assistance programs.

[270] Martin, Steven. (Director of Human/Social Services, Roanoke, VA). in discussion with the author. October 6, 2017.

[271] Ibid.

[272] "Chapter 3: Refugee Cash Assistance Program," ed. Office of Newcomer Services, Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program Manual (Richmond, VA2016).

Thus, the RDHSS does not act alone as the sole provider of benefits and services, even though the provision of such benefits is under its charge. There is a blend of public and private actors that work together to provide refugees with information on the financial assistance available to refugees. This shared role continues for monitoring the work requirements refugees must achieve to receive these benefits. Both the director of RDHSS and CCC's resettlement supervisor observed that work requirements are monitored by CCC and reported to RDHSS in cases of noncompliance. Noncompliance with work requirements results in refugees no longer remaining eligible for benefits provided by TANF and RCA. Work requirements for RCA are fulfilled by registering and participating in the RSSEP program administered by CCC.
If CCC reports to RDHSS that a client is not participating, then RDHSS sends a notice to the refugee client that their benefits will be terminated. At that time, the refugee client may appeal the decision of RDHSS. The director of RDHSS explained that termination of benefits is a rare occurrence in Roanoke as most refugees required to participate in the RRSEP program do so. Furthermore, RCA and TANF benefits also require English as a Second Language attainment classes. This requirement is separate from CCC's language training under the R&P cooperative agreement and the RRSEP program. In order for refugees to meet these requirements, RDHSS contracts with Blue Ridge Literacy to provide training.

The coordinated role between CCC and RDHSS in navigating complex bureaucratic programs continues in other ways. Coordination efforts are not required by federal policies. RDHSS is responsible for enrolling refugees into either the Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) or the Medicaid programs. The RMA program offers medical assistance for eight months following arrival. Medicaid has financial guidelines that may include a refugee's income from their country of origin, where RMA does not. Once again, multiple family members may be

eligible for different programs depending upon age, whether an individual has dependents, if they attain early employment, or they are enrolled in the Matching Grant program. As mentioned earlier, the nature of how Medicaid is provided in Virginia changed in January 2019. The specific change in requirements for refugees to receive benefits is unknown at the time. When the changes occur due to the Virginia's Medicaid expansion, both groups will work together to communicate to refugees how their coverage options have changed.

3.4.B Roanoke City Health Department

The Roanoke City Health Department (RCHD) provides health services for refugees based on the Virginia Newcomer Health Program. The Newcomer Health Program (NHP), originally the Refugee and Immigrant Health Program (RIHP), was created by Virginia following the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980.[273] RCHD, in accordance with NHP guidelines, delivers services that go well beyond federal requirements. In partnership with local health departments and local resettlement agencies, the Virginia NHP:

- Assures that all new refugees receive an initial health screening at an LHD within 45 days of their arrival in the United States
- Facilitates reimbursement to LHDs for provision of initial health screening services
- Provides education and training to public health providers and community partners on refugee-related issues
- Advocates for culturally competent care delivery and the use of qualified medical interpreters
- Collects data on refugee arrivals, including medical conditions identified during the initial health screening

[273] "Newcomer Health (Refugee) Program," Virginia Department of Health, http://www.vdh.virginia.gov/tuberculosis-and-newcomer-health/newcomer-health-program/.

- Receives notification from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), Division of Global Migration and Quarantine (DGMQ) Electronic Disease Notification (EDN) System on individuals with classified TB conditions and assures follow up by LHDs
- Collects outcome data on immigrants with classified TB conditions and reports this data to CDC DGMQ[274]

Combining federal requirements with local initiatives also appears in other ways. According to the coordinator of the refugee health program in the RCDH, when refugees are brought in for initial health screenings and vaccinations, this is often their first encounter with the U.S. healthcare system.[275] He stated that he and his staff find it important to provide adequate and ethnically and culturally sensitive care to new refugee arrivals so they will feel comfortable in the future seeking medical care when needed.

The RCHD holds a clinic every two weeks in which eight individual refugees can receive a thorough health screening. The coordinator of the refugee health program noted that this time table is meant to accommodate ongoing refugee arrivals throughout the year. He also explained that RCHD will not exceed eight individuals per clinic to ensure that doctors have time to complete thorough examinations. In years when the number of refugee arrivals increased dramatically, the RCHD increased the number of clinics rather than the number of patients per clinic. The well-being of the refugee remains a top priority and ensuring an adequate patient/doctor time ratio is the most important aspect of the screenings. The coordinator of refugee health in Roanoke says that during times of increased arrivals, coordination between the RCHD and CCC becomes paramount to ensure timely screening appointments.

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[274] Ibid.

[275] Haakmeester, Robert. (Coordinator of the Refugee Health Program, Roanoke City Health Department, Roanoke, VA). in discussion with the author. January 29, 2018.

RCHD, like RDHSS, also crafts local level support that go beyond federal requirements, however, many of these actions are informed by state policies. The federal requirements for initial refugee medical screenings are limited in that they require completion of a medical history and physical assessment. This includes a complete blood count (CBC) test, a basic metabolic panel (BMP), a urinalysis (U/A), a hepatitis B serology, HIV test, and tuberculosis screening and testing. Immunizations for children attending school and for adults needed for the adjustment of status (green card) are also mandatory. The remaining conditional health services are outlined in CDC guidelines, but they are not required. For instance, a mental health screening is "encouraged, depending on available services" according to the guidelines set by the CDC.[276] Nonetheless, Virginia adopted the Refugee Health Screener (RHS-15), a culturally sensitive mental health examination offered in the refugees' native language as a state-led service requirement. RCHD performs the RHS-15 for all new arrivals. Thus, that RCHD provides additional services to refugees is independent of federal guidelines and depends on state and local officials' discretion to offer such services. However, the coordinator of refugee health explained that all services that can be reimbursed by the NHP are provided for new clients. Many additional services including referrals are also provided based upon what is discovered in the initial health and RHS-15 screenings.[277]

RCHD also performs local level actions that can be considered discretionary and additional to federal and state guidelines. For example, RCHD maintains a partnerships with the Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council and private healthcare and mental healthcare providers around the City. These organizations often work with CCC's health liaison to educate local

[276] "Summary Checklist for the Domestic Medical Examination for Newly Arriving Refugees," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, https://www.cdc.gov/immigrantrefugeehealth/guidelines/domestic/checklist.html.
[277] A full list of conditional testing, presumptive treatment in lieu of testing, immunizations for children and adults, mental health screening, and post health screening guideline are provided in Appendix E.

healthcare providers on how to provide culturally sensitive care. RCHD staff also remain involved in refugee healthcare needs even as CCC begins to step back from providing health services. The coordinator for refugee health in Roanoke explained that "CCC usually starts easing out of providing health services between 6-8 months after arrival, especially as RMA begins to expire and refugees become more familiar with the healthcare system."[278] However, he mentioned that CCC remains involved in advocacy and organizing community meetings, and CCC shows general interest in knowing what changes are occurring in healthcare provision in Roanoke overall. The partnership between CCC and RCHD is yet another example of a partnership effort informed and governed by federal and state cooperative agreements and local contracts, but also extending into informal collaboration that moves beyond contractual obligations.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how a hierarchically-organized structure governs how local resettlement organizations and local state agency offices initially provide services to refugees. However, this chapter also has shown that Commonwealth Catholic Charities, the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services and the Roanoke City Health Department exercise discretion and provide services beyond federal requirements. Driven by public-private partnership dynamics, both government agencies and private actors make decisions on policy implementation, especially when federal policy requirements are vague. This chapter also demonstrates a willingness among local actors to push the boundaries of how refugees should be

[278] Haakmeester, Robert. Interview. 2018.

initially resettled and execute organizational policies of their own parallel to federal and state policies.

The objectives outlined in the Refugee Act of 1980 were meant to eliminate ad hoc policies and processes and create a one-size fits all refugee resettlement process, but the law did not eliminate more ad hoc processes occurring locally. Instead, resettlement organizations and local government agencies are able to interact and create local agreements and processes of their own. The federal level of the hierarchical structure still prioritizes the self-sufficiency paradigm that seeks to place refugees into early employment. However, at least in Roanoke and in Virginia, local-level actors in the hierarchical structure opt to extend the self-sufficiency paradigm by seeking additional positive and progressive outcomes in housing, education, and health.

CHAPTER FOUR: A COMMUNITY-BASED STRUCTURE FOR LONG-TERM SUPPORT: AN EXPLORATION OF COMMUNITY PARTNERS IN ROANOKE

4.1 Introduction

There are striking contrasts between the dynamics that govern initial resettlement and those that govern long-term inclusion goals at the local level. Rather than public agencies taking the lead to address long-term refugee resettlement goals, one finds local grassroots organizations and community councils creating initiatives to address the longer-term needs of refugees. Roanoke City Council and City departments then become responsive to these community initiatives and subsequently create policies or offer support by fostering collaborations that help bolster the initiatives. For example, the City of Roanoke may provide offices for grassroots organizations rent free, offer public funding opportunities, or host community events that promote the inclusivity of immigrants and refugees.

Grassroots organizational initiatives and city agency support shift the governing dynamics in refugee resettlement from a more centralized top-down hierarchical structure to a more horizontal community-based structure. The local community-based structure is better suited to respond to the specific needs of refugees as they encounter various circumstances on the ground in ways that the centralized structure is not. However, this community-based model is not completely divergent from the federal model used for initial resettlement. Many of the practices of local grassroots organizations and city departments are informed by federal and state policies and programs, while other practices attempt to overcome service delivery gaps that remain unaddressed by those same policies.

4.2 Coordinating Local-Level Support: Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group and Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council

The center of collaborative efforts and of the refugee support system in Roanoke is the Virginia Community Capacity Initiative (VCCI), more commonly known as the Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group. VCCI, established by the Office of Newcomer Services (ONS) at the state level, is an extension of federal requirements that refugee resettlement stakeholders meet quarterly. The VCCI establishes three central goals:

> Goal 1: To ensure that the State Refugee Coordinator has accurate and relevant information for its annual review and input into the U.S. State Department's decision-making process.
> Goal 2: To determine a capacity baseline for each receiving community's short and long-term ability to resettle refugees using capacity indicators generated by ONS and supported by the community dialogue group.
> Goal 3: To promote successful refugee integration as a long-term strategy toward durable economic self-sufficiency and social and civic adjustment; and to create welcoming receiving communities for refugee groups resettled throughout Virginia.[279]

The Roanoke VCCI or Refugee Dialogue Group is tasked with adhering to the operational standards and guidelines of the Virginia Model for Refugee Resettlement and the Comprehensive Resettlement Plan outlined in Appendix B. The plan objective prioritizes the self-sufficiency paradigm and obtaining early employment to avoid using public assistance programs long-term. Assessing refugee physical and mental health concerns as well as engaging

[279] "Virginia Community Capacity Initiative," Office of Newcomer Services, www.dss.virginia.gov/ons/downloads/VCCI.pptx.

in community efforts to create a welcoming environment are also detailed in the Comprehensive Resettlement Plan.

In the case of the Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group, CCC has the responsibility to organize the meeting schedule and agendas and to locate venues for the group to meet. Representatives from City agencies including Roanoke Neighborhood Services, Roanoke City Public Schools, Roanoke Public Libraries and the Roanoke Police, Fire and EMS Departments regularly attend meetings. Various representatives from local level grassroots organizations also attend regularly as well as partners from the business community. For example, representatives from local banking institutions or Goodwill may be present. On average approximately 20-30 stakeholders are present at the Refugee Dialogue Group meetings held every other month. Additionally, a representative from the Office of Newcomer Services attends Refugee Dialogue Group meetings several times a year. One interview respondent noted that the "dialogue group offers an opportunity for the right arm to know what the left is doing."[280]

The meeting agenda usually includes, first, a *member spotlight* in which a stakeholder gives a presentation of programs and services their agency or organization provides. Following this, Roanoke city officials present or provide an update on City initiatives and programs for immigrants and refugees. Upcoming community events sponsored by member organizations are presented and discussed. The community events discussed at the RDG meeting I attended included: an upcoming "cultural humility lunch and learn"; a job fair for immigrants and refugees known as (X)po sponsored by Roanoke Spanish; an upcoming refugee mental health council meeting; a minority mental health breakfast; an upcoming webinar exploring the financial capabilities of refugee populations, presented by a local bank official; information on

[280] Holladay, Jennifer. Interview. Nov 5, 2018.

the Hope Soccer Festival that provides proceeds to help with education costs of refugees; an update on the Local Colors Festival that celebrates immigrants and diversity in Roanoke; information on the upcoming Roanoke Welcoming Week; and an invitation for stakeholders to attend a Roanoke College panel discussion on local refugee resettlement issues.

