Institute for Clinical Social Work

Environment of Care: The Good-Enough Refugee Resettlement Director

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

Institute for Clinical Social Work in Partial Fulfillment

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Carleen F. Miller

Chicago, Illinois

August 1, 2017

Abstract

This study examined how directors of U.S. domestic refugee resettlement agencies understand the ways in which they create or enable a psychological environment that promotes a sense of well-being in their staff members, in the context of their work with refugees. The psychoanalytic case study method, as designed by Jennifer Tolleson (1996), was used to gain an in-depth understanding of the research topic. Six resettlement directors, three men and three women, were interviewed three times each. Directors' understanding of their own experiences was sought to contribute to the field of clinical social work, psychoanalytic theory and the greater body of knowledge regarding the role of the resettlement agency director as a facilitator of psychological well-being for agency staff and the refugee clients they serve. Psychoanalytic theorist D.W. Winnicott's (1960) concepts of the "holding environment" and "the good-enough mother" provide two lenses through which to understand the role of the resettlement director which may lend directors useful ideas on how to provide care to their staff members. In addition, the study contributes information to the field that can aid directors and workers in providing more informed, comprehensive and compassionate care to refugees resettled in the United States and to provide information to directors that may aid in their own efforts to maintain care and training for the staff they supervise.

For all those who work in solidarity with refugees,

especially resettlement directors and their dedicated staff

While every refugee's story is different and their anguish personal, they all share a common thread of uncommon courage – the courage not only to survive, but to persevere and rebuild their shattered lives.

~ Antonio Guterres, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, 2005

Acknowledgments

There are many people whose long-suffering faith in me and this project helped me to finally bring it to completion. The faculty members of ICSW have been consistent role models for high standards of excellence and scholarship that makes a difference in people's lives. First and foremost, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my Dissertation Chair, Barbara Berger, without Barbara's consistent encouragement, guidance and belief in me this project would never have been completed; Jennifer Tolleson, whose careful attention to methodology, patience and interest in the topic kept me engaged in a rigorous process; Marsha Adler, one of the original members of my committee, whose kindness, wit and wisdom continues to inspire me; Elaine Klemen, whose passion for human rights brought an important lens to the committee; Sue Cebulko, an energetic reader and an even better friend. Jacquelyn Vincson, a careful reader with an eye toward proper form; Beth Oppenheim-Chan my editor and expert extraordinaire; and Steven Kuchuck who is teaching me to believe in myself and lit a fire in me to finally get this done. Finally, for my colleagues in resettlement, the directors who hold the program together, the staff of Exodus Refugee Immigration and the amazing and courageous refugees that allowed me the privilege of being a part of their lives and stories.

CFM

Table of Contents

Table of Contents—*Continued*

Table of Contents—*Continued*

Table of Contents—*Continued*

Table of Contents—*Continued*

List of Tables

Table Page

Chapter I

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine how directors of U.S. domestic refugee resettlement agencies understand the ways in which they create or enable a psychological environment that promotes a sense of well-being in their staff members in the context of their work with refugees. I used the psychoanalytic case study method, as designed by Jennifer Tolleson (1996), to gain an in-depth understanding of the research topic. I sought both directors' understanding of their own experiences, as well as their understanding of their staff members' experience. This information is sought to contribute to the field of clinical social work, psychoanalytic theory, and the greater body of knowledge regarding the role of the resettlement agency director as a facilitator of psychological well-being for agency staff and the refugee clients they serve. In addition, the study contributes information to the field that can aid directors and workers in providing more informed, comprehensive, and compassionate care to refugees resettled in the United States and to provide information to directors that may aid in their own efforts to maintain care and training for the staff they supervise.

As a former resettlement agency director, I have a particular interest in examining how other directors understand their actions to aid workers in maintaining a sense of hope and psychological well-being. I have seen first-hand the need for resettlement workers to be

supported in an environment that provides psychological preparation for work with vulnerable and often traumatized refugees. Resettlement agency staff members work intimately with persons who have experienced the most egregious acts committed by others, not just at the hands of individuals, but in many circumstances at the hands of their own government. The work can be psychologically, physically, and spiritually demanding. While refugees by definition are courageous and resilient persons, many have experienced so much hardship that they find it difficult to handle the pressures of the resettlement process. They may employ coping mechanisms learned in response to the traumas they lived through, which now serve to push away those who seek to assist them. They may buckle under the strains of their new lives coupled with their traumatized pasts and act out toward others, including resettlement workers or themselves. Refugees often share their stories of suffering with resettlement staff members and view them as rescuers or family members, allowing for strong emotional bonds to develop.

The intense dynamics involved in the resettlement process require that resettlement agency staff members are, themselves, psychologically prepared to manage the vicissitudes of the work. Therefore, it is crucial that there is an understanding of directors' actions to facilitate an environment of psychological care for workers. It was hypothesized that the environment created by directors is a kind of "holding environment" (Winnicott, 1960), which aids workers in metabolizing the intense emotions and involvements experienced in their work with refugees and allows them to provide "good enough" care to refugees.

Refugee resettlement agency directors work with staff members who experience emotional impacts in the course of their work with refugees. Refugees from across the globe have experienced massive human rights violations and traumatic events. Upon arrival in the United States, refugees need the support of resettlement workers to make the transition to their new lives. Resettlement workers depend on directors to create a work environment from which they can manage the complex emotions that arise in the course of their work with refugees. Simultaneously, directors must be trained in and be able to use psycho-dynamically informed approaches to better serve resettlement workers and the refugees they assist.

Statement of the Problem

Directors of refugee resettlement agencies assist staff members in managing the complex emotions experienced when working with refugees. Across the United States there are hundreds of non-profit agencies that resettle refugees from around the world through the United States humanitarian program of refugee resettlement (U. S. Department of State). Resettlement programs are either stand-alone agencies or programs of larger umbrella non-profit agencies. These programs do the work of welcoming refugees into their communities and helping them to become established. The resettlement staff provides a wide range of services that assist refugees in integrating into their new communities. Whether a resettlement program or agency, the persons who direct the organizations are responsible for setting the tone, establishing policies and procedures and creating environments that facilitate appropriate staff and client care.

Resettlement staff members, including directors, come from varied backgrounds and disciplines including social work, psychology, international relations, political science,

ministry, law, and anthropology amongst many others. Many people who work in resettlement agencies were once refugees themselves. Resettlement professionals dedicate their lives to the humanitarian mission of resettlement and work with persons who have experienced persecution, violence, war, deprivation, human rights violations, trauma, and even torture.

In the resettlement arena, diversity is embraced, and the staff is intentionally committed to a humanitarian context within which to work. People from very different experiences and cultures come together in agencies and work for a common goal. The work of resettlement involves assisting refugee newcomers with becoming established in their new lives in the United States, an arduous process fraught with many challenges. Resettlement staff members provide emotional support, empowerment as well as a host of services to assist refugees in their process of successfully becoming self-sufficient and integrated into their new communities.

Currently, there is sparse research specifically regarding whether or how refugee resettlement directors are trained or prepared to use psycho-dynamic approaches in making workers' environments more responsive to the stresses and strains of working with highly vulnerable populations. Resettlement directors receive little structured training from their networks or national technical assistance providers on best practices for psychologically preparing or supporting resettlement staff in their efforts to provide services to refugees who are coping with the impact of trauma and displacement. In an effort to investigate and illuminate the ways in which directors facilitate staff care, this study explores how directors of refugee resettlement agencies understand their efforts to

help resettlement workers to manage the intense and highly charged emotional content encountered in their relationships with refugee clients.