Following this, a round table allowed each stakeholder to present success stories or discuss challenges facing refugee clients. For example, the English Language Learning (ELL) Coordinator with Roanoke City Public Schools shared an increase in Roanoke ELL graduation rates to 96 percent. He also noted that six to seven years ago most refugee students had opportunities to attend Virginia Western Community College, but now they were seeing a rise in refugee students' attending four-year universities. Family Services of Roanoke Valley reported that it received a grant to provide translating services while counseling refugees.

At the meeting I attended, the Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council was the *member spotlight*. The Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council is a separate but partner council established by the Virginia Healing Partnership. The Virginia Healing Partnership is a collaborative effort between the Virginia Department of Behavioral Health and Developmental Services, the Virginia Department of Health, as well as local offices of these state agencies. The Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council was established in 2014 to "identify and implement strategies that build capacity for behavioral health services for refugees" and "to provide input for policy and programming at the state and local levels."[281] The Council works with support partners including CCC to ensure refugees receive mental health screenings and referrals. It also interacts with healthcare providers to address service gaps and provide culturally adapted mental health interventions.

[281] Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council Information Handout. Refugee Dialogue Group Meeting. Oct 26, 2018.

The Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group and the Roanoke Refugee Mental Health Council provide opportunities for most, if not all, stakeholders at the local and even state level to interact and identify avenues of collaboration. While established as part of formal federal and state requirements, the councils also have developed into an informal forum to discuss local strategies to enhance equity and opportunities for inclusion for refugees. Thus, the policies and guidelines structuring initial resettlement have given way to a collaborative dynamic that govern city actions in refugee resettlement in Roanoke. The Refugee Dialogue Group serves as a mechanism that connects government agencies and officials to private organizations and their members as well as the local business community to some respect. The Refugee Dialogue Group contributes to governance as discussed strategies become programs that City officials often consider and implement. The make-up of the Refugee Dialogue Group still reflects a public-private partnership, but the dynamics governing long-term integration and inclusion locally are not as formal as the dynamics governing initial resettlement.

To further support this claim, the following sections describe how members of the Refugee Dialogue Group operate and how they interact with one another. Even though many members operate in a specialized service capacity, the Refugee Dialogue Group offers a platform for discussion and collaboration that connects members in a web of support for refugees. Some of these members are tied to city and state governments, while others are private nonprofits. However, the lines of collaboration often blur the line of governance. Decisions affecting long-term resettlement and ultimately integration at the local level are being made by both public officials and private actors, but more by private actors.

4.3 Roanoke City Public Schools, Club Sports, Higher Education, and After School Partners

> *Diversity is truly a source of strength for Roanoke City Public Schools. With over 1,000 English language learners from more than 40 countries and more than 30 native languages, our school communities benefit from cultural and linguistic diversity found nowhere else in the region.*
>
> -COREY ALLDER – Supervisor of ELL Programs K-12 Roanoke, VA

As the previous chapter discussed, Roanoke City Public Schools (RCPS) plays an important role in the education of refugee children. Its partnership with CCC is also important in connecting refugee parents to the public-school system and the broader community. Additionally, after-school programs and sporting events offer opportunities for refugee children and parents to interact among themselves and with native-born residents. Finally, RCPS partners with institutions of higher learning to offer refugee children opportunities to advance their education or training.

Students are enrolled in public schools according to the location of their residence. To assist with the enrollment process, RCPS and the CCC school liaison use specialized forms in the native language of the new arrivals. Once enrolled, students are evaluated for language ability. For refugee children who do not speak English proficiently, RCPS must balance two objectives. The first is to provide a core education that leads students towards graduation and helps them pass the Standards of Learning tests (SOLs). The second is to simultaneously instruct refugee children in attaining the English language. In order to adequately approach the first objective, children are enrolled into highly specialized classes that place emphasis on learning English while also introducing mathematics and physical sciences.[282] The RCPS ELL supervisor finds

[282] Allder, Corey. (Supervisor of English Language Learners Program K-12, RCPS). In discussion with the author, Jan. 9, 2018.

that immersing students in math and science as well as intensive English classes helps them to acquire language skills faster than teaching them English only first. For their first-year in school, refugee students are usually enrolled in three or four intensive English courses. Following the first-year, students are given the freedom to choose substantive courses in which they have interest and can begin to select elective courses.

The ELL supervisor explained that older refugee children are more of a challenge in helping them to catch up. Providing adequate ELL classes and completing the core curriculum simultaneously is challenging given the limited time available before they "age-out" of the public-school system. Studies have shown that older refugee students have more difficulty in passing SOL's.[283] The situation can also be complicated by parents who may pressure their child to enter the workforce to help with family income. Despite these challenges, RCPS achieved a 96% graduation rate in 2017 among its ELL students. The ELL supervisor noted that this trend continues to move in a positive direction.

As the previous chapter mentioned, RCPS has a contract with CCC for the school liaison position. The school liaison regularly attends parent teacher conferences and school orientations to help refugee parents feel more comfortable with the administration and teachers. The school liaison will also make sure a translator is provided when needed. The ELL supervisor explained they find it very important to include parents as much as they can, and CCC's school liaison is critical for achieving these goals. Officials in RCPS also invite former refugees to speak to students and their parents to offer encouragement on the U.S. educational process. Additionally, RCPS partners with mental healthcare providers and Family Services of Roanoke Valley, which offer counseling for past trauma and stress in general. This service is offered to both refugee

[283] Julie Sugarman, "Beyond Teaching English: Supporting High School Completion by Immigrant and Refugee Students," (Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2017). Et al.

students and their parents. The school regularly participates in *family engagement*, which works to bring together families from all backgrounds. This includes offering to host general sporting events and other afterschool clubs and functions as well as to provide tutoring sessions.

RCPS also promotes refugee specific events including the Hope Soccer Festival. In 2009 the head coach of William Fleming High School in Roanoke founded the Star City Soccer Foundation (SCSF), which supports refugee children "as they develop the motivation, skills and confidence to succeed."[284] The Foundation offers "tutoring, mentoring, leadership training, internship and community service opportunities" for refugee students.[285] When eight local refugee children lost their parents in an accident, the head coach established the Ndarugiriye Mariam Scholarship Fund to provide for their educational needs.[286] He achieved this goal by holding a soccer festival, which has since been renamed the Hope Soccer Festival. Originally held to support this specific family, the success of the event has allowed the program to expand its goals to help other refugee children in Roanoke achieve their educational goals. The program proceeds help to cover "college tuition and fees, along with cooking and nutritional classes, after-school programs, and summer school expenses."[287]

Another RCPS school program, the Back to School Extravaganza, is held in August each year. The event is aimed at welcoming back students, especially newcomers. Representatives from the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services (RDHSS), Roanoke City Health Department (RCHD), Roanoke City Police Department (RCPD), and many more attend to introduce themselves to new families in Roanoke. The RDHSS hands out free bags of school

[284] "Hope Soccer Festival," Star City Soccer Foundation, https://www.hopesoccer.org/about.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.

supplies and the RCHD offers on-site immunizations for students. The ELL supervisor explained that the event is offered to all newcomers but is specifically tailored for refugees. Other afterschool events available to refugee students include the VH1 Save the Music Foundation Program, gifted programs that recognize skills and talents whether a student is proficient in the English language or not, the RCPS+ program, special language programs, as well as a host of after school sporting clubs and leagues. Most programs are offered to all students, but the CCC school liaison and ELL teachers help refugee students who want to participate in these programs.

RCPS also partners with institutions of higher education from around the region. One such partnership is with the Virginia Tech student organization the Coalition for Refugee Resettlement (CRR). Together RCPS and CRR developed an arrangement through which CRR provides Virginia Tech student volunteer tutors during afterschool programs. Student volunteers are recruited on the Virginia Tech campus in neighboring Blacksburg, Virginia. Volunteers include students who speak second or multiple languages as well as those who do not. CRR members pay dues, which help to absorb the cost for transportation to and from Roanoke for two-hour tutoring sessions with refugee children. The tutoring sessions focus on ESL and helping students with homework. Additionally, CRR members offer to tutor refugee parents for their respective ESL and civics classes. CRR members will even tutor refugee students and parents to help prepare them for the U.S. citizenship exam.

Formerly, arrangements were made for CRR members to visit the homes of refugees, but after having been advised by Virginia Tech, has moved away from those practices. Instead CRR opts to meet students and parents at RCPS branches for a more neutral tutoring ground. Several organizers of CRR noted they understood the issue of liability for VT students visiting private homes but argue that visiting refugees at home provided an opportunity to further help refugees

sort and translate mail. Further, CRR organizers stated that refugee homes offered an opportunity for a "genuine place for cultural exchange."[288] One CRR organizer stated, "this program offers us an opportunity to build bridges between cultures," while another organizer said, "it allows Virginia Tech students, who are only here for a short time, to 'bust the Blacksburg bubble' that we often feel when attending school. It really gives us an opportunity to be a part of the community outside of the university."[289] The students continue to work with Virginia Tech staff to expand opportunities to tutor refugees. They are also working to extend a partnership with Roanoke City Libraries, which works closely with RCPS, to offer CRR more opportunities and venues to reach refugee adults as well as their children.

Through RCPS partnerships and utilizing programs such as the Virginia Western's Community College Access Plan (CCAP), refugee students are finding more opportunities to attend college. CCAP is a "series of public/private partnerships with the objective of making college available tuition-free to area high school graduates who meet program guidelines."[290] One refugee student who received funding from CCAP has transferred to the University of Virginia. When speaking on his experiences in a Roanoke city public school and Virginia Western, he noted the importance of programs like CCAP:

> CCAP made college possible and helped me get a step closer to my goal. CCAP helped me finish two years of college without any debt. With my parents' minimum-wage jobs, I would have never been able to afford college. Without CCAP, I would not be where I am today. When I started high school, I did not speak English, and by the time I finished my first year at Western, I had many opportunities to help hundreds of students. CCAP

[288] Miller, Tyler. DeLuca, Isabella. (Organizers for Coalition for Refugee Resettlement, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA). in discussion with the author, Sept 12, 2017.
[289] Ibid.
[290] "A Life Transformed," *Impact: The Magazine of the Virginia Western Community College Educational Foundation*2016. 13.

> was the beginning of my success. The last two years at Virginia Western have been the best of my life.[291]

The availability of scholarships and funding support from RCPS faculty and staff have also allowed a Burundi refugee student to attend George Mason University. RCPS plays a vital role in preparing students for colleges while also helping them access funding to accomplish such goals.

RCPS employs a vast network of partners that offer assistance in providing specialized education to refugee children. It partners with CCC to connect refugee parents with the school and other parents. They partner with Virginia Western Community College, Virginia Tech, and Roanoke City Libraries to help prepare refugee children for the future, whether it be continuing their education or entering the workforce. RCPS also offers use of its facilities rent free for after school programs and sporting events specifically organized for refugees. RCPS plays an important role in providing both refugee children and their parents services with tangible and intangible benefits. It's an important part of the local web of support.

4.4 A Star City That Reads: Roanoke Public Libraries and Blue Ridge Literacy

> *I envision the Roanoke library as not just a library. It's a community center. A place where the residents of Roanoke can go to receive far more than a library card.*
>
> -SHEILA UMBERGER – Director of Libraries, Roanoke, Virginia

Like Roanoke City Public Schools, Roanoke Public Libraries also plays a diverse role in long-term service and economic and social inclusion opportunities for refugees. The Libraries also work directly and indirectly with the Refugee Dialogue Group. The Libraries' role involves fostering a network of partnerships around the City to address issues that affect residents

[291] Ibid. 12.

including the immigrant and refugee population. One of the partnerships it has developed is with Blue Ridge Literacy, a grassroots nonprofit organization that provides English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes, one-on-one tutoring, and citizenship classes to Roanoke newcomers and refugees. Many of the programs offered by the Library are available to all residents, while some are specifically tailored for refugees.

The City of Roanoke has seven brick and mortar library branches along with two e-branches (electronic branches) that offer remote electronic services. In addition to providing access to books at each branch, Roanoke Public Libraries also offers an assortment of classes and community events free to the public. The Director of Libraries in Roanoke noted, that while most of its programs are available for all residents, refugee families noticeably use the services that the Library provides.[292]

Some services the Library offers that benefit refugees include employment services and resources, language learning software, computer literacy classes, and citizenship classes. The Library also performs money order services for refugees who wish to send remittances to family members in their country of origin or refugee camp. The Library also offers faxing and notary services for refugees for government, financial, or employment documents. Many of the services previously only offered in the main library are now offered in other branches, including the Williamson Road branch. This change was made with refugees in mind. Eighty percent of resettled refugees live within a mile of the Williamson Road branch. The Director of Libraries informed me that it offers many of their classes and programs in this branch. Other programs of note that benefit refugee families are Star City Reads and offshoot programs, Feed and Read and Turn the Page.

[292] Umberger, Sheila. (Director of Libraries, Roanoke Public Libraries). In discussion with the author. August 16, 2018.

The program co-developed by City government, Roanoke Public Libraries, and Roanoke City Public Schools known as Star City Reads has earned Roanoke its seventh All-America City award from the National Civic League.[293] The program establishes a partnership that brings together the City, Library, public schools, and other local organizations to help improve literacy among impoverished children. It has the specific goal of helping children to reach a proficient reading level by 3rd grade. The program also earned the City a 2017 Pacesetter award from The Campaign for Grade Level Reading.[294] The Director of Libraries stated that many of the events and after school programs are tailored for ESL children. Since the implementation of the Star City Reads program, grade level reading rates have moved from 65.1 percent in 2013 to 76.1 percent in 2017.[295] Improvements were similar among low-income children, from 60.5 percent students reading proficiently in 2013 to 73.5 percent in 2017.[296] The program is also connected to other city programs that help reinforce education in STEM subjects. The Director of Libraries emphasized that she prefers the term STEAM, which adds the "Arts" back into the curriculum.

After several Roanoke librarians noticed a significant number of children spending much of their day in the library during the summer without meals or snacks, they started the Feed and Read program. Initially sponsored by YMCA and now supported by Feeding America, the program delivers over 10,000 meals in a ten-week period during the summer months. The Director of Libraries stated that many of these meals and snacks are served in the Williamson Road branch, which supports the refugee community; reading activities in the program are

[293] Amy Friedenberger, "Roanoke Recognized as All-America City," *The Roanoke Times*, Jun 16, 2017.
[294] "Roanoke, Va - 2017 Pacesetter," The Campaign for Grade Level Reading, https://gradelevelreading.net/roanoke-va-2017-pacesetter.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.

designed for ESL students. The Director also mentioned that they were planning to expand the program to run year-long, which would help provide more meals to families in need.

Another program, Turn the Page, seeks to distribute baby board books to every first-time parent in Roanoke, including newcomers. The program is designed to promote the importance of reading to children at a young age to instill good reading habits in both children and parents. Carillion Medical Clinic has partnered with Roanoke Public Libraries in order to distribute the baby board book. In 2017, the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services (RDHSS) joined the Star City Reads and Turn the Page programs.[297] Together, Roanoke Public Libraries and RDHSS have distributed over 20,000 books, including the baby board books, to the most vulnerable in the Roanoke community, including refugee families. The Director of Libraries noted that the "baby books displayed ethnic diversity on every page" to continue the "tradition of Roanoke being a welcoming city for all newcomers."[298]

Along with these programs the Director of Libraries described how they also partner with RDHSS and the Virginia Tech Carillion School of Medicine to help provide screenings and other medical services to low-income families at local library branches. They are also continuing to build a partnership with Goodwill Industries of Roanoke, which has offered some of its space to create a joint computer lab in the new Melrose library branch under construction. Goodwill has offered to lease the space to the library for $1 per month.

The number of instructors that teach computer classes, business seminars, citizenship classes, arts and crafts and more has increased from 18 in 2007 to enough teachers to offer over 100 classes each month. These include a higher number of teachers for classes like "Meet the Mouse," designed to help refugees and other immigrants attain computer skills. The Director

[297] Ibid.

[298] Umberger, Sheila. Interview. August 16, 2018.

mentioned that the library will continue to expand partnerships and funding opportunities in any way it can so it can continue to offer these types of classes to refugees.

One Roanoke Public Libraries partner in particular, Blue Ridge Literacy (BRL), plays an important role in adult refugee education in Roanoke. BRL was formed in 1985 by two librarians concerned with illiteracy in the Roanoke area.[299] Originally known as Literacy Volunteers of America – Roanoke Valley, BRL designed its classes to help less educated populations in Roanoke attain higher levels of literacy. Initially the program attendees consisted of approximately 70% native born speakers who wanted to improve their reading and writing proficiency, while the remaining 30% were immigrants and refugees who wanted to learn English as a Second Language (ESOL).[300] Today that trend has reversed, with 89% of BRL clients being ESOL-learners while the remaining 11% are native born citizens wishing to improve their English literacy.[301]

Since the organization's inception, it has maintained ties with Roanoke Public Libraries. The downtown library branch houses the BRL offices. The Library initially agreed to charge BRL $1 per month for rent. It now offers the site rent free. This allows a significant portion of BRL's funding to be used for language programs and hiring staff instead of rent. The arrangement with Roanoke Public Libraries also allows BRL to have a central location in downtown Roanoke.

BRL offers ESOL classes, one-on-one tutoring, citizenship preparation classes, employment preparation classes, and basic literacy classes. Formal language classes are usually taught by paid instructors, while an extensive volunteer program is used for the 1:1 tutoring.

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[299] "Blue Ridge Literacy," https://www.blueridgeliteracy.org/about.
[300] Holladay, Stephanie. (Executive Director, Blue Ridge Literacy). in discussion with the author. Nov 5, 2018.
[301] Ibid.

BRL is also under contract with the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services (RDHSS) to deliver 35 hours of English instruction per week. This program is specifically for refugee clients receiving benefits under TANF and RCA as well as for meeting language requirements under the employment services program. The RDHSS contract classes are performed in addition to and separate from BRL's other language and tutoring programs. The BRL executive director noted that these classes are under direct oversight by the RDHSS, but department administrators trust BRL to carry out language instruction and rarely audit its performance.

The executive director of BRL said that they provide their services to approximately 400 language learners per year. The learners represent 59 different countries of origin, and many of them already know multiple languages. She went on to report that BRL encounters two types of language learners. The first are individuals who have attained very little or no education before arriving in the United States. This type of learner provides distinctive challenges. For example, they may not know how to hold a pencil or understand how to read from left to right in English, or they may not know how to read or write in their native language. These learners are known as "pre-literate" learners, and they learn English at a much slower rate.

The learning curve is different for literate learners who already possess literacy fundamentals, whether they received language instruction in their country of origin or in a refugee camp. The BRL executive director also noted that pre-arrival education seemed to differ depending on country of origin. Refugees from Burundi and Congo arrived with considerably less education than refugees who arrived from Afghanistan, as of 2018 the country of origin for most new arrivals in Roanoke.

The Director of Libraries, also a BRL board member, says that the language learning that CCC offers is fairly basic and emphasizes refugee clients learning employment terminology and

concepts. BRL used to emphasize employment and to structure classes around those concepts, but it has slowly moved away from prioritizing employment over the past 10 years. For instance, BRL now conducts an English language assessment and determines in which level of class (beginner, intermediate/advanced) the language learner should be placed. This shifts teaching objectives to providing a broad language learning experience rather than solely focusing on employment. This includes teaching students concepts they may encounter in their everyday life outside of employment. For example, a class may focus on situational experiences including going to medical appointments, shopping for food, or using transportation services. The contracted services with RDHSS, however, still focus on employment terminology and concepts, thus preparing refugees for attaining or finding better employment.

Both the Director of Libraries and the Executive Director of BRL emphasized the importance of shifting language training more towards educational and family-oriented class structures rather than focusing on individual class structures that prioritizes employment objectives. Often when individuals are enrolled in classes, multiple members of the family will also attend. The director of libraries stated, "they may as well make classes more accommodating for children and the elderly, because they were coming to class whether they were supposed to or not."[302] The classes are offered continuously to individuals for a one-time fee of $25, but often family members are allowed to sit in with a student for free. Another benefit of holding family style classes was cross cultural interaction among refugee students from different countries. The Director of Libraries spoke of how two women, one from Iraq and the other from Iran, and despite socialized ethnic tension between them at first, quickly became friends. BRL also offers remote classes in other library branches including the Williamson Road Branch. Offering classes

[302] Umberger, Sheila. Interview. Aug 16, 2018.

at multiple locations lessens the transportation burden for many refugee families enrolled in English and citizenship courses.

Following its initial resettlement services, CCC refers refugee adults to BRL for long-term language learning and citizenship preparation. CCC will also help to arrange for transportation to and from classes. BRL's ESOL classes are taught in four 10-week semesters. The schedule allows refugee arrivals to enroll in classes as needed since they arrive throughout the year. Citizenship classes are also offered year-round and one-on-one tutoring is arranged by the BRL staff upon request. Tutoring consists of a two-hour session per week and requires a six-month commitment by the refugee to see the same tutor. The volunteer tutor commits to this process as well. At the end of that time the refugee may choose to end tutoring, continue tutoring with the same tutor, or request to be tutored by a different volunteer.

The executive director of BRL mentioned that it is very important to receive input from refugees about how best to serve them in these programs and classes. This allows refugees to be included in the class development structure and helps BRL staff learn what objectives are most important to refugees. The BRL executive director finds that refugees attend BRL ESOL classes with different goals in mind. Some refugees want to find employment or better employment and see language as key to that goal. Others want to learn how to speak the English language better and some want to be able to communicate with their children, who are learning English in public schools, more easily. Refugee parents also want the ability to help their children with their homework. Finally, some want to work on losing their accent because they see it as a stigma and want to feel more included in the community.

Procuring adequate funding, as with the other actors in the refugee resettlement structure, remains an important aspect of BRL's administrative tasks. The Executive Director of BRL said

that the majority of its funding comes from individual and corporate donors. Those contributions accounted for 39.65 percent of BRL's 2018 budget. Of that portion, 70 percent comes from individuals, while 30% comes from corporate donors. The Executive Director also noted that many individual and corporate donors, as well as foundations that offer grants, will consider BRL's ability to collaborate with other government agencies and private organizations in the community when deciding whether to provide funding. She went on to say that offering services throughout the year and its ability to show its collaborative efforts helped the organization secure more funding from private and corporate donors.

The second largest source of funding comes from government agencies. Virginia's department of Social Services and the U.S. Department of Education contributed 35.68 percent of BRL's funding. However, BRL's executive director noted that this trend is declining. In 2009 – 2010 the Department of Education wanted to lower the amount of funding from $40,000 to $20,000, although BRL was able to negotiate that figure to $30,000. The Executive Director of BRL said that it is trying to focus on increasing individual contributions which remain more stable. She said this was becoming a more important task especially considering that federal and state funding can change dramatically or end abruptly. Despite the cut in Department of Education funding BRL still partners with local public schools, which offer separate funding to visit schools and teach parents English while students participate in other activities. BRL also assists in providing meals at RCPS functions in partnership with Roanoke Public Libraries.

Another significant portion of BRL's funding comes from sponsoring special community events such as an annual scrabble tournament. The Director of Roanoke Public Libraries noted that these events may only raise $4000 at a time, but perhaps more importantly, they bring awareness to the community and may increase annual individual donations. Further they are seen

as a way for newcomers to connect with the community in a fun way. BRL also publishes an annual edition of a book that contains writings by local immigrants and refugees called *Writing from the Heart.* The following is a writing example:

> My name is Kaissa M. Yarmah. I am a refugee from Liberia. I came to the United States in 2004. I am very, very happy to be in the United States. There are many reasons that make me happy to be in the United States today.
>
> 1. When I got to the U.S., I couldn't speak for people to understand me, but today I am able to speak pretty well for people to understand me. I am thankful to Blue Ridge Literacy. They really, really helped me and gave me a tutor. That is why I am able to speak good English today.
>
> 2. I am also happy to own my house that I enjoy my family to be in.
>
> 3. I am also happy that last year one of my children graduated from high school, and this year another will also graduate.
>
> 4. I am grateful that I got my citizenship in 2010 and now three of my children got their citizenship this year.
>
> KAISSA YARMAH – *Writing from the Heart*. Blue Ridge Literacy. Roanoke VA, 2017

The book also contains letters of congratulations from donors to newcomers on their literacy success. These fundraising efforts along with others account for 11.25 percent of their budget. The remaining funding (10.64 percent) is provided by foundations and grants along with 2.78% that comes from earned income.