Refugee resettlement agency and program directors are tasked with the ultimate responsibility for ensuring appropriate services are provided to vulnerable refugees. Furthermore, directors are also responsible for the psychological care of staff members, who provide direct services to refugee clients. In turn, direct service staff must create an environment of psychological responsiveness for clients. Exploring directors' understanding of their methods for preparing staff aided in identifying potential gaps in research, training, and support currently available. Examining the potential contributions that psychoanalytic theories offer provides information that can be used to deepen the approach of directors and generate environments that feel safer and more secure in which this complicated work takes place. In addition, identifying promising practices that may be shared across the network of resettlement programs can only strengthen services to refugees as well as promote retention of agency staff nationally.

The refugee resettlement program is a complex humanitarian process that involves numerous entities and movements from overseas to local communities across the United States. Refugees from around the world arrive in the U.S. and find themselves in new cities in a country about which they know little. Refugees enter the resettlement program after suffering persecution, often for decades, at the hands of their own governments or people (Refugee Council USA). After fleeing their home countries and seeking refuge in a second country, refugees may spend years in protracted temporary situations, such as camps or urban areas with overcrowded make-shift dwellings and few resources (U.S. Department of State). Second countries of resettlement often do not offer permanent

status to refugees, so they are left to live there with temporary status and few rights. Some refugees will continue on to other countries for refuge and ultimately live in a state of limbo until they can either return home, receive permanent status in their country of refuge, or officially resettle in a third country. Less than one percent of refugees worldwide are granted permanent resettlement in a third country (United Nations, 2010). Resettlement in a third country is often reserved for those refugees who have been in the most prolonged situations or who are the most vulnerable, without viable long-term solutions. They are the survivors of violence or torture, persons in need of lifesaving medical treatment, women or girls at risk, youth at risk, and persons with other ongoing security or protection needs (UNHCR, 2011). Refugees who come through the third country resettlement program each year face great challenges both from their traumatic pasts as well as the very difficult transition to life in a new culture.

The U.S. resettlement process is considered a public-private partnership between the federal government and local receiving communities where refugees are resettled. This partnership requires a collaborative effort between all parties to ensure that refugees are resettled well into their new communities (U.S. Department of State). The U.S. government offers limited financial assistance with the expectation that local communities and non-profit agencies doing the resettlement will provide much of the resources necessary for aiding refugee newcomers in establishing their new lives. Refugees are thrust into a rigorous resettlement experience that requires much of them as well as those who assist them. The U.S. Department of State's Bureau for Populations, Refugees and Migration (PRM), provides a small initial stipend to the resettled refugee and to the sponsoring agency (U.S. Department of State). The resettlement agency must

then seek additional funds from other federal grant programs as well as private and non-governmental sources to supplement what is provided. The U.S. resettlement process is set up with the expectation that refugees will be self-sufficient (income exceeding expenses) within a short period of time, typically 90 to 180 days. This timeframe is arduous and requires great courage and tenacity on the part of the refugee. Increasingly, resettlement agencies are working with persons who have spent long periods of time in refugee camps or urban situations struggling to accomplish these goals. Many have histories of great trauma including witnessing loved ones being murdered, receiving physical injuries at the hands of their persecutors, surviving massacres, gender-based violence, imprisonment, and torture. As a result, many struggle with severe chronic or acute medical and mental health concerns. Persons employed by the resettlement agency work closely with refugees to assist them with all the tasks and services required to become established and succeed in daily life in their new communities. The severity of refugees' experiences may increase the psychological strain experienced by refugee resettlement staff as they strive to support the newcomers and this makes it all the more important for resettlement staff to understand refugee trauma (Ostrander, Melville, & Berthold, 2017).

It is not uncommon for refugees to experience a significant sense of disruption once they arrive in the United States. The combined burden of the transition and exposure to trauma historically may impact the ways in which refugees react to staff persons who provide services to them. This is a cumulative result of the complex transition to a new culture, as well as the chronic and protracted nature of their traumatic pasts. Resettlement programs are under great strain due to tight budgets, the high stakes of a client population

with significant vulnerabilities, and the intense scrutiny of the community. Balancing and managing the multiple factors involved in providing appropriate and comprehensive care to refugees, while also managing the care of staff, is the responsibility of agency and program directors.

Resettlement agency personnel come to this work from an array of professional backgrounds, cultures and personal experiences. Those employed by resettlement agencies generally engage in the work with a sense of mission and purpose. They are called upon to work long hours and to manage complex human situations with persons who are vulnerable and in need of significant intensive care. In addition, resettlement staff, despite their best efforts to provide responsive care, are often exposed to the criticism and critique of refugees and community members alike.

Understanding what constitutes the legal definition of 'refugee' is important for this study. The legal designation of Refugee was set forth in the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees held in Geneva, Switzerland (commonly referred to as the Geneva Convention) (UNHCR, 2003). A refugee is any person who "owing to a 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" (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services). Refugees suffer unimaginable human rights violations, violence, oppression and hardship that force them to flee their countries and seek refuge in a second country (country of first asylum) where they may live as displaced persons for years to come.

There are currently three solutions for the refugee situation (UNHCR, 2003). One solution is refugees may eventually be repatriated to their own country once the threat has diminished. Or second, they may become integrated into the country where they sought refuge, an option that rarely occurs. Third, refugees may be resettled in a third country or they may remain in refugee camps or live as displaced persons for many years. Less than 1% of the total global population of refugees is resettled into a third country, as very few nations willingly accept refugees and the complex economic and social needs they bring with them (UNHCR, 2003). The United States admits the majority of the refugees who are resettled in a third country worldwide each year (Richard, 2014). Those persons who eventually come to the United States as refugees enter the U.S. Resettlement program at the invitation of the United States Department of State, Bureau for Populations, Refugee and Migration.

The goal of the international refugee processing program is to provide refugees a durable solution to their situations and resettlement is the option that brings refugees to the U.S. The idea of resettling in a third country may or may not be a welcome solution to the refugee. "After all the trauma and suffering, after the refugee camp, a refugee approaches the new land with mixed feelings. The refugee left home to escape danger; there was no destination in mind, no 'positive original motivation to resettle elsewhere' (Kunz, 1973). The country of resettlement is often chosen against or despite his or her wishes; the refugee is taking a 'plunge' into the unknown" (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p. 15). In their home countries, in their journeys to a second country, in the refugee camps and in the process of resettlement, refugees experience significant traumatic events and losses. The resettlement process itself can be jarring, disillusioning and painfully

difficult. In order to navigate this arduous process, refugees need the aid of professionals who can provide a wide range of services. Directors are in a position to create an environment of hope and support that lifts the professionals, extending optimism and possibility to the refugee newcomer. This research was intended to explore what, if any, characteristics of psychoanalytic theory are utilized by directors to benefit the creation of such environments.

Study Objectives

The overarching objective of the study is to examine refugee resettlement agency directors' understanding of the actions they employ to create environments that facilitate well-being in resettlement workers who work with refugees. The study can provide valuable information that may aid leaders in the field to better train and provide psychologically healthy settings for workers and equip workers to provide appropriate care to their clients. The role of the resettlement agency director in helping resettlement staff members manage the psychological impact of working with refugees is crucial. Staff members of refugee agencies are often the first persons to assist refugees in coping with and managing the fears and anxieties associated with the difficult circumstances that refugees have endured both before and after resettlement. Often, these staff members are not knowledgeable about the psychological processes involved in working with traumatized populations and most do not have a psycho-dynamically informed understanding of their role in the care of others and the toll it takes on one's personhood. Resettlement agency staff may not have strategies for managing the powerful responses they have to their work with traumatized persons. This lack of knowledge and tools may lead to "secondary traumatization" (Figley, 1995), acting out in relationship to clients or

self, or an inability to successfully manage their work-load and their own well-being. Therefore, the understanding role of the resettlement program director in creating environments of care for their staff is vital to the staff and refugee clients alike.