BRL funding is used to provide formal classes but also for other programs. One of these programs is a summer excursion for refugee children. BRL coordinates with Roanoke Public Libraries to offer a summer camping trip for refugee children. In the pilot program the Director of Libraries said the event became a learning experience for all involved. This was especially

true for situational and ethnic challenges that arose during the pilot trip. One challenge arose when the groups referred to the excursion program as a "summer camp" for refugee children. The director of libraries stated, "We quickly learned that it wasn't appropriate to call it a 'camp' considering that many of the refugee families who participated were resettled in Roanoke from refugee camps. The term 'camp' does not incite feelings of happiness among former refugee camp residents as it does a native-born child."[303] Further, providing food that was Halal remotely was a consideration that organizers neglected.

Another additional pilot program BRL is introducing into Roanoke is the inverse of English language learning, as resettled refugees are offered an opportunity to teach their native language to interested members of the Roanoke community. These classes are offered in the main as well as remote library branches. This provides another example of community outreach that brings refugee awareness to native-born Roanoke residents and another opportunity for refugees to interact with their new community.

When asked about the changes in federal administration and subsequent political climate change in Roanoke, the Executive Director of BRL mentioned that they saw an increase in the number of people willing to volunteer. She further noted that they had not received any racially driven complaints from concerned Roanoke residents, although she admits that they have in the past. In regard to the lower amount of refugee clients arriving in Roanoke, the Executive Director informed that BRL has chosen to take advantage of the situation. The reduction of refugee clients has afforded them the opportunity to reflect on the services it provides. BRL is spending more time enhancing volunteer training and teaching more advanced English classes. While they would rather see more refugees being resettled in Roanoke, the reduction of refugee

[303] Umberger, Sheila. Interview. Aug 16, 2018.

numbers allows the organization to focus on teaching more advanced levels of English. If and when resettlement numbers increase, BRL will be able to apply their enhanced methods to teaching new arrivals.

When speaking of the overall political climate in Roanoke the BRL director claims the number of civic organizations in Roanoke and the renewed effort to collaborate more consistently seem to "hold negativity at bay."[304] She also mentioned that, "the City has strong resources, closely knit organizations, and a long history of helping others. However, this city also has a high amount of segregation, and that concern must be addressed continually. Incremental growth and higher amounts of collaboration is key to having an impact and actually making a difference in Roanoke. Collaboration is more than a referral; it means working together to shift the dynamics of our culture."[305] The BRL director noted that its close partnership with Roanoke Public Libraries, the Refugee Dialogue Group, and other local organizations seems to create avenues to make the resettlement process work better for refugees.

4.5 Ethnic and Cultural Community Action: Roanoke Mutual Assistance Associations

Frequent attendees of the Refugee Dialogue group, Roanoke-based Mutual Assistance Associations, provide ethno-cultural expertise that organizers for BRL or Roanoke Public Libraries may lack. A Mutual Assistance Association (MAA) is an ethnicity-based association that utilizes local ethnic communities to help provide services to newcomers and refugees.[306] MAAs also help refugees navigate community resources and access systems of support while

[304] Holladay, Jennifer. Interview. Nov 5, 2018.
[305] Ibid.
[306] "Mutual Assistance Association [Maa] Law and Legal Definition," USLegal, https://definitions.uslegal.com/m/mutual-assistance-association-maa/.

also having the advantage of being knowledgeable about ethno-cultural sensitivity concerns.[307] Roanoke has several MMAs that work to help newcomers and refugees by providing services that account and advocate for ethnic sensitivity.

Roanoke MAAs and their members perform roles that both directly and indirectly benefit refugees in Roanoke. One such role is to sponsor community events designed to bring different ethnic communities together. Some of these events are refugee specific while others are not. MAA's sponsor these events along with other local actors including CCC, Roanoke Public Libraries, BRL, the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services, and the City of Roanoke itself.

An event sponsored by the MAA is the annual Local Colors Festival held each May in Roanoke. The festival has been held for 28 years, draws a crowd of about 25,000 – 30,000 visitors, and has been recognized as an "Outstanding Event" by the Library of Congress.[308] The Festival includes more than 40 ethnic venders, performances, international cuisine, educational exhibits and classes and workshops.[309] The Local Colors organization also provides the Roanoke Valley with an array of ethnically-centered educational opportunities for schools and businesses throughout the year. These opportunities include educational lectures, cultural sensitivity lectures, storytelling, entertainment performances, authentic cooking classes, and a class called "Chinese, Japanese, Koreans; We Are Not All the Same." The Festival and educational services seek to bring ethnic awareness and advocate for a general sense of inclusion in Roanoke. While many of these educational opportunities and the Festival can have indirect benefits for the refugee community, MAA's also provide services that directly benefit refugees in Roanoke.

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[307] Ibid.
[308] "Local Colors," Local Colors, http://localcolors.org/about-our-multicultural-mission/.
[309] Karen Belcher, "Save the Date: Local Colors Festival," *The Roanoke Times*, May 6, 2018.

These services include newcomer and minority advocacy assistance, educational lectures, and translation services as well as providing referrals to appropriate partners when a request is beyond their expertise.

Other Roanoke MAAs provide ethnic sensitivity training and translation and interpreter services for local businesses. Many of these services are offered to businesses seeking higher efficiency and effectiveness among their employees as well as increasing their capability to expand into foreign markets. However, these organizations also offer to volunteer their services for local nonprofits and agencies in need. For example, Roanoke Spanish, LLC. writes, it is "deeply committed to giving back and building our community. We partner with local non-profits and charities to volunteer our expertise for the good of members of the Roanoke community and Southwestern Virginia."[310] Roanoke Spanish offers cultural intelligence training and workshops, written translation, oral interpretation, and Spanish language training and classes. Further, Roanoke Spanish offers ethno-cultural and immigrant expertise by offering the services of its highly qualified staff to nonprofit organizations and often will sit on local councils, including the Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group.

Some MAAs have direct roots in the refugee resettlement structure in Roanoke. Volatia Language Network was started by a former refugee, Baraka Kasongo, who was resettled in Roanoke following the Rwandan genocide. Attesting to the refuge he found in his ELL classes in a Roanoke public high school, Kasongo wanted to fill a service gap in interpreter services offered in the Roanoke area.[311] Since its founding, Volatia has expanded nationwide to offer interpreter services 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year.[312] This includes onsite,

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[310] "Roanoke Spanish," http://www.roanokespanish.com/.
[311] Beth Macy, "Found in Translation: A Roanoke Family Helps Others Bridge Their Language Gap," *The Roanoke Times*, Apr 12, 2011.
[312] "Volatia Language Network," https://volatia.com/Clients/About/Overview.

phone, or video translation and interpreting services by 3000 interpreters for over 280 languages.[313]

The services provided by Volatia are used by many of the resettlement actors in Roanoke, especially regarding medically-related circumstances. Volatia tries to accommodate special ethnic, religious and cultural concerns. One example of these accommodations is Volatia's policy to provide same sex interpreters when they are requested to translate personal health issues. Other organizations such as Family Services of Roanoke Valley use Volatia for its ethnically sensitive interpreter and translating services.[314] Family Services received a $280,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Justice in 2016 to provide interpretation services for refugees and victims of crime in Roanoke.[315] Thus, non-ethnically-based organizations depend upon MAAs such as Volatia for the many services that they provide as well. Often many of these services are provided pro bono or are paid for by grants and funding meant to address refugee specific issues whether they be educational, legal, health, or for security purposes.

The Volatia website states, "Language barriers…limit access to services and cause disparities in healthcare, legal settings, public safety, social services, business functions, and so on. Sometimes it's a matter of life or death, other times it's a matter of assimilation; but in all cases, one's ability to communicate is key to living a full and productive life."[316] Volatia provides an example of refugee inclusion in the resettlement system. The ability for a refugee to have a distinctive perspective on service gaps and address those gaps is important for improving how future refugees are resettled.

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[313] Ibid.
[314] Carmen Forman, "Roanoke Valley Organizations to Offer Interpreters to Refugees, Crime Victims," *The Roanoke Times*, Nov 22, 2016.
[315] Ibid.
[316] "Volatia Language Network".

4.6 The Volunteer Support Network: Roanoke Refugee Partnership

Roanoke Refugee Partnership (RRP) serves in a support capacity by offering CCC and local grassroots organizations involved in refugee resettlement a network of volunteers. The use of volunteers free the staff members of CCC and other grassroots organizations so they can focus spending more time on service development and coordination efforts. RRP eases CCC staff time restraints by completing every/day tasks such as driving refugees to and from classes and appointments, offering additional tutoring, helping refugees locate employment, helping refugees shop for food and clothing, and making arrangements for refugees to have interpreters when needed.

RRP formed six volunteer teams that support different aspects of local refugee resettlement. The first is a *transportation committee,* which provides transportation arrangements for refugees' appointments as well as provides them information on Roanoke's public transportation services and routes.[317] The second is a *community outreach* team, which focuses on securing funding and developing community fundraising activities.[318] Third, RRP has a *family mentor* program that introduce families to cultural activities that are available in Roanoke including museums, libraries, parks, and many more.[319] The fourth team is an *education/ESL* group that helps to enroll refugees in ESL classes, transports them to and from classes, and provides one-to-one tutoring.[320] The fifth team helps refugees with *job training* and finding work as well as helping refugees purchase "work appropriate clothing."[321] Finally, RRP has a *medical and mental health*, team which makes appointments for refugees and arrangements for Volatia

[317] "Roanoke Refugee Partnership," Roanoke Refugee Partnership, https://www.roanokerefugeepartnership.org.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.

interpreters to be present so that important health information and instructions can be relayed to refugees accurately in their native language.[322] The medical and mental health team members also make house visits to make sure follow-up care occurs and medications are taken correctly.

Volunteers in this organization serve as a relief valve for the paid workers involved in initial resettlement. While volunteers may not initially have the expertise and training that other resettlement organization staff members do, CCC and the grassroots organizational network help to educate volunteers on how to provide culturally sensitive and informed services. RRP is an example of an organization that connects the web of support; its services are offered to all of the resettlement and grassroots organizations and to the refugee community more broadly.

4.7 Roanoke is a Welcoming City: City Hall Action for Newcomers and Refugees

Finally, Roanoke City departments, agencies, and officials also play a significant role in how newcomers, including refugees, are welcomed into the City. As mentioned earlier, Roanoke has the title of Welcoming City granted by the organization Welcoming America. Having this distinction has led Roanoke officials to create policies and programs that support newcomers and refugees in new ways. The efforts to regain the Welcoming City status have shown how the push to create inclusive policies seems to be responsive to the concerns of the business and nonprofit communities in Roanoke. City officials now participate in the refugee resettlement structure by attending local community councils including the Refugee Dialogue Group. Officials that attend the Refugee Dialogue Group and ethno-cultural community events include Roanoke's mayor, council members, and officials from the departments of Citizen Engagement, Neighborhood Services, police, and Fire-EMS.

[322] Ibid.

In September 2018, the City of Roanoke held its first *Welcoming Week* as part of its broader Welcoming Roanoke initiative.[323] The week long festivities included a soccer party, a free intro to Arabic class, a multilingual spelling bee, a free cultural intelligence workshop, a community potluck, a welcoming week trivia tournament, a "LatinX" job fair sponsored by Roanoke Spanish, and an invitation for open discussion on immigration issues.[324] The City also distributed over 2,400 welcoming week buttons, stickers, flyers, postcards, and posters throughout Roanoke.[325] Local business owners were encouraged to display the signage in their window fronts signaling their support for welcoming newcomers and also inviting them to frequent their businesses. Businesses, organizations, and residents were also encouraged to participate in the many events held during the week. The City, along with Welcoming America, invited "local partners" to participate by holding their own events. Welcoming America states on the promotion of Welcoming Week in Roanoke:

> We rely on you, our local partners, to make Welcoming Week a success. Host a festival, a cooking class, a joint service project anything that encourages connectivity and welcoming. If you're interested in hosting, contact us and we'll get you the resources needed to give your event the greatest impact.[326]

The community potluck, in particular, hosted the immigrant and refugee community at the Williamson Road library branch.[327] I attended this potluck with several other native-born community members. Immigrants and refugees brought an assortment of ethnic cuisines and

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[323] Many of the Welcoming Roanoke initiatives including Welcoming Week are a part of the Welcoming America project. Thus, the city's membership in a nationalized organization that promotes certain programs and initiatives has effects on the resettlement structure and system not thoroughly examined in this thesis.
[324] "Welcoming Roanoke," The City of Roanoke, https://www.roanokeva.gov/2434/Welcoming-Roanoke.
[325] Ibid.
[326] "Welcoming Roanoke: Free Potluck and Community Discussion," Welcoming America, https://www.welcomingamerica.org/welcoming-week-event/welcoming-roanoke-free-potluck-and-community-discussion.
[327] Note: The description of the potluck is provided by the author's direct observations.

desserts which complemented the American fare of fried chicken and apple pie. The potluck was organized through a collaborative effort by CCC, the City of Roanoke, Roanoke Public Libraries, which hosted the event, and Virginia Delegate Sam Rasoul who was also in attendance. The potluck offered immigrants and refugees an opportunity to meet their state representative, Delegate Rasoul, the only Muslim member serving in the Virginia House of Delegates. They were also introduced to two representatives from the office of Virginia Senator Tim Kaine, giving them access to government officials at the federal level.

Following the meal and socializing, immigrants and refugees were able to ask questions "in a safe and supportive environment" concerning residence status and open cases and claims, and they were also able to voice their concerns about challenges they face in the resettlement process.[328] While many refugees praised the current process and thanked their hosts graciously, others repeatedly raised one concern in particular: the difficulty of elderly refugees to acquire a level of the English language proficient enough to gain citizenship. Without citizenship, many elderly could not apply for and receive Medicare benefits to address their health concerns. This issue places a burden on their family members and the entire refugee community in Roanoke to fill in for this gap however they can. While refugees report that language services are adequately offered in Roanoke by BRL and public schools, they believed the language itself was too difficult and beyond the ability of many elderly to learn. The representatives were unable to provide a definitive solution to satisfy refugees' concern on the issue.

The potluck served as a forum for refugee inclusion in the political process. They were able to present feedback and expose a flaw in the refugee resettlement system. City officials and private organizations thus exhibit an advocacy role at the local level that extends to the state and

[328] "Welcoming Roanoke: Free Potluck and Community Discussion".

federal levels while simultaneously introducing and encouraging refugees to participate in government and to be engaged citizens.

In another collaborative effort, the City of Roanoke partners with the nonprofit Roanoke Community Garden Association (RCGA) and Carilion Clinic to provide community gardens for Roanoke residents. While RCGA remains the primary actor in this endeavor, the City has offered land for several projects and actively promotes the organization. The City recognized the need for community gardens following a 2012 Carillion community health assessment and report.[329] Findings in the 2012 and subsequent reports found that several low-income communities in Roanoke suffered from a "lack of nutrient dense foods." Carilion identified how urban farming and community gardens could provide a source of healthy local foods. Community gardens also provide an opportunity to educate local residents on how to grow nutritious foods.[330]

Other research shows the benefits community gardens have for the general population, and recent research has shown that these benefits extend to refugees who are resettled in U.S. cities.[331] In one study refugees reported that community gardens provide physical benefits by increasing the availability of fresh fruits and vegetables.[332] In addition to physical benefits, community gardens also offer therapeutic benefits, mental and emotional benefits, and a platform for increased social interactions among resettled refugees and local native residents.[333] These benefits were advantageous for refugees who experienced past trauma and for refugee women who have felt isolated following resettlement.

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[329] Christian Hellman, "Community Garden and Urban Farm Coming to Roanoke," news release, Feb 21, 2018, https://www.wdbj7.com/content/news/Community-garden-and-urban-farm-coming-to-Roanoke-474758673.html.
[330] "Roanoke Valley Community Health Assesment," (Roanoke, VA: Carilion Clinic, 2018).
[331] Kari A. Hartwig and Meghan Mason, "Community Gardens for Refugee and Immigrant Communities as a Means of Health Promotion," *Journal of Community Health* 41 (2016). Et al.
[332] Ibid. 1157.
[333] Ibid. 1157.

In February 2018, the Roanoke City Council approved allowing the Carilion Clinic and RCGA to use land in Morningside Park, located in Southeast Roanoke, to create an urban farm and community garden.[334] The Morningside community garden is the newest among seven community gardens dispersed throughout Roanoke. The Campbell Avenue Garden is located on a property adjacent to the CCC administrative office and RAM house. One refugee spoke of community gardens in Roanoke: "You look around here, and it reminds you of home."[335] Other refugee community garden farmers described the "transformative power of growing food."[336] In addition to providing the physical space for gardens, RCGA, Carilion, and the City of Roanoke collaborate to provide educational opportunities in horticulture, diet and nutrition, and recreational opportunities.[337]

The City of Roanoke also sends representatives from the Police and Fire/EMS departments to the Refugee Dialogue Group and community events. For example, a representative from the Police Department was present at the community potluck where refugees met their state and federal representatives and discussed their concerns. Mayor Lea emphasized the importance of maintaining a good relationship between the Police Department and the refugee community so they know what to do during an emergency, but also so they feel comfortable interacting with officers.[338] He maintained that their safety would always remain a priority, but beyond safety it was important for refugees to feel a part of the community including knowing the police officers patrolling their neighborhoods.

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[334] Hellman, "Community Garden and Urban Farm Coming to Roanoke."
[335] Macy, "The Refugees of Roanoke."
[336] Ibid.
[337] "Roanoke Community Garden Association," RCGA, http://roanokecommunitygarden.org/.
[338] Lea, Sherman. Interview. Sept 6, 2017.

Finally, the City of Roanoke is working on a new pilot program specifically designed for Roanoke immigrant and refugee newcomers. The program is called "MyCity for New Neighbors Academy" and is loosely based on a program being used in Nashville, Tennessee. The program will work to connect immigrants and refugees to community resources available in the City of Roanoke. MyCity sessions will be held in Blue Ridge Literacy offices and consist of six two-hour sessions covering different aspects of the municipal government. It will also introduce them to services available in the City to help improve language skills, secure housing and employment, and help them understand transportation and education systems.[339] During the course of the program, participants will be introduced to many of the key actors discussed throughout this thesis, including CCC, Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services, Roanoke Department of Health, Public Library, BRL, the Mayor, the Roanoke Police Department, the Roanoke Fire-EMS Department, housing officials, and employment agencies.

4.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how an extended network at the local level in Roanoke offers resettled refugees additional supports and avenues of social inclusion beyond the federal hierarchically organized resettlement structure. The federal structure, however, informs local grassroots organizations about particular practices that help guide refugees toward self-sufficiency. These practices include teaching refugees how to explore and attain better employment opportunities beyond initial employment placement, helping them further acquire or enhance English language abilities, and provide refugees access to training and education

[339] A full layout of the MyCity program is provided in Appendix F. (The proposal is a working document for the City.)

opportunities. Local organizations and city agencies also help refugees navigate complex U.S. bureaucratic institutions similar to ways that initial resettlement providers do.

Local organizations use federal and state programs and guidelines to construct action plans to confront the challenges refugees face following resettlement in new communities. However, the blueprints that federal and state guidelines and programs provide are merely a jumping off point for local organizations to further build upon and refine. Therefore, local organizations and City agencies display the ability to expand the notion of self-sufficiency beyond the measure of attaining early employment. They even shift the focus of economic self-sufficiency towards creating opportunities for fuller inclusion into the Roanoke community. Examples of inclusion opportunities include fostering interaction between refugees and native-born residents, providing advocacy and legal services, preparing refugees for citizenship, and introducing refugees to their government representatives at the federal, state, and local levels.

Finally, the community-based refugee resettlement model is suited to adapt to both existing and changing conditions on the ground in Roanoke. The web of refugee support extends beyond the federal public-private partnership that initially works to resettle refugees during the first eight months following arrival. Chapter 3 showed several instances of actors in the hierarchical refugee resettlement structure being able to make some adjustments to the "one-size fits all" resettlement program. This showed how the dynamics of grassroots community action takes up the mantle for longer-term resettlement needs and attends to service gaps left by the federal system.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The case study presented in this thesis demonstrates how refugee resettlement involves two governance structures at the local level. The first cascades from the federal level as a hierarchically-organized structure, while the second is a grassroots organized community-based structure, working from the bottom-up. However, these structures are intertwined and work in tandem at the local level during initial refugee resettlement, while simultaneously producing longer-term support and assistance to refugees that foster social and economic inclusion. Further, the dynamic of public-private partnership leads to the formation of these structures and produces a quasi-governance system during refugee resettlement in which at some points government agencies are making decisions, while at other times private organizations are making decisions that affect resettlement locally.

The City of Roanoke, Virginia, offers one view of these two refugee resettlement structures at the local level. By examining refugee resettlement in Roanoke, this thesis identifies actors and their roles and practices and how they work to overcome the challenges presented by placed-based and ethno-cultural factors. Previous researchers of local-level resettlement find that place-based factors, including economic, demographic, and political ones, have an effect on whether and how refugees are successfully resettled into U.S. cities and communities. Other researchers find that ethno-cultural traits of an individual or family may work to help or hinder successful resettlement and integration.

This thesis instead builds upon previous research that examines the effects that service providers have on refugee resettlement at the local level. While previous scholarship on

resettlement service providers primarily has observed the presence and funding of resettlement organizations and other nonprofits, this thesis has sought to discover what refugee resettlement organizations and their partners actually do during the resettlement process. The study has also not neglected the parallel roles of state and local government agencies or their coordination with resettlement organizations to achieve resettlement goals. In this final chapter, I will summarize the findings of the case study, and I will discuss in a more nuanced way how local resettlement organizations, government agencies and other actors presented here work to overcome other factors in the resettlement process. I will also reflect on how the public-private partnership dynamic and historical formation of the modern U.S. refugee resettlement regime produced the dual governance dynamics found in Roanoke. While recognizing the limitations of this thesis, I will offer recommendations for policy and practice for local actors involved in refugee resettlement and suggest areas for further research.

5.2 Summary of Initial Refugee Resettlement in Roanoke

In Chapter 3, I located the roles and practices of local government agencies and the refugee resettlement organization, Commonwealth Catholic Charities, during initial refugee resettlement in Roanoke. This revealed a hierarchically organized structure that consists of federal level policies and programs that define how initial refugee resettlement is to be carried out in the United States. Overseen by the U.S. Departments of State and Health and Human Services, the Reception and Placement program entails the U.S. federal government utilizing a public-private partnership that enlists the services of a large network of federated voluntary agencies (VOLAGs). In this partnership federal agencies provide policy guidelines, oversight, and funding to VOLAGs through cooperative agreements. VOLAGs, in turn, subcontract with

local affiliates, known as Refugee Resettlement Organizations (RROs), in cities and communities around the U.S. to carry out the actual work of receiving and resettling refugees. RROs use guidelines and federal funding from the Reception and Placement program to locate housing, provide household goods and food, and set up utilities for new refugee arrivals. They also make initial health screening and immunization appointments and enroll refugee children in public schools. Additionally, RROs provide basic orientations and language instruction while helping refugees locate early employment. Finally, RROs aid refugees in navigating the complex Refugee Resettlement Program, which is overseen by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

The Refugee Resettlement Program uses state social service agencies to provide short-term assistance benefits to refugees during the initial resettlement period. If refugees qualify, they are enrolled in TANF, if they do not qualify for TANF, they are enrolled in Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA). Additionally, refugees who qualify are enrolled into either Medicaid or Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA). Both TANF and Medicaid provide assistance benefits for a longer period of time than RCA and RMA, which are only available for eight months following arrival. In Roanoke, Commonwealth Catholic Charities (CCC) is the only RRO responsible for delivering services under the R&P program. The Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services and the Roanoke Health Department are responsible for delivering the assistance benefits of RCA, RMA, and TANF and providing refugees with initial health screenings and immunizations.

CCC is guided by a principle found in both federal and state refugee resettlement policy to avoid placing refugees in long-term welfare assistance programs. Instead the paradigm of self-sufficiency prioritizes the need to locate and place refugees into early employment. CCC

accomplishes this goal by establishing relationships with the business community in Roanoke and locates local employers who are willing to employ refugees quickly following arrival. CCC acts as a liaison between employers and refugees to ensure refugees can adjust to working conditions in Roanoke and the U.S. more generally.

In another work-related program known as the Matching Grant (MG) program, CCC is granted discretion on determining which refugees are eligible for immediate employment. The funding for the MG program is separate from the Refugee Resettlement Program and its benefits are considerably less than those provided by TANF and RCA. Because of these low benefit amounts, Roanoke case managers use their discretion and only place individual refugees, rather than families, into this program. In the years leading up to this research, however, CCC staff members have opted to reduce the number of refugees placed into the MG program altogether. While initial employment services are offered as part of the R&P program, long-term employment services are funded by the Refugee Resettlement Program. These employment services are offered by CCC but are overseen by the Roanoke Department of Human/Social Services (RDHSS).