Pearlman and Saakvitne write about the importance of the supervisors' role in the therapists' management of the work with trauma survivors. A supervisor has the task of holding a theoretical container for interpersonal intricacies of the therapeutic relationship. Thus, the supervisor can provide the holding for the therapist and the therapeutic relationship that allows the therapist to regroup and, in turn, hold the client and the relationship (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995).

While the directors of resettlement agencies are not necessarily supervising the work of therapists, there is much that can be learned from the analogy of the therapeutic relationship and generalized to this area of work. Resettlement directors also have the task of holding a theoretical container for intricacies (Pearlmann & Saakvitne, 1995) of workers' relationship with refugee clients. The relationships that resettlement workers have with their clients can be complex and challenging. This proposed container or environment that I suggest resettlement directors create for their staff is the subject of the study.

In order to achieve the overarching objective of this study, to examine directors' understanding of their actions that facilitate psychological well-being in resettlement workers, in-depth psychoanalytic case study interviews of directors were conducted. The psychoanalytic case study method that was used was created by Tolleson in her 1996 study of gang youth (Tolleson, 1996). I analyzed these case studies through a psychoanalytic lens. The aim of this study was to provide opportunity to learn through

interviews more about the shared understandings of directors as well as the unique voices of each director. Each case study was examined closely in one piece as a personal narrative of each director interviewed. The narratives were followed closely to listen for psychological tasks and types of actions employed by directors to facilitate and create environments of care for workers. Furthermore, the case studies of directors were examined across narratives to follow threads and themes that appear as commonalities and variations in directors' understandings of their actions to allow for greater comprehension.

Theoretical and Operational Definitions of Major Concepts

Refugee

The definition of "Refugee" is a very specific legal status that is conferred upon persons meeting the criteria outlined in the 1951 Refugee Act known as the Geneva Convention (UNHCR, 1951). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the international body that confers the status on petitioners. "Under the Immigration and Nationality Act, any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion" (U.S. Department of State).

Third Country Resettlement

Refugee Resettlement is "The process of relocating a refugee to a third country. When it is clear that a refugee will not be able to return to his/her home and cannot be integrated into the country to which he/she has fled, resettlement is the only solution left" (U.S. Department of State).

Refugee Resettlement Agency

U.S. Refugee Resettlement Agencies help newly arrived refugees settle into local communities by providing a host of core and extended services. Local resettlement agencies are also referred to as affiliates and hold contracts with one or more of nine national voluntary agencies or national resettlement agencies who work directly with the U. S. Department of State Bureau for Populations Refugees and Migration who administers the Refugee Resettlement Admissions Program. Agencies may also receive additional discretionary funding through the Office of Refugee Resettlement for extended services such as employment, English language training and case management. Resettlement is considered a public-private partnership, and local resettlement agencies seek financial and in-kind support to meet the extended and unique needs of refugees that reach beyond the initial funding provided by the U.S. federal government.

Resettlement Workers

Resettlement agency staff members are persons of different disciplines who provide case management, supervision, education, training, employment services, and psychotherapeutic services to refugees in United States-based refugee resettlement agencies.

Object Relations Theory

Object relations is a psychoanalytic theory that focuses on the importance of early relationships in the development of the self. “Object relations theory suggests that humans are motivated from the earliest moments by the need for significant relationships with objects…The formation and maintenance of human object relationships become the primary motivator for human behavior (Fairbairn, 1952; Summers, 1993)”. (as cited in Zosky, 1999, p. 57). Early relationships “form enduring psychological ‘templates’ for all future relationships, as well as being instrumental in psychic development and structuralization” (Zosky, 1999, p. 57).

Trauma

The concept of psychological trauma has a long rich history in the psychoanalytic literature. Psychological trauma occurs when there is an actual or perceived threat to the self or when one witnesses such a threat to another. “Psychoanalysis began with the study of psychic trauma, and that investigation remains altogether relevant to the contemporary scene. Traumatic alteration of the personality is associated with the threat of personal injury or death, or with threatened or actual injury or loss of loved ones” (Blum. H., 2003, p. 415).

Countertransference

There is a wide range of understandings of countertransference in the literature. Broadly, countertransference is the conscious and unconscious response of the therapist to the client. Racker (1957) writes, that countertransference is “the totality of the analyst’s psychological responses to the patient” (p. 312). Freud (1953) is the first theorist to

discuss the concept of countertransference. He largely viewed it as a phenomenon to avoid in the therapeutic situation. Theorists that followed Freud have viewed countertransference as a useful tool to be used to deepen the understanding of the patient as well as a phenomenon that can be problematic for therapists.

Empathy

Empathy is a key concept in psychoanalytic theory. Broadly, empathy is considered a mechanism for understanding the emotional position of the other. However, more particularly, empathy is a complex process that facilitates deep contact with the self and other.

> True empathy is a condition of conscious and preconscious contact characterized by separateness, complexity, and a linked structure, a wide perceptual spectrum including every colour in the emotional palette, from the lightest to the darkest; above all, it constitutes a progressive shared and deep contact with the complementarity of the object, with the other's defensive ego and split off parts no less than with his ego-syntonic subjectivity. (Bolognini, 2009, p. 36)

Empathy then is a psychological mechanism that allows for conscious and preconscious contact between the separate self and other that is neither positive nor negative and allows for an in-depth understanding.

Empathic Strain

Empathic strain is a risk for those who work with clients who have experienced trauma. Wilson and Lindy (1994) write about the empathic strain that can occur in the therapist when she works with trauma survivors. They state, “Clinical work with trauma

victims brings the clinician close to the 'soul' of the pain and injury" (p. 6). The impact of coming so "close" to the client's pain may result in empathic strain, which is caused by "Interpersonal events in psychotherapy that weaken, injure, or force beyond due limits a salutary response to a client" (p. 27).

Compassion Fatigue

Compassion fatigue is similar to the concept of Empathic Strain. When examining the impact of the trauma material on the person of the helper, Figley developed the concept of "compassion fatigue." He theorizes that "compassion fatigue is identical to secondary traumatic stress disorder (STSD) and is the equivalent of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)" (Figley, 1995, p.XV). Compassion fatigue is a possible impact for those who interface with trauma survivors, "not only are therapists and other professionals vulnerable to compassion fatigue (secondary stress disorders), so too are family and friends of people in harm's way (i.e., "victims") vulnerable to secondary traumatic stress (compassion stress) and stress disorder (compassion fatigue)" (Figley, 1995, p.XV).

Vicarious Traumatization

Vicarious Traumatization is a concept developed by theorists McCann and Pearlman who explain that similarly to compassion fatigue, vicarious traumatization relates to the impact of working with trauma survivors on the self of the therapist. "Vicarious Traumatization is a process through which the therapist's inner experience is negatively transformed through empathic engagement with clients' trauma material" (McCann & Pearlman, 1990a, p.279). According to Pearlman and Saakvitne, "Vicarious traumatization is a natural response to a very specialized kind of highly demanding work"

(p. 280). The therapeutic work with trauma survivors can produce fundamental changes in the person of the therapist.

> Vicarious traumatization results in profound disruptions in the therapist's frame of reference, that is, his basic sense of identity, world view, and spirituality. Multiple aspects of the therapist and his life are affected, including his affect tolerance, fundamental psychological needs, deeply held beliefs in self and others, interpersonal relationships, internal imagery, and experience of his body and physical presence in the world. (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995, p. 280)

Vicarious traumatization results from the work with clients over time; it is not a response to one client. Pearlman and Saakvitne note that there are several concepts that relate to the impact of trauma on the therapist and are closely related to vicarious traumatization; however, these concepts impact the therapist differently. Concepts such as compassion fatigue (Figley, 1999), traumatic countertransference (Herman, 1997), and post-traumatic stress in therapists (Wilson & Lindy, 1994) or secondary traumatic stress (Stamm, 1995) relate to symptoms that arise in the therapist, whereas "vicarious traumatization has its foundation in a constructivist personality theory" and relates to the "role of meaning and adaptation, rather than symptoms" (Pearlman and Saakvitne, 1995, p. 280). Therefore, exposure of the therapist over time to their work with trauma survivors can result in fundamental changes to the person of the therapist.

Statement of Assumptions

- Persons who are employed by refugee resettlement agencies come to the work from many different disciplines and life experiences and do it out of a sense of mission**.**
- Directors of resettlement programs are in a position to create or facilitate an environment in which they can influence an ongoing sense of hope and well-being for the staff members who work directly with refugee clients.
- Recently resettled refugees have significant needs that can impact their experience of resettlement and their ability to successfully receive help from professionals who assist them.
- Without a proper holding environment, the needs of refugees can be overwhelming for the professionals and paraprofessionals who seek to assist them and may contribute to empathic strain, compassion fatigue, or vicarious traumatization in workers, as well as improper care of the refugees that are being served.
- Directors managing professionals and paraprofessionals, who work with refugees, may find that there are few forums for exploring or discussing their experiences.
- Psychoanalytic case study interviews will allow for a better understanding of directors' actions to create environments in which workers in refugee resettlement programs can be assisted in managing the complex needs and emotions of the refugees they serve.

- Psychoanalytic theory in general and object relations theory in particular can be used to provide a viewpoint that adds to an understanding of the experiences of directors of refugee resettlement programs.
- My clinical training and personal and professional experience as a resettlement agency director will inform the interviewing and the data analysis.

Epistemological Foundation of Project

The psychoanalytic case study design of this study is qualitative, hermeneutical, and embedded in a philosophical social constructivist worldview. The study sought not to make empirical claims or test hypothesis but also to engage in the exploration of meaning. In the social sciences, social constructivism is a unique philosophical perspective that privileges exploration of meaning. The social constructivist worldview holds "that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experience-meanings directed toward certain objects or things" (Cresswell, 2009, p.8) The purpose of the study then "is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied" (p.8) This philosophical stance focuses on participants' experience and relationships, "A constructivist approach places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experience and relationships with participants" (Charmaz, 1990, 1995b, 2000, 2001; Charmaz & Mitchell, 1996) (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130). The meaning explored through the study was constructed in the interaction between participant and researcher.

> The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied. The questions become broad and general so that participants can construct the meaning of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons. The more open-ended the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings. (Cresswell, 2009, p.8)

In the social constructive perspective, what is valued is the social realities constructed through individual and collective actions. (Charmaz, 2006) Social constructionism seeks to study "what people in a particular time and place take as real, how they construct their views and actions, when different constructions arise, whose constructions become taken as definitive, and how the process ensues" (Charmaz, 2006, p.189). The investigation of knowledge in this study then will seek to examine resettlement directors' views and actions as well as constructed realities of their experience.

This study of resettlement directors' experience is qualitative and rooted in Hermeneutics, "qualitative research is by its very nature informed by hermeneutic thought…." (Kinsella, 2006, p.1). Hermeneutics enrich and deepen the approach to qualitative research and are based in interpretation, "a hermeneutic approach (a) seeks understanding rather than explanation; (b) acknowledges the situated location of interpretation; (c) recognizes the role of language and historicity in interpretation; (d) views inquiry as conversation; and (e) is comfortable with ambiguity" (Kinsella, 2006, p.5). A hermeneutical study lends itself to an approach that seeks to understand meaning and experience, "Hermeneutic phenomenology is not simply a research method, but a stance, a way of being in the world, a willingness to undergo a process so that 'what is'

may emerge and show itself (Gadamer, 1997)". (as cited in Wilcke, 2002, p.2). The psychoanalytic case study method is one based on an in-depth interpretive process.

An open-ended approach through in-depth interviews was used to capture participants' subjective meanings in relationship to their work as directors of refugee resettlement agencies. In the constructive process, there is an inherent respect for the participants, "We demonstrate our respect by making concerted efforts to learn about their views and actions and to try to understand their lives from their perspectives" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 19). Therefore, it is the views, actions, perspectives, and meaning of the lives of directors in the context of their work with those they supervise and the refugees they serve that were explored in this social constructivist study.

This study examined the experience of directors of refugee resettlement agencies by considering the interplay between intra-psychic and environmental dynamics. Therefore, the qualitative method was used to understand the nuances of participants' subjective experience. An open-ended psychoanalytic epistemology informed the study method and theory. A psychoanalytic case-study methodology, modeled on that designed by Tolleson (1996), was used in this study of refugee resettlement directors' experience and psychological understanding of their actions. This manner of inquiry uses a method that lends itself to understanding participants deeply "Case studies are a strategy of inquiry in which the research explores in-depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Stake, 1995)" (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). While the methodology will be described in detail in later sections of this proposal, in brief, six participants, all resettlement directors, were

interviewed three times each. Interviews employed clinical interviewing technique using a psychoanalytic lens through which to view the participant narrative data of their experience of the environments they facilitate for their resettlement staff.

> This intensive, narrative-based approach to data collection contains obvious parallels to clinical interviewing methods, and that was very much the researcher's intent. Although the interviews contained clear and circumscribed parameters around what was to be discussed, within those boundaries the subject was free to elaborate on whatever aspects of his experience were the most salient for him. It remained the investigator's task to follow his discourse, to clarify its significance, and to pursue exploration of the larger, more latent meanings embedded within it. (Tolleson, 1996, p. 84)

This intensive method of closely listening to, following, and interpreting participants' narratives of their experience allowed for richer meaning laden data.

Foregrounding

The field of social work is uniquely positioned to influence the care provided to refugees who are resettled every day in the U.S., as well as the care provided to the workers who walk alongside refugees as they make the difficult transition to life in their new communities.

> Refugees arrive with special needs and unique cultures, and the resettlement process affects not only refugees, but also those directly serving them and their host communities. Social work offers the greatest hope for a successful resolution. With its broad skill set and unifying directives, no other profession is so uniquely positioned

> to help assure the successful continuation of the nation's economic and political promises, long enriched by the energies and dreams of New Americans. It was the profession's earliest mission and continues to be among its most important work. (Barkdull, Weber, & Phillips, 2012, p. 117)

Social workers, as well as the professionals from other disciplines, who engage in the work with refugees, require unique training, supervision, and care from organizational leadership in order to provide their best care to the refugees whom they serve. Refugees have experienced dehumanizing, oppressive, and even violent conditions prior to fleeing their homelands, and in some cases, they have experienced similar human rights violations in the second country of refuge. Along with their hope for the future and resilient spirits, they bring their grief, pain, and traumatic experiences into the resettlement context. Resettlement workers, many of whom were refugees themselves, provide support, counsel, encouragement, and solace on a daily basis to the refugees in their care as they assist them in navigating the complex transition to life in the U.S. They provide this intense and intimate care with dedication and passion and sometimes at the expense of their own self-care. As a former executive director of a relatively large stand-alone Midwestern refugee resettlement agency, it was my role to assist those workers in balancing their work, managing boundaries, metabolizing the feelings that arise in relation to hearing the stories of refugees, and helping them to integrate their experiences into their self-understanding. In addition, it was my role to aid the staff members in understanding their reactions to the refugees' experience and to respond appropriately rather than react by acting out unconsciously.