Throughout the process of initial resettlement, CCC, RDHSS and the Roanoke Department of Health (RDH) coordinate their efforts in order to meet federal and state deadlines for delivering specific services. These include health screenings and immunizations, language and employment orientations, and ensuring refugees apply for federal assistance programs. Additionally, CCC, and to a lesser degree RDHSS and RDH, introduce refugees to community organizations and city resources that are available to them. They do so by educating refugees on public services and make referrals to other local nonprofits and grassroots organizations better suited to providing long-term care. Once refugees move out of the initial resettlement time

period from eight months to a year, CCC's direct service provision begins to wane. However, CCC still remains actively involved in fostering grassroots initiatives and City programs that offer further refugee support when the federal structure no longer does. It accomplishes this by using and extending the embedded community dialogue group requirements in federal and state policies.

5.3 Summary of Community and Grassroots Organization Support

The grassroots organizational community-based structure in Roanoke has developed out of continued interaction and cooperation among key local stakeholders involved in refugee resettlement. The Refugee Dialogue Group, established under requirements in federal and state policy, has evolved into a quasi-governing body in which CCC, RDHSS, RDH, officials in the City of Roanoke, and local grassroots organizational members meet and discuss community action and initiatives that support refugees. Many of these supports are offered by grassroots organizations including Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs), sporting clubs, literacy organizations, local gardening clubs, and refugee-specific service organizations. Roanoke City officials and departments including Roanoke Public Libraries, the Department of Community Services, Roanoke Police and Fire-EMS departments, and the Roanoke City Council are also involved in providing support initiatives and have established Roanoke as a "Welcoming City" for newcomers. The role of the business community is also an important aspect to consider, as business leaders often attend Refugee Dialogue Group meetings and offer local organizations sources of funding and provide educational programs and employment opportunities for refugees.

While many of these groups and organizations have developed independently from one another, the Refugee Dialogue Group offers a venue that encourages interaction and coordination to further foster the development of new initiatives meant to encourage long-term social and economic inclusivity. Informed by grassroots organizations and initiatives by other cities, in 2019 Roanoke officials are developing programs designed to introduce newcomers to what the City has to offer. For City policy makers the need to create new immigrant and refugee initiatives may be driven by the business community, which desires Roanoke to maintain its Welcoming City status, but the City utilizes the expertise of refugee resettlement stakeholders and grassroots organizations to help develop and implement these initiatives.

The services and programs provided by the City of Roanoke and local grassroots organizations move beyond the hierarchical structure's use of the self-sufficiency paradigm that prioritizes early employment during initial resettlement. Instead, grassroots organizations and their coordinating efforts focus on longer-term goals for refugees' economic and social inclusion into the City of Roanoke and the U.S. more broadly. Some of these efforts are informed by programs located in the hierarchical structure but grassroots organizations work to either sustain or extend the scope and objectives in these initial programs. These objectives include locating better employment opportunities, achieving higher education and training goals, increasing English language ability beyond understanding work concepts, working to help refugees attain comprehensive healthcare, and addressing refugee mental health issues.

Additionally, grassroots organizations work beyond resettlement objectives laid out in the hierarchical structure by intentionally creating avenues for advocacy and offering opportunities for refugees to be included in decisions on local initiatives and the resettlement process. These efforts include increasing avenues for legal support, fostering community awareness and

community interaction, and introducing refugees to their local, state, and federal government representatives and the U.S. political system more broadly. Grassroots organizations offer refugees the ability to educate native-born residents about their culture and teach their neighbors how to speak their native languages. The use of businesses such as Volatia, an interpretation company founded by a former refugee in Roanoke, is an example of inclusive action that incorporates refugees in the resettlement process. These initiatives and services help refugees attain U.S. citizenship, encourage their political participation, and foster more meaningful relationships between native-born residents and the refugee community and help form Roanoke into a more inclusive multi-cultural community.

5.4 Expanding the Geography of Initial Refugee Resettlement: Blacksburg Refugee Partnership

> *We support families who have come to the United States to escape their war-torn countries. We offer a holistic approach to the process of resettlement. We walk through this process as one.*
>
> -Blacksburg Refugee Partnership Mission Statement

Blacksburg Refugee Partnership (BRP) provides an example of an organization that cannot be neatly placed into either of the resettlement structures this thesis described. Instead BRP operates in both. BRP is a grassroots organization that is ultimately concerned with becoming part of the hierarchical structure that initially receives and resettles refugees into new locations. The hierarchical structure, seemingly static, still presents opportunities for adding new local resettlement agencies and the grassroots organizational structure offers viable candidates to expand resettlement into new geographies.

The Blacksburg Refugee Partnership (BRP) is a nonprofit organization located in the town of Blacksburg, Virginia. Blacksburg is located approximately 40 miles southwest of the

city of Roanoke. BRP was formed in 2016 and serves as an extension of CCC in that it resettles refugees who have been allocated to Roanoke through the admissions process but does so in Blacksburg. BRP is not formally located in the same hierarchical resettlement chain discussed in Chapter 3, rather, it informally works with CCC to provide services to refugees in a location outside of the city of Roanoke. In total, BRP has worked to either initially resettle or transplant six refugee families from Roanoke in Blacksburg. These include families from Syria, Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Bosnia. Three of the families are single mother families, and the remaining families are blended.

BRP operates primarily by using an extensive volunteer network that recruits organizers from several churches, mosques, Jewish centers, the Secular Society (TSS), and their sister organization in Roanoke, the Roanoke Refugee Partnership (RRP). CCC remains a guiding force and partner for BRP by instructing it on how refugees should be resettled. The partnership between BRP and CCC seems to be an informal arrangement, and it is unclear to how this partnership operates given federal and state cooperative agreements. It is important to note that the formation of BRP occurred during the Obama administration in which there was an increase in the number of refugee allocations to Roanoke for resettlement. However, the establishment of BRP was described by one of its organizers as forming organically by concerned citizens who wanted to do more to help refugees locally. The organizer for BRP further stated that the organization is "gaining traction" and it seems it is at the beginning of an exploration of an expansion model that could help resettle a larger number of refugees into the region.[340]

BRP claims on its website that "support of these families is entirely funded by in-kind donations and supported by time given by BRP's many supporters."[341] Therefore, it relies

[340] Geoghegan, Rick. (Organizer for Blacksburg Refugee Partnership). In discussion with the author. Sept. 7, 2017.
[341] "Blacksburg Refugee Partnership," Blacksburg Refugee Partnership, https://blacksburgrefugeepartnership.org/.

funding from the private sector rather than receiving federal funds on a per refugee basis as CCC does for initial resettlement. The BRP organizer stated that at least one of its families initially resettled in Blacksburg received R&P funding. Federal funding, which is already a complex issue for CCC to mitigate, seems to be even more confusing when used by extended networks such as BRP. An organizer with BRP stated that federal funding barely covers the initial needs of refugee families; therefore, it relies on charitable donations. Funds are provided to BRP by multiple charitable foundations, "go-fund-me" accounts established by several churches and mosques, and individual donations.

The organizer for BRP stated that refugee resettlement is a learning experience and the amount of preparation involved as well as providing continuous services is a challenge, but one they welcomed. BRP fills the role of CCC by providing the same services including locating housing, procuring household goods, making healthcare referrals, enrolling children in public schools, assisting with job search and employment training, language learning, tutoring, educating on financial responsibility, providing transportation and the vast array of other services CCC provides.[342] CCC plays an important role in educating and training the BRP volunteers on the many aspects of refugee resettlement. Additionally, the Town of Blacksburg does not work directly with BRP in the way that the City of Roanoke works with CCC.

BRP is an example of how the CCC resettlement model is being replicated informally to resettle refugees. As BRP continues to resettle refugees and establishes the CCC model for service provision, it may eventually wish to offer Blacksburg as a formal refugee resettlement site. This would include being a part of the federal public-private partnership. The replication of the CCC model shows one avenue of local resettlement organization formation from the ground

[342] Ibid.

up rather than the structure being expanded from the top/down. CCC's resettlement supervisor said that new resettlement organizations must be able to provide Virginia RSSEP services before federal agencies like PRM and ORR will consider entering into cooperative agreements with them.

BRPs organizer stated that it seemed to take a long time for federal level changes to filter down to the local level. He said that "BRP had no difficulty in attaining non-profit status" and that "bureaucratic agencies seemed to function normally regardless of the noise about refugees and national security at the national level."[343] How this local resettlement organization expansion model will operate under more restrictionist policies, as are being pursued under the Trump administration, is unclear. However, changes in presidential administration have not deterred BRP from wanting to continue to resettle refugees in Blacksburg.

Additional research is needed on how the partnership between CCC and BRP operates in Blacksburg. For example, how are resources from local offices of state agencies in Blacksburg similar or different from that in Roanoke and do similar partnerships exist between local Blacksburg government agencies and BRP to provide initial resettlement services?

5.5 Implications of Public-Private Partnership and the Historical Formation of the Modern U.S. Refugee Resettlement Regime

The formation of the modern refugee resettlement regime and the use of a public-private partnership model at the federal level has led to the current conditions that create both the hierarchical and the evolving grassroots organization governance structures in Roanoke. As presented in Chapter 2, the federal government took a laissez-faire stance early on when it came to resettling refugees locally in the United States. Instead, it developed a system for allocating

[343] Ibid.

refugees to cities around the United States and then allowed non-profit organizations, both faith-based and secular, to take the lead on developing how refugees would be resettled into local communities. As conflicts around the world forced different populations into refugeehood, U.S. presidential administrations began to make ad hoc policies affecting groups of refugees differently. In order to replace such policies and streamline how refugees are resettled in the U.S., nonprofits pushed for Congress to pass the Refugee Act of 1980. The passage of the Refugee Act created the conditions for the current hierarchical structure.

Public-private partnerships (PPPs), in which public and private make decisions concerning how public policies are to be implemented locally, have become a legitimate form of quasi-governance. While PPPs are primarily used for infrastructure and engineering projects, this thesis has presented how they are used to deliver social services during refugee resettlement. It has also shown how decisions made by private actors are legitimated by public acceptance, including local policy makers and residents alike. The utilization of deliberative community councils made up of grassroots organizations, like the Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group, by government officials to craft and develop new service programs and community initiatives speaks to the dynamics of public-private partnerships. Local community councils help connect government officials to members of local civil society and offer a venue to reconcile the concerns of the community with the agenda of elected officials. Coordination increases the ability for refugee resettlement stakeholders to coordinate efforts and pool both monetary and expertise resources to address service provision gaps and provide opportunities to include refugees and former refugees into decisions on changes to the process of resettlement.

Public-private partnerships also exhibit flaws that cannot be overlooked. While public officials are held accountable by their constituents for decisions that create or change policies

and norms, private organizations are less likely to be held accountable except by their internal members and donors, or through governmental oversight. Therefore, it is possible for private actors to take actions that may diminish the rights of immigrants or refugees. One example is the unaccompanied minor whose abortion led to substantial organizational policy changes within CCC and USCCB that limited staff from offering certain reproductive health services. This example attests to how government agencies should perform their oversight role carefully to ensure federal and state level policies and norms are being upheld by private partners.

The use of public-private partnerships continues to increase in the social service sector so the recognition of both the advantages and disadvantages of public-private partnerships are increasingly important. The need to understand the dynamics and mechanisms for policy formation, decision making capabilities, and public and private accountability measures within these partnerships is necessary as they can greatly affect the lives of vulnerable people who are seeking refuge.

5.6 The Ability of Resettlement Organizations and Grassroots Organizations to Address Place-Based and Ethno-Cultural Factors

Other local-level refugee resettlement researchers have highlighted the effects demographic, economic, and political place-based factors have on resettlement outcomes. Similarly, others stressed the effects that ethno-cultural traits have on the ability for refugees to acclimate and integrate into their new communities following resettlement. This thesis instead focused on how practices, interactions, and coordination among local resettlement organizations, local government agencies, and grassroots organizations address, and work to overcome, challenges that place-based and ethno-cultural factors present.

Roanoke agencies and private organizations strategize action plans to confront limiting conditions of poverty, refugee segregation and isolation, and the lack of long-term services and support provided by the federal structure. They also help foster community awareness and support among employers, landlords, healthcare providers, local businesses, educators, and community residents more broadly. The grassroots organizational structure is equipped to deal with the challenges that both placed-based and ethno-cultural factors present. Its ability to coordinate ensures that when one organization is unable to provide a specific support, the organization can refer a refugee client to another organization that is better suited to address their specific needs.