Qualitative researchers bring their own selves into the work, “Hermeneutic phenomenology asserts that all research is value-laden, since researchers bring their biases, prejudices and assumptions to the research, and these color the findings (Heineman, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Taylor, 1987)” (Wilcke, 2002). As a researcher who interviewed participants from my own profession, my subjectivity was deeply embedded in the study. From my vantage point as a researcher, resettlement director, and psychoanalytically-oriented social work clinician, I brought a significant level of contextual knowledge as well as particular values to the study at hand. The supervision of a large diverse group of staff members, who work daily with refugee newcomers, provided me with both experience and questions about what is required to create an environment of care for those staff members. It is clear that resettlement workers of all disciplines have an arduous task, as well as an honorable one, as they seek to provide good care to refugees.

My experience led me to develop a keen interest in understanding how a psychoanalytically-oriented social work study can illuminate the practical context of those who supervise workers in the field. I value the role that psychoanalytic thought can play in the organizational setting in general and in the refugee resettlement field in particular. I am interested in the resettlement director’s experience and the meaning of the psychological care they provide to the staff members they oversee. I believe that staff in a social work setting should be treated with as much care as the clients they serve. My own experience of receiving supervision that aided me in managing my work and well-being while caring for domestic violence victims has informed my interest in the topic. As a director in the resettlement context and prior to that as a social services director and

clinician in a domestic violence program, I searched for the best methods to provide an environment of care that holds and enhances the well-being of resettlement staff persons. The work is hard but rewarding. When staff members are psychologically held, I believe they can better psychologically hold their clients.

Chapter II

Literature Review

In the following section, I provide a review of relevant literature in order to develop a foundation for the course of study that was undertaken. For the sake of clarity, whenever pronouns are needed, the resettlement director is referred to as “she” and the resettlement worker is referred as “he” in all discussions of these roles. While little research has been done on this specific topic, there are several areas of inquiry that are relevant to elucidating the topic. These areas of inquiry begin with a general understanding of some topics that may arise in a study of this nature, such as literature related to psychoanalytic theory. I reviewed literature more specifically related to the field of working with survivors of trauma and persecution. In addition, I reviewed specific literature related to the field of social work with refugees and supervision of workers. All areas of review had the aim of enriching an in-depth perspective on resettlement directors’ psychological experience of the environment they create to facilitate workers’ well-being, which ultimately impacts the care of the refugees they serve.

Countertransference

While most professionals working in the refugee resettlement program are not therapists or clinical social workers, the concept of countertransference in the analytic

situation can inform the work of those professionals from various disciplines who provide care for refugees. It is human nature for people to respond to persons with whom they work in a manner that elicits personal associations and feelings both conscious and unconscious. This is not specific to the therapeutic situation and is applicable in the context of working with refugees in a social work setting. Haynal (1999) notes that the concept of countertransference first appears "as everyone knows 'in an exchange of letter between Freud and Jung''' in reference to Jung's acting out with a patient (p. 315). From Freud's first writings to current thoughts, the concept of countertransference has had a rich evolutionary history.

Over the years, psychoanalytic theorists have conceptualized countertransference in a variety of ways ranging from apologizing for its existence to declaring its necessity for a transformative treatment process. Many theorists and writers have referenced Freud's view of countertransference in relationship to the patient as he considered it a problem in the self of the analyst that must be mastered or overcome (Jacobs, 1999, p. 576). "Freud first saw countertransference as referring to the analyst's blind spots which presented an obstacle to the analysis" (Sandler, 1976, p. 43). Freud's initial conceptualization of the term countertransference characterized it as an impediment to the analytic process and considered it to be the analyst's counterpart to the patient's resistance. Freud writes,

> Other innovations in technique relate to the physician himself. We have become aware of the "countertransference," which arises in him as a result of the patient's influence on his unconscious feelings, and we are almost inclined to insist that he should recognize the counter-transference in himself and overcome it…no analyst goes further than his own complexes and internal resistances permit; and we

> consequently require that he shall begin his activity with a self-analysis and continually carry it deeper while he is making his observations on patients. Anyone who fails to produce results in a self-analysis of this kind may at once give up any idea of being able to treat patients by analysis. (Freud, 1953, 244f)

This view of countertransference as an impediment to the process challenges the analyst. In this way, the analyst's freedom to fully understand the patient through the analytic process is thought to be interrupted by countertransference (Sandler, 1976).

It has been suggested that Freud's sensitivity to the use or misuse of countertransference material stemmed from the political climate of the times. Freud and his contemporaries found themselves embroiled in situations with their patients that today might be considered boundary violations. Ferenczi, Jung, Breuer and Freud himself all engaged in dual relationships with their patients and their families (Jacobs, 1999). "Clearly danger existed, and as the leader of a nascent movement Freud understood that it was necessary for him to take a stand against inappropriate behavior that threatened its very existence" (Jacobs, 1999, p. 577). Therefore, Freud considered his own approach to treatment and pointed to the potential dangers inherent in countertransference phenomenon. The idea of countertransference took on, for Freud, the idea of a defense against something, "counter" to transference material. However, there is other evidence that Freud understood that countertransference reactions could prove useful to the analytic process (Jacobs, 1999). Despite his view of countertransference as an obstacle to the analytic situation, Freud also said that the analyst, "must turn his own unconscious like a receptive organ towards the transmitting unconscious of the patient" (Freud, 2001, p. 115). Most importantly, at the heart of his teachings, Freud directs the analyst to his or

her unconscious reactions to the patient as information about defenses that interfere with being open to the patient's inner world (as cited in Bollas, 1993).

Freud's former analyst, Ferenczi, was the early analytic theorist "who spoke most directly of the inevitability of countertransference and of the idea that it is valuable in understanding the patient" (Jacobs, 1999, p. 577). Ferenczi argued against Freud's notion that countertransference must be overcome or mastered. He asserted that attempts to master one's responses to the patient may actually get in the way of a treatment process that is predicated on the ideal of an unconstrained, free floating, associational process (Jacobs, 1999). The roots of several contemporary ideas about countertransference can be seen in Ferenczi's thoughts regarding the ways in which countertransference is by nature an interactive process. In particular, Ferenczi noted the way in which transference and countertransference partner in the therapeutic endeavor and "the fact that patients often intuitively grasp, and are affected by, covertly transmitted aspects of the analyst's attitudes and feelings" (Jacobs, 1999, p. 578). Rather than a phenomenon to be eliminated, Ferenczi believed that countertransference material aids in understanding the patient's transference phenomenon.

In 1924, Stern identified countertransferences as responses related to either the analyst's personal conflicts or as responses stemming from the transference patients bring to the analytic process (Jacobs, 1999). In contemporary discussions, Stern's two kinds of countertransference are often noted. Stern outlined the process of countertransference as one in which the analyst should allow her thoughts and feelings to come to awareness in an effort to make contact with the patient's unconscious communication (Jacobs, 1999). Jacobs suggests that Stern's assertions about countertransference are echoed in

Isakower's concept of the analytic instrument, Reich's discussions on the neurotic dimensions of countertransference, and Sandler's expansion of Freud's notion of "freely hovering attention" to "free-floating responsiveness" (Jacobs, 1999, p. 578). The process of countertransference is like a finely tuned instrument that proves essential to the analytic endeavor.

In the early nineteen twenties, Deutsch also explored the theory of countertransference. She suggested that the patient's material in the analytic situation becomes a part of the analyst's inner experience. She even went so far as to suggest that this inner experience, which brings about fantasies and associations in the analyst, is in fact "the basis for all intuition and intuitive empathy" (Jacobs, 1999, p. 579). In a paper published after her death, Deutsch writes,

> Personally, I believe strongly that there are forces at play in the analytic procedure which surpass the frame of the technical ability [of the analyst] and a conscious interpersonal relationship, but which nevertheless in my opinion form the real core of the therapeutic alliance. I refer to the intuition which is the driving force in the successful interplay of transference countertransference, and which represents the chief factor of analytic empathy. (Deutsch & Roazenm, 1989, p. 430)

According to Jacobs, Deutsch also held that the analyst must sort through the patient's material unconsciously as a conscious intellectual process in order that a clear understanding can be produced (Jacobs, 1999). In recent years, Arlow has expanded upon Deutsch's ideas about the necessity for conscious processing of the data produced by the unconscious in order to insure proper interpretation (Jacobs, 1999). In Arlow's paper on Heimann's understanding of countertransference, he speaks to the importance of

conscious processing, “An emotional response experienced by the analyst toward the patient should not always be considered a source of trouble, but should be regarded as one of the most important tools for analytic work. It is an instrument of research into the patient's unconscious” (Arlow, 1952, p. 135). Heimann’s thoughts expanded the field’s theories on countertransference.

The writings of Paula Heimann offer “landmark” changes in the view of countertransference phenomena from those held by early theorists (Sandler, 1976). She referred to countertransference as “all the feelings that the analyst may experience towards his patient” (Sandler, 1976, p. 43). According to Sandler, Heimann’s contribution to the theory of countertransference was to “show clearly that the reaction of the analyst may usefully be the first clue to what is going on in the patient” (Sandler, 1976, p. 43). Heimann suggests that countertransference is a crucial instrument for understanding the patient and the relationship between patient and analyst. She writes, “My thesis is that the analyst's emotional response to his patient within the analytic situation represents one of the most important tools for his work. The analyst's counter-transference is an instrument of research into the patient's unconscious” (Heimann, 1950, p. 81). Despite more recent theories on countertransference, in studies related to countertransference and trauma, Heimann’s ideas about countertransference lend themselves to a useful understanding of the impact of all that is experienced in the analytic situation. Heimann, discussed countertransference in her paper, *On Counter-Transference.* She states, “The analyst’s emotional response to his patient within the analytic situation represents one of the most important tools for his work. The analyst’s

countertransference is an instrument of research into the patient's unconscious" (Heimann, 1950, p.81).

Contemporary writers such as Renik dispute these earlier ideas. Renik held that the analyst cannot know the extent to which she is being influenced by the unconscious on the basis that there are always unconscious processes occurring between patient and analyst (Jacobs, 1999).

> From my point of view, this use of the concept of countertransference reflects a naive underestimation of the participation of an analyst's subjectivity in clinical work. Highly personal factors are constantly influencing an analyst's experience and activity, outside the analyst's conscious awareness. As analysts, we should be the first to realize that what we observe concerning our emotions while we do our clinical work is anything but a reliable indicator of the nature and extent of our actual affective involvement. An analyst's subjectivity cannot be effectively minimized, inasmuch as, at any moment of his/her analytic activity, the analyst cannot know to what degree and in what ways he/she is being influenced by unconscious, idiosyncratic elements of personality. (Renik, 2004, p. 1053)

Renik's contemporary viewpoint considers the concept of countertransference as limited in the pursuit of understanding the analyst's subjectivity and the many factors that influence it.

Authors such as Glover, Strachey, Low, Balint & Balint, and Fliess, all wrote about the analyst's inner responses to the patient. Their ideas can be traced in modern thinking on countertransference processes (Jacobs, 1999). Glover looked at the ways in which patients' material can trigger memories of similar psychological experiences in the

analyst (Jacobs, 1999). According to Flescher (1953), “The therapist may project images from his own past onto the patient, may act out in the treatment, or may show a counterpart of the transference, 'an empathic identification with the analyst'; or countertransference may include all the analyst's unconscious needs and conflicts that influence his understanding or technique” (p. 162).

Countertransference and Trauma

There is a significant body of literature that explores the relationship between the phenomena of countertransference and the experience and expression of trauma. Countertransference becomes a powerful instrument in the therapeutic process. Trauma theorists Wilson and Lindy point to the dynamic between patient and therapist and the impact one has on the other. “The terms transference and countertransference traditionally refer to the reciprocal impact that the patient and the therapist have on each other during the course of psychotherapy” (Wilson & Lindy, 1994, p. 9). Countertransference also refers to “The affective, somatic, cognitive, and interpersonal reactions (including defensive) of the therapist toward the client’s story and behavior” (Wilson & Lindy, 1994, p. 27).

Wilson and Lindy refer frequently to countertransference in their writings on the impact and treatment of trauma.

> The occurrence of violent and traumatic incidents may create powerful affective responses in those who rescue, care for, and counsel the individuals directly affected. These helpers are likely to respond both with their own feelings about the event and to the feelings and experience of those who have been direct victims. Some of these

> feelings will be dominated by realities, some by social and cultural perceptions about behavior, and some by internalized templates reflecting the helper's own past experience and psychodynamics. (Wilson & Lindy, 1994, p. 333)

Wilson and Lindy's ideas are particularly useful in considering the impact of working with traumatized refugees on the resettlement worker.

Others in the field of trauma research, such as Dalenberg, also point to the significance of countertransference in the treatment of trauma survivors, "…the trauma victim, by virtue of other symptoms that tend to occur along with trauma history, will present the clinician with more than the usual number of opportunities to sort through difficult transference-countertransference interactions" (Dalenberg, 2000, p.12). Trauma theorists Pearlman and Saakvitne's (1994) definition of countertransference is one that is quite specific and "includes two components; (1) the affective, ideational, and physical responses a therapist has to her client, clinical material, transference, and reenactments; and (2) the therapist's conscious and unconscious defenses against the affects, intrapsychic conflicts, and associations aroused by the former" (p. 23). The countertransference experience in the treatment of trauma are powerful and resonate strongly in the therapist.

Countertransference can allow for the client's unconscious thoughts and feelings to have expression through the therapist, which can lead to understanding for both therapist and client.

> Survivor clients are often unaware of their affective experience so that we, as therapist, are often first aware of our client's feelings through our own (Beik, 1937). We often hold rage, fear, grief, shame, and self-doubt for them. These affects are intense and

> often intolerable; if we cannot acknowledge and process them, we risk acting out in the therapy. (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1994, p. 23)

While countertransference is a part of the therapeutic process with all clients, countertransference in the work with trauma survivors can bring about particularly intense and complex countertransference reactions (Dalenberg, 2000; Pearlman and Saakvitne, 1994). Countertransference then is a vehicle for both therapist and client to gain an in-depth understanding of the traumatic experience. In the realm of refugee resettlement, countertransference material allows directors the opportunity to learn about the impact of workers experience working with refugees who have by definition been subject to traumatic experience.

Empathy

The concept of empathy is present in Freud's writings, as well as in most psychoanalytic theorists' writings that followed him.

> The inner world cannot be observed with the aid of our sensory organs. Our thoughts, wishes, feelings, and fantasies cannot be seen, smelled, heard, or touched. They have no existence in physical space, and yet they are real, and we can observe them as they occur in time: through introspection in ourselves, and through empathy (i.e., vicarious introspection) in others. (Kohut, 1959, p. 459)

Empathy is a vehicle for recognizing the internal experience of the other through one's own internal experience. Empathy is a process oscillating between feeling as the object feels and recapturing the standpoint of one's own ego as observer and judge (Olden, 1953).

Resettlement directors are called upon to use empathy in their supervision of workers and, in turn, workers must use empathy in understanding the needs and experience of their refugee clients.

> Empathy is a potential psychological motivator for helping others in distress. Empathy can be defined as the ability to feel or imagine another person's emotional experience. The ability to empathize is an important part of social and emotional development, affecting an individual's behavior toward others and the quality of social relationships. (McDonald & Messinger, 2011, p. 2)

Refugees' emotional distress may be too powerful to put into words. Workers' empathy puts them close to that distress. Directors are in a position to help workers hold that experience.