The willingness of grassroots organizations to include refugees into the service development and delivery process is also an important aspect of the Roanoke resettlement community. The capacity and willingness to learn refugee concerns and include them in the decision-making process is perhaps the most valuable tool refugee resettlement organizations, grassroots organizations, and local policy makers possess for identifying and addressing local service gaps.

I argue that the ability of local government agencies, refugee resettlement organizations, and local grassroots organizations to overcome place-based and ethno-cultural factors becomes a place-based factor itself. In other words, the practices of Roanoke resettlement stakeholders may, and perhaps likely, do differ depending on the cities and communities' refugees are resettled in. The scope of this thesis does not attempt to make a generalizing claim that the agency factors observed in Roanoke are uniform across the various resettlement geographies in the U.S. Instead, this thesis offers a blueprint of the different types of agencies and organizations within a specific location and shows varying levels of interaction between them that produces a certain local

community model for refugee resettlement. Further comparative research is needed to identify whether the U.S. public-private partnership dynamic produces similar local governance structures in other U.S. resettlement locations.

5.7 Policy and Practice Recommendations, Areas for Further Research, and Final Thoughts

The findings in this thesis have identified and mapped different actors and their practices within two different but connected structures that work to resettle refugees and that produce the conditions for an inclusive environment that allow for refugees to integrate into the City of Roanoke. Public-private partnerships used to resettle refugees foster opportunities for interaction and cooperation among government and nongovernment organizations. Recognizing the working parts of these structures allows one to take a broad view of the dynamics and mechanisms involved in refugee resettlement at the local level. It also allows us identification of specific parts that may need adjusting. Although I have recommendations for actions that can be taken to enhance the effectiveness of the current structures, I believe that this thesis better serves as a tool for service providers to reflect on how they might better serve the refugee community.

My first recommendation, and perhaps the most important, is for CCC, other grassroots organizations, and City officials to increase the opportunity for refugees to be included in decisions on changes to the resettlement process in Roanoke. It is apparent that this occurs informally, but efforts should be made to invite them into the formal process as much as possible. This includes allowing refugees to attend Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group meetings whenever possible. The Refugee Dialogue Group may not be aptly named if actual refugee dialogue is absent from the meetings. While established and successful former refugees attend the meetings, it is important to include new arrivals in the discussion process as well. When I

indicated the next level of my research would be to obtain the refugee perspective of service provision rather than only the service provider perspective, the CCC resettlement supervisor told me "it would be interesting to know what our clients thought about how we [CCC] provide services." My response, not given at the time, is this: you need not wait for me to do this research, for it is an initiative you can take upon yourself. Increased refugee input would not only be a valuable tool for locating service gaps but also would offer yet another opportunity for refugees to feel as though their voice matters.

Second, refugee resettlement organizations like CCC and local grassroots organizations should coordinate fundraising efforts and share best practices with one another. This already occurs to some extent. It is apparent that public funding will continue to wane, especially during a time of restrictionist policies and partisan polarization at the federal level. RRO's will have to focus more on bolstering private funds from local sources as federal funding and the number of refugees admitted into the U.S. decrease. The increasing role of local businesses, national corporations, and individual donors that provide funding and the effects this will have on the current refugee resettlement structure could mean changes in how resettlement organizations deliver services. The modern refugee resettlement regime had its beginnings by having to completely rely on private funding to provide services, and it looks as though the resettlement system is trending back in that direction. This shift from a public-private partnership dynamic to a private-private partnership dynamic also has implications for accountability. For the time being, RROs should be prepared for further cuts in admission numbers and begin focusing more of their efforts on procuring private funding. The refugees who are still admitted into the U.S. will depend on this.

This does not mean I support private funding as an alternative to public funding, but refugee resettlement organizations will need to endure swings in political support at the federal, state, and local levels. The shift from expansionist policies under the Obama administration to restrictionist policies of the Trump administration demonstrates how rapidly the refugee resettlement regime can expect changes in federal policies, especially concerning admission numbers. The current administration also exposes how admissions numbers can be used politically to defund, put at risk, and even shut down resettlement organizations around the country that depend on public funding and that do not bolster their coffers with private funds.

My third recommendation is that researchers expand this type of empirical research in order to develop a deeper understanding of the refugee resettlement structure as it unfolds at varying levels of analysis. These levels include international, national, state, provincial, and the local level. More research is needed on how actors and mechanisms operate in different geographies within the U.S. and around the world. The further research proceeds to locate different actors, mechanisms, practices, and policies, the easier it will be to address specific concerns that refugees and the global resettlement regime face. Identifying how refugee resettlement stakeholders are connected in refugee resettlement structures and networks that are organized both vertically and horizontally, will help identify new opportunities for cooperation that can address and overcome ongoing service gaps and program deficiencies.

My fourth and final recommendation would be for CCC, Roanoke City agencies, and grassroots organizations to continue their efforts to coordinate. Increasing levels of interaction and coordination among refugee resettlement stakeholders will only work to create stronger local networks that provide beneficial services and offer further support to the refugee community. Creating opportunities for economic and social inclusion benefits not only refugees, but all

Roanoke residents who often face similar challenges of attaining economic and social mobility. Further, broad actions taken by the City and grassroots organizations meant to address poverty in Roanoke will also work to benefit the refugee population.

In closing, conflicts and climate change will continue to increase the displacement of people globally and it behooves both governments and nongovernmental organizations to prepare for the inevitable rather than to deny it or build walls to obscure it. Creating more inclusive environments locally and building welcoming cities that embrace native-born residents and newcomers alike will only serve to make the inevitable bearable.

APPENDIX A: CROSS COMPARISON AMONG VIRGINIA CITIES OF REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT NUMBERS AND COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN[344]

Table A.1 Richmond Resettlement Numbers and Countries of Origin 2013-2017

Richmond	Year					
Country	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**Grand Total**
Afghanistan	4	94	85	191	474	848
Bhutan	72	63	38	58	27	258
Burundi		6				6
China	3					3
Cuba	33	23	3	4	1	64
Democratic Republic of Congo		32	16	45	21	114
Egypt		6	2			8
El Salvador		1	1	7	8	17
Eritrea	1		6	6	5	18
Ethiopia		1	2	5	6	14
Iran	4	5	5	7	11	32
Iraq	26	82	49	60	60	277
Ivory Coast			1	1		2
Malaysia		6	1			7
Myanmar	52	7	33	16	5	113
Nepal	2	6			4	12
Other	5	3	1	1	1	11
Pakistan	8			6	1	15
Russia				10		10
Rwanda				7		7
Somalia		6	2	4	10	22
Sudan	22	28	13	2	11	76
Syria				7	31	38
Cameroon					1	1
Grand Total	232	369	258	437	677	**1973**

[344] Information for tables gathered through interviews and the Virginia Newcomer Information System

Table A.2 Charlottesville Resettlement Numbers and Countries of Origin 2013-2017

Charlottesville	Year					
Country	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**Grand Total**
Afghanistan	27	130	76	136	141	510
Bhutan	55	42	39	39	17	192
Burundi		1	11			12
Colombia	18	7	17	8	1	51
Cuba		1		3		4
Democratic Republic of Congo	37	16	64	49	16	182
Egypt	1		1	2		4
El Salvador			1			1
Ethiopia		5	2	2	1	10
Iran	2	1	9	3	9	24
Iraq	45	63	45	36	13	202
Israel	4	6				10
Myanmar	24	12	6	3	4	49
Other	1		1	2		4
Pakistan					12	12
Rwanda		1		1		2
Somalia					9	9
Sudan		1	2			3
Syria	1		6	61	13	81
Kenya		2				2
Grand Total	215	288	280	345	236	**1364**

Table A.3 Hampton Roads Resettlement Numbers and Countries of Origin 2013-2017

Hampton Roads	Year					
Country	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**Grand Total**
Afghanistan	16	150	100	104	185	555
Bhutan	2	8	13			23
Burundi			22	8		30
Colombia	3					3
Cuba	20	20	17	7	4	68
Democratic Republic of Congo	18	7	78	92	49	244
Egypt	1					1
Eritrea	3		6	6	5	20
Ethiopia	4		2	4	14	24
Iran	4	2	3	13	4	26
Iraq	41	75	41	36	29	222
Myanmar	18	17	16	7		58
Nepal	1		3			4
Other	1					1
Pakistan				6	3	9
Russia	2					2
Rwanda	1	3	2			6
Somalia	16	8	14	12	6	56
Sudan	32	24	5	7		68
Syria			2	68	14	84
Kenya				1		1
Haiti					1	1
Grand Total	183	314	324	371	314	**1506**

APPENDEX B: INTEGRATION FRAMEWORK

The concept of integration and how to measure it more effectively is often a topic of debate. The process of integration usually has no defining end making it difficult to assess how specific inputs may lead to certain outcomes. Alastair Ager and Alison Strang offer an inclusive framework for analyzing and assessing integration among immigrants and refugees. It is meant to identify when certain indicators may be showing successful integration. Their framework is presented as follows:

> Key domains of integration are proposed related to four overall themes: achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection related to language, culture and the environment.[345]

Although research presented by others suggests that "integration is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most," Ager and Strang believe it "appropriate to explore whether an operational definition of the concept, reflecting commonalities in perceptions of what constitutes 'successful' integration in a range of relevant stakeholders, is possible."[346] Ager and Strang organize their model of integration analysis:

Markers and Means

- Employment
- Housing
- Education
- Health

Social Connection

- Social Bridges
- Social Bonds

[345] Ager and Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework.", 166.
[346] Ibid., 167.

- Social Links

Facilitators

- Language and Cultural Knowledge
- Safety and Stability

Foundation

- Rights and Citizenship

The first theme provided, *markers and means*, include the indicators employment, housing, education and health. (1) Employment, as mentioned earlier, remains one of the most utilized indicators in assessing self-sufficiency and is one of the most researched areas of integration. (2) Housing effects on refugees can impact their "overall physical and emotional well-being, as well as their ability to 'feel at home'" in their new community.[347] Aspects such as physical size, quality and facilities of housing, financial security, and ownership should be considered along with social and cultural impacts. These may include U.S. native born and refugees' perceptions of place including safety and security concerns in neighborhoods where refugees are resettled.[348] (3) Education provides skills to adult refugees, aids them in obtaining employment, and increases the chances for social and economic mobility. For refugee children, schools provide access to language and course education. Additionally, educational programs and afterschool activities offers additional supports for refugee parents. Ager and Strang write, "In the course of fieldwork we identified, for example, a number of support groups for parents run by schools which provided a useful focus for information on access to a range of services."[349] However, some deficiencies in education may include "insufficient support for learning the host societies language, isolation and exclusion."[350] (4) Health as an indicator has

[347] Ibid., 171.
[348] Ibid., 172.
[349] Ibid., 172.
[350] Ibid., 172.

had little research but remains key among stakeholders as a measure of integration. Language difficulties, lack of information, and gender and cultural perceptions may all work to hinder certain groups health needs from being treated adequately.[351]

The second theme assessed is *foundation* (the last theme in the diagram) in which consideration is given to citizenship and rights as an indicator. However, Ager and Strang admit that this theme is perhaps the most confusing, as measuring this indicator depends on the perception of citizenship, nationhood and a sense of identity which varies across nation-states.[352] For example, some countries place more emphasis on *jus sanguinis* (blood ties), while other emphasize *jus soli* (birth in the country). Also, this may include ethnic factors and ideologies that are presented by Irene Bloemraad provided in the literature review of this thesis. Ager and Strang argue "that to develop an effective policy on integration, governments need to clearly articulate policy on nationhood and citizenship, and thus rights accorded to refugees."[353]

The third theme is *social connection* (the second theme in the diagram) and includes social bonds, social bridges and social links. The fourth theme is *facilitators* (the third theme in the diagram) and includes language and cultural knowledge, and safety and stability. Ager and Strang see these two themes as the "connective tissue" between "foundational principles of citizenship and rights," and "public outcomes such as employment, housing, education and health."[354] (1) Social bonds include being resettled among family members and among like-ethnic groups. (2) Social bridges assess refugees' ability to interact with other refugees and members of the community in which they have been resettled. This may include the ability to

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[351] Ibid., 173.
[352] Ibid., 173.
[353] Ibid., 175. Note: This thesis alludes to certain aspects of the themes and indicators presented in Ager and Strang's framework but does not provide a comprehensive analysis of Roanoke. It is recommended to read Ager and Strang's article for further comprehension on their framework for assessing integration.
[354] Ibid., 177.

participate in a "range of activities" such as "sports, college classes, religious worship, community groups and political activity."[355] (3) Social links describes refugees' connection to "structures of the state, such as government services."[356]

Facilitators are seen as factors that "remove barriers" on the ability of refugees to access government services. (1) Language and cultural knowledge remain one of the core facilitators in removing barriers; the more a refugee understands the language of their host country and its cultural norms, the more they can navigate service delivery systems.[357] (2) Safety and stability include the refugees' perception of their relative security and peacefulness within the communities they are resettled and that the native citizens feel as though refugees are not creating civil unrest.[358]

[355] Ibid., 180.
[356] Ibid., 181.
[357]Ibid., 182
[358] Ibid., 183

APPENDIX C: VIRGINIA COMPREHENSIVE RESETTLEMENT MODEL[359]

The Virginia Refugee Resettlement Model is the framework for the resettlement of refugees and other eligible populations. It is based on the guiding principle that refugees and other eligible populations are best served by a community-based system of service delivery that is comprehensive, coordinated, and responsive to the client's strength and needs. The model originates from the purpose of U.S. refugee resettlement: to provide effective resettlement through the attainment of economic self-sufficiency at the earliest time possible and was developed by the Virginia Office of Newcomer Services.