Object Relations Theory

Object relations theory refers to a framework for understanding the intrapsychic relationships that influence the development of the self and impact interpersonal relatedness. "The term object relations refers to specific intrapsychic structures, to an aspect of ego organization, and not to external interpersonal relationships. However, these intrapsychic structures, the mental representations of self and other (the object), do become manifest in the interpersonal situation" (Horner, 1984, p. 3). In this theory, the object relations between self and other are central to the formation of the personality structure. Object relations come into being through the early intrapsychic experiences of the infant, "…the newborn infant organizes its world into meaningful patterns. One basic pattern is that of the self – the self-representation – while another is that of the object –

the object-representation" (Horner, 1984, p. 4). The "object" in this relational dyad is the primary mothering figure or others in the infant's environment, and "The structural and dynamic relationships between the self-representations and the object-representations constitute what we refer to as *object relations*" (Horner, 1984, p. 4). This dynamic relationship between mother/caregiver and infant allows for the infant's developmental capacities to come to fruition.

> What all of our theorists have come to is the view that the innate developmental potential has to be activated by an input of loving empathic care from the mother for it to become the proactive matrix with the positive enjoyment that developmental activity requires. To be able to love and enjoy, the baby has to be loved and enjoyed. It is as if a "positive field of force" is patterned as the core of the self-system by the effects of the positive self-feeling at one pole and the expectation from a supporting figure at the other, at first external, then internalized. The environment continues to add to the structural differentiations, and a degree of correction of early deficiency may be attained. (Sutherland, 1980, p. 857)

The evolution of object relations theory began with Freud's discussion of the role of the object. "The term 'object' was first used by Freud (1905) when he referred to the agent either upon which (whom) the instinctual drives were discharged and/or the agent which (who) facilitated the discharge" (Grotstein, 1982, p. 43). Freud's writings "point to the primary, autonomous nature of early infant-mother object relations, his general writings and the logic of his instinct theory explain the child's attachment to mother in terms of the latter's role in providing instinctual gratifications" (Eagle, 1984, p. 9). Abraham followed and wrote about "the importance of the 'mother complex'" (Grotstein,

1982, p. 45). Melanie Klein departs from Freud and Abraham for greater emphasis on the development of the self.

> In contrast to Freud's super-ego concept, Klein suggests that these phantasies of internal presences begin in the first months of life. As development proceeds, Klein suggests, representations of all experiences and relations with significant others also become internalized, in an effort to preserve and protect them. This complex set of internalized object relations is established, and phantasies and anxieties concerning the state of one's internal object world become the underlying basis, Klein was later to claim, for one's behavior, moods, and sense of self. (Mitchell, 1981, p. 375)

Klein posits that internal objects are inherent and influence the child's views of the external other,

> In the most prevalent and widely known of Klein's formulations concerning the origin of objects she suggests that objects are inherent in, and thereby created out of the drives themselves, independent of real others in the external world…In this formulation, Klein argues that perceptions of real others are merely a scaffolding for projections of the child's innate object images. (Mitchell, 1981, p. 376)

Bion was a follower of Klein and extended her thoughts on objection relations further.

> He posited that, in psychotic patients, there had been a history of an infantile catastrophe characterized by a mother's inability to contain or transform the *content* of her infant's screams into meaningful attention and interpretation. The failure of this container-contained phenomenon to develop produced a deformed and deforming obstructive object instead which attacked the links of thoughts and feelings by the

infant, resulting ultimately in the formation of a psychotic state characterized by arrogance, (pseudo) curiosity, and stupidity. (Grotstein, 1982, p.46)

This breakdown in the object relationship creates the pathology in the child and a divergence from normal development.

Significant British theorists such as Balint, Winnicott, Fairbairn and Guntrip followed and further extended the ideas about object relations development. In the history of British object relations, “Guntrip's work is closely derived from, and related to, Fairbairn's; but Balint and Winnicott pursued their paths independently of each other and of the others…” (Sutherland, 1980, p. 829). Balint and his wife Alice diverged from Freud’s thoughts on object relatedness, “Unable to accept the theory of primary narcissism with its implication that the infant only gradually becomes related to objects, they advanced the quite opposite view of the infant's growth as absolutely dependent on an intense relatedness, biologically and libidinally, with its environment” (Sutherland, 1980, p. 832). In his work with patients, Balint found that deeply regressed persons described that they “felt a ‘fault’ or ‘something missing’ inside themselves, rather than a feeling of something dammed up and needing to be released…He assumed that this fault, which in some measure is universal, is caused by a failure of fit between the needs of the child and the response of the mother” (Sutherland, 1980, p.832). Balint surmised that object relations are a “defense against the failure of the environment” (Sutherland, 1980, p. 833).

Winnicott was a pediatrician and a psychoanalyst and both roles deeply influenced his views on development. “Like Balint, Winnicott concluded that the experiences structured into the true and false selves are not those of instinctual gratification. Good experiences

of the latter reinforce the true self, but its structuring is founded on the quality of the relatedness between the infant and its mother". (Sutherland, 1980, p.836) Thus the formation of the self of the infant in relation to the object mother are central to Winnicott's understanding of object relations.

Fairbairn's ideas are influenced by Klein and his studies in philosophy and theology and his experience as a psychoanalyst (Sutherland, 1980). Fairbairn diverged from Freud's drive theory. "Fairbairn argued that the basic assumptions upon which the drive theory rests are anachronistic" (Mitchell, 1981, p. 381). He held that "… 'the infant is object directed from the very beginning; autoeroticism is a breakdown in object relations due to disappointment and frustration. Fairbairn's apothegm was: 'The infant is oral, not because he is autoerotic, but because he seeks a breast'" (Grotstein, 1982, p. 48). Natural objects are for Fairbairn, "Objects which the libido seeks prior to any deprivation, are simply other people. Fairbairn, as Sullivan, felt that there is a naturally unfolding, maturational sequence of needs for various kinds of relatedness with others, from infantile dependence to the mature intimacy of adult love" (Mitchell, 1981, p. 381). Fairbairn's theory of object relations can be summarized in the following manner.

> He posited that the infant experienced an early awareness of its need for an object on one hand and also experienced its awareness of rejection by the object on the other. There followed a need on the infant's part to separate the rejecting qualities of the object from the idealized qualities of the object. (Grotstein, 1982, p. 49)

Guntrip was an analyst of Fairbairn and also a student of philosophy and theology. He closely followed Fairbairn's ideas on object relations but his own work with schizoid patients challenged Fairbairn's positions and Guntrip was forced to extend Fairbairn's

theories (Sutherland, 1980). In addition, Guntrip was an analyst of Winnicott for a period of time and he too influenced Guntrip's understanding of theory (Sutherland, 1980). Guntrip, influenced by Fairbairn and Winnicott, "was able to take the theories of both back to the regressed, undifferentiated stage of womb-like existence. He also coined the term "personology" as an alternative term for the study of object relations (Guntrip, 1961, 1969, 1975, 1978)" (Grostein, 1982, p. 52).

Holding Environment

The concept of the "holding environment" is one developed by theorist Winnicott and has become an important concept in the study of object relations theory. Winnicott's work grew out of infant-parent observation, as well as observation of the transference in psychoanalysis. He considered the stage of "infancy" as one in which the child had not yet begun to talk (Winnicott, 1960). He was particularly interested in how the mother created an environment of care that nurtured the development of the infant.