The six key elements in the Virginia Refugee Resettlement Model:

1. A Comprehensive Resettlement Plan is the root and center of the delivery of all services to refugees and other eligible populations.
2. Long term public assistance utilization is not an acceptable way of life in America and is not a resettlement option.
3. Early employment promotes economic self-sufficiency.
4. Physical and mental health needs must be addressed in a timely, coordinated, and integrated way to promote and ensure the well-being and health of refugees and other eligible populations.
5. Community receptivity to refugees is a key factor in successful resettlement. Service providers must take the lead in creating a welcoming environment for refugees and other eligible populations through community dialogues that involve key stakeholders and

[359] "Refugee Services: What Can We Do for You," Office of Newcomer Services, http://www.dss.virginia.gov/ons/services/index.html. Note: All information provided here taken directly from ONS website.

provide local awareness of and input into the resettlement process and adequate levels of local support for the resettlement effort.

6. Refugee resettlement involves many services that may be provided concurrently, progressively, or successively, but must always constitute a continuum of services beginning at the time a client arrives in the U.S. or is granted refugee-eligible status and continuing through self-sufficiency and leading up to citizenship. The service delivery continuum should reflect the following:
    - Services delivery must be sensitive to cultural and ethnic issues
    - Language access is critical to the resettlement process and must be fostered by all who work in some way with refugees;
    - Refugees are best served by linking them to service providers that are conveniently located in the communities where they live;
    - Coalitions of service providers ensure strong public/private partnerships and work to maximize resources and to create a seamless service delivery system
    - Ethnic organizations, otherwise known as Mutual assistance associations (refugee self-help groups) bring unique strengths and cultural knowledge to the resettlement process and should be included in the service network.

APPENDIX D: COMMONWEALTH CATHOLIC CHARITIES EMPLOYMENT COMPETENCIES WORKSHEET[360]

Student Name				
Class Dates:				
Employment Competencies	Needs Improve-ment	Met Expectations	Exceeded Expectations	Didn't Cover
Student can read and understand a calendar				
Student understands the meaning of "today", "tomorrow", and "yesterday"				
Student learns types of jobs in the U.S. and job descriptions				
Student knows the difference between first job and a career				
Student learns the meaning of Full time vs. Part time work				
Student understands work shifts and schedules				
Student understands basic work language such as employer, employee, etc.				
Student knows how and where to search for jobs				
Student knows how to complete a job application; practices in class				
Student understands and can identify hard skills vs. soft skills				
Student can read and understand job ads and postings				
Student can identify references and resumes				
Student participates in creating a resume				
Student understands interview attire, etiquette and interview responses				
Student practices a job interview in class				
Students understand good hygiene in the workplace				
Student understands common safety signs and equipment				
Students can identify in the workplace such as lobby, HR, break room				
Students learn basic workplace skills such as calling in sick and being on time				

[360] Received from Laura Murphy during August 13, 2018 interview.

Student knows how to report problems, accidents and emergencies at work				
Student understands how and when you are paid for your employment				
Student understands banking terms: cash, check, direct deposit and savings				
Student can calculate weekly, biweekly and monthly pay				
Student can understand a paycheck or paystub				
Student understands a budget and how to budget monthly income				
Student understands wants & needs in relation to spending				
Student understands deductions and other taxes: federal, state, Med., SS, etc.				
Student understands the term "Benefit"/types of benefits for full time employees				
Student understands the difference between debit cards vs. credit cards				
Student knows how to use an protect a PIN number				
Student knows how to use an ATM				
Student knows how to write a check				
Student understands the process of paying bills				
Students can document checks in a register				

APPENDIX E: COMMONWEALTH CATHOLIC CHARITIES ESL COMPETENCIES WORKSHEET[361]

Student Name:				
Class Dates:				
ESL Competencies	Needs Improve-ment	Met Expectations	Exceeded Expectations	Didn't Cover
Student understands basics of riding the bus and going to school				
Student understands the role of CCC staff				
Student understands classroom rules				
Student completes a pre-test				
Student can identify all upper- and lower-case letters				
Student can identify numbers 1-31				
Student can count by fives and tens				
Student can read a calendar and identify a specific date				
Student can identify days of the week				
Student can identify month and year				
Student understands yesterday, today and tomorrow				
Student can respond to greetings				
Student can identify common items and vocabulary in the classroom				
Student can tell you their name, country of origin and language				
Student can speak or write their name and address				
Student can identify American money and know value				
Student understands A.M. and P.M.				
Student can tell time using an analog or digital clock				
Student understands the importance of being on time in the U.S.				
Student can fill out basic form with name, birthday and phone #				
Student knows how and when to call 911				

[361] Received by Laura Murphy during August 13, 2018 Interview.

Student can understand an appointment card				
Student can make or cancel an appointment				
Student can make a phone call and leave a message				
Student understands basics of going to the Dr.				
Student can name body parts and basic medical ailments				
Student understands basics of RX medicine and OTC medicine				
Student can identify parts of prescription medicine label				
Student understands food labels and meals				
Student can identify types of clothing				
Students can read clothing labels and identify size and price				
Student become familiar with U.S. weights and measurements				
Student knows his/her height, weight and shoe size				
Student can fill out a check				
Student can address an envelope				
Student can understand a bus/train schedule				
Student can use a phone book and select name & number				
Student can identify common foods, food groups and meals				
Student can identify price and weight on a food label				
Student can understand housing ads and vocabulary				
Student can understand job ads				
Student can write a note to the landlord and/or friend				
Student can identify store hours and understand terms open & closed				

APPENDIX F: VIRGINIA NEWCOMER HEALTH PROGRAM: REFUGEE HEALTH SCREENING GUIDELINES[362]

Required Components:

- History and Physical Assessment
  -Can be done by MD, NP, PHN – district choice; reimbursement is dependent on who performs
- CBC, BMP, U/A, Hep B serology, HIV, TB screening/testing

Conditional Testing:

- Newborn Screening – 6 month of age or less
- Blood Lead Level
  -repeat as indicated for elevated levels
  -repeat regardless of first result for 6 months – 6 years of age
- Pregnancy Testing – women of childbearing age
- Syphilis testing - >15 years of age; ≤15 with risk factors
  -Sexually active or history of sexual assault
  -All children who are at risk (mother tests positive)
  -All refugees from countries that are endemic for treponemal species (responsible for syphilis bejel and yaws) – long list which includes most of Africa, SE Asia; Parts of South America, etc.
- Chlamydia testing
  -Women ≤25 who are sexually active or those with risk factors (new sexual partner or multiple sexual partners)
  -Women >25 with risk factors
- Hepatitis C testing
  -High risk groups – body art, piercings, blood transfusion recipient
- Cholesterol
  -Men ≥35 years
  -Women ≥45 years
  -Beginning at age 20 for those at increased risk of coronary heart disease (diabetes, tobacco use, HTN, familial history of cardiovascular disease)
- Varicella and MMR Serology
  -All adults without vaccination history
  -VDH decision – cost saving measure

Presumptive Treatment in Lieu of Testing

- Ova and Parasites
- Malaria

Immunizations for Children

- Follow ACIP Recommendations
- Bill Medicaid!

[362] Information and guidelines provided by Robert Haakmeester (Coordinator of the Refugee Health Program in Roanoke, VA). January 29, 2018

Immunizations for Adults

- Those required for adjustment of status (green card) are reimbursed by NHP
  -Td/Tdap
  -MMR
  -Varicella
  -Pneumococcal – if age appropriate
  -Flu – (Flu season considered to be October 1 – March 31)
- Other immunizations may be provided, but reimbursement not available through NHP
- May use state funded vaccines for un/underinsured
- Vaccines only reimbursable for the first year after arrival

Mental Health Screening

- Virginia has adopted the Refugee Health Screener 15 (RHS-15)
- Developed in Seattle, Washington for their refugee program
- Screens for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Anxiety and Depression
- Only validated on ages 14 and older
- Must be administered in native language
- Available translations: Amharic, Arabic, Burmese, Karen, Somali, Russian, Cuban Spanish, Tigrinya, Farsi, Nepali, French, Swahili
- Dari version in development

Mental Health Referral Process

- Screening considered positive if score is >12 or if distress thermometer is >5
- Those with a positive screening are referred for follow up to either a local Community Service Board (CSB) or a private provider

What happens after the health screening?

- PHN makes appropriate referrals for any issues discovered during initial health screening or issues which were noted on the overseas medical exam that require additional follow up
- Additional immunizations provided as indicated
- Paperwork is completed for refugees applying for legal permanent residence (green card) – 1year after arrival to US

APPENDIX G: MYCITY FOR NEW NEIGHBORS ACADEMY (ROANOKE CITY PILOT PROGRAM)[363]

Module 1: Welcome to Roanoke

- Welcome, Overview of Program, Participant Introductions
- Mayor and City Manager Comments
- Roanoke History
- What Makes Roanoke "Roanoke" – the Roanoke Way! (video)
- Roanoke Municipal Government

Module 2: Getting Settled, Family and Household

- Housing – (Panel presentation by city officials and banking officials)
    - Habitat, RRHA, Mortgage Assistance, Importance of Banking & Service Tips, VA Landlord/Tenant Info, Section 8 Voucher Program/Locations, Purchasing a Home, Renting a Home
- Employment Opportunities
    - VA Employment Commission, City of Roanoke Human Resources, Workforce Development Board (CCC to present)
- Worship Resources
    - Resources for Religious Activities

Module 3: Making Roanoke Your Home

- Roanoke Human and Social Services
- Council of Community Services
- Getting Around Roanoke
    - Presentation to Include Bus, Taxi/Uber, Rail, Air, Walking, Bicycling, Valley Metro, Greenway
- Health Services and Personal Health
    - Presentations to Include YMCA Family Center, Bradley Free Clinic, Carilion, New Horizons, Health Department, Community Gardens

Module 4: City of Roanoke's Infrastructure

- Public Works
    - Overview of Streets, Traffic, Sidewalks, Bike Lanes, (Maybe Driver License Obtainment)
- Utilities
    - Panel Discussion with Representatives from Water Authority, AEP, Roanoke Gas, Cable Television & Internet Service
- Planning and Development

[363] Working document provided to author at Roanoke Refugee Dialogue Group public meeting October 26, 2018.

    - Overview of Zoning, Permits, Planning
- Parks and Recreation
    - Greenways, Recreational Opportunities, Park Usage, Festivals, Free Playground (Tour of Library Playground (Capt. Hook) and Elmwood Park Venue)

Module 5: Education and Student Opportunities

- Educational Opportunities (Panel Discussion led by RCPS)
    - Roanoke City Public Schools**,** VA Western Community College
- Youth Engagement Opportunities (Panel Discussion)
    - City of Roanoke Youth Commission, Parks and Recreation Youth Programs, Library Services and Programs

Module 6: Protecting and Preserving Our Quality of Life

- Personal and Public Safety – Police, Fire-EMS and Sheriff's Office, Court System Overview (Panel Discussion)
- Immigration Lawyer and/or Commonwealth Attorney Representative
    - Focus on Citizenship

(Will Provide Police Vehicle, Fire Truck, and Ambulance On Site for Tour)

Module 7: Welcome Home – Graduation!

- Awarding of Certificates During City Council Meeting\
- Voices of Experience – Welcome from immigrant residents who have been successful in making Roanoke their home.
- Celebrate Graduation with light refreshments with council members, friends and family

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