> The term holding is used here to denote not only the actual physical holding of the infant, but also the total environmental provision prior to the concept of *living with*. In other words, it refers to a three-dimensional or space relationship with time gradually added. This overlaps with, but is initiated prior to, instinctual experiences that in time would determine object relationships. It includes the management of experiences that are inherent in existence, such as the *completion* (and therefore the *non-completion*) of processes, processes which from the outside may seem to be purely physiological but which belong to infant psychology and take place in

> a complex psychological field, determined by the awareness and the empathy of the mother. (Winnicott, 1960, p. 589)

The term “holding environment” denotes not only the physical but also the psychological space created for the infant through the mother’s attention and empathy toward the child. Winnicott believed the study of infant development is key to understanding the psychological development of the individual. He noted that Freud, on the other hand, drew conclusions about the development of the individual and infancy as well as the role of mothering through the examination of the adult in psycho-analysis (Winnicott, 1960, p. 587). It is Winnicott’s hypothesis that the infant is able to master various tasks of development, such as developing his/her own stable ego, through the mother’s initial support of the child’s psychic development. This initial environment of psychological and environmental support leads to the infant’s ability to eventually develop a separate, strong, individual self apart from the mother (Winnicott, 1960, p. 588). Infants come into the world with potential and this potential is further determined by the environment and the “favorable or unfavorable” conditions to which they are born. The inherited potential of the individual is marked toward growth and development; however, “the inherited potential of an infant cannot become an infant unless linked to maternal care” (Winnicott, 1960, p. 589).

The “holding” phase of development as discussed by Winnicott (1960), is marked by various phases of dependency on the mother from absolute dependence to relative dependence and then on to the beginnings of independence. Holding meets the physiological and psychological needs of the infant. Holding is reliable in a manner that is not just routine but imbedded in the mother’s empathy toward the infant. Holding

protects the infant from danger or insult, and it provides for the routine rituals of care required for well-being.

> At this stage, the infant needs and in fact usually gets an environmental provision which has certain characteristics: It meets physiological needs. Here physiology and psychology have not yet become distinct, or are only in the process of doing so; and It is reliable. But the environmental provision is not mechanically so. It is reliable in a way that implies the mother's empathy. Holding protects from physiological insult. Takes account of the infant's skin sensitivity—touch, temperature, auditory sensitivity, visual sensitivity, sensitivity to falling (action of gravity) and of the infant's lack of knowledge of the existence of anything other than the self. It includes the whole routine of care throughout the day and night, and it is not the same with any two infants because it is part of the infant, and no two infants are alike. (Winnicott, 1960, p. 592)

Most importantly, Winnicott (1960) notes that the “holding” that promotes physical and psychological health stems from the actual physical holding of the infant in which the mother transmits her love, reassurance, and security to the child and lays down the beginnings of the infant’s object relationships. “Holding includes especially the physical holding of the infant, which is a form of loving. It is perhaps the only way in which a mother can show the infant her love of it. There are those who can hold an infant and those who cannot; the latter quickly produce in the infant a sense of insecurity and distressed crying. All this leads right up to, includes, and co-exists with the establishment of the infant's first object relationships and his first experiences of instinctual

gratification" (Winnicott, 1960, p. 592). The mother's actual holding of the infant then becomes the basis for transmitting to the infant a solid sense of self.

> The important thing, in my view, is that the mother through identification of herself with her infant knows what the infant feels like and so is able to provide almost exactly what the infant needs in the way of holding and in the provision of an environment generally. Without such an identification, I consider that she is not able to provide what the infant needs at the beginning, which is *a live adaptation to the infant's needs.* The main thing is the physical holding, and this is the basis of all the more complex aspects of holding, and of environmental provision in general. (Winnicott, 1960, p. 595)

The mother is able to know what her child needs through her own identification with the infant. Supported by the mother's "holding environment," the infant can move steadily toward the important tasks of development and eventually become individuated with strong independent ego functions.

Christopher Bollas clarifies Winnicott's understanding of the "holding environment" by discussing the environment that the mother creates for the infant as distinct from the object relationships she presents to the infant.

> Winnicott wrote that there were two mothers, what he termed the "environment mother" and the "object mother." The environment mother is, in effect, the holding environment and this mother will be appreciated, if one can put it that way, by her unobtrusive support of the infant's developing subjectivity. Within this environment the infant will just *be* and over time develop a sense of his or her own being. It is less a matter of what the mother does than what she does not do. In a

> sense, not doing is the positive side of maternal holding, if we think of the primary task as not impinging and simply being with the infant. At the same time, however, the other mother presents objects to the baby, and we might say that the most important "object" she presents is herself. (Bollas, 1993, p. 401)

Winnicott's "two mothers" then serve the function of creating the environment from which the infant can develop a sense of self and then take on the tasks of learning to relate to others or "objects" as a separate subjective being.

Infant-mother observation provides information on the role of the holding environment. However, the psychoanalytic situation also provides information to the analyst on the character of the patient's early experience.

> Indeed, it is not from direct observation of infants so much as from the study of the transference in the analytic setting that it is possible to gain a clear view of what takes place in infancy itself. This work on infantile dependence derives from the study of the transference and counter-transference phenomena that belong to the psycho-analyst's involvement with the borderline case. In my opinion, this involvement is a legitimate extension of psycho-analysis, the only real alteration being in the diagnosis of the illness of the patient, the etiology of whose illness goes back behind the Oedipus complex, and involves a distortion at the time of absolute dependence. (Winnicott, 1960, p. 595)

Winnicott suggests that in psychoanalysis with certain types of patients, observations can be made in the transference and countertransference material that leads to a potential understanding of the mother-infant relationship that the patient experienced early on and the quality and character of the "holding environment" that led to the patient's

development (1960, p. 595). Contemporary theorist Christopher Bollas discusses Winnicott's views on how information on a patient's early holding environment can be found in the transference and countertransference material.

> His emphasis on the holding environment within the analysis of adults and his concepts of dependence, trauma, and the false self—deriving from the history of actual dependence, reenacted in the analytical situation—constituted a very substantial break from classical clinical theory, insofar as what Winnicott often believed he saw was the patient's unconscious re-creation through the transference and the countertransference of his infantile history. (Bollas, 1993, p. 403)

The transference and countertransference material then becomes an opportunity to learn more about the early life of the client.

Trauma

Theories on the concept of trauma have a long history in psychoanalytic literature. Trauma relates to the impact on the psyche, "The classical definition of psychic trauma is that the ego has been overwhelmed and flooded by stimuli in a danger situation emanating from within or without—i.e., an internal or external danger" (Blum, 2003, p. 415). Freud writes that "It may happen, too, that a person is brought so completely to a stop by a traumatic event which shatters the foundation of his life that he abandons all interest in the present and future and remains permanently absorbed in mental concentration upon the past" (Freud, 1963, p.342) Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995) define trauma "as the unique individual experience, associated with an event or enduring conditions, in which (1) the individual's ability to integrate affective experience is

overwhelmed or (2) the individual experiences a threat to life or bodily integrity" (p. 60). Trauma theorists van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth (1996) write that, "Despite the human capacity to survive and adapt, traumatic experiences can alter people's psychological, biological, and social equilibrium to such as degree that the memory of one particular event comes to taint all other experiences, spoiling appreciation of the present" (p. 4). Herman (1997) also refers to the overwhelming nature of trauma,

> Psychological trauma is an affliction of the powerless. At the moment of trauma, the victims are rendered helpless by overwhelming force. When the force is that of nature, we speak of disasters. When the force is that of other human beings, we speak of atrocities. Traumatic events overwhelm the ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection and meaning. (p. 33)

Trauma and culture.

Cultures employ a variety of means to assist those who have experienced extreme circumstances. The lens of culture is important to use in any discussion regarding the experience of trauma on the individual as well as the group.

> The relationship between trauma and culture is an important one because traumatic experiences are part of the life cycle, universal in manifestation and occurrence, and typically demand a response from culture in terms of healing, treatment, interventions, counseling, and medical care. (Wilson & Tang, 2007, p. 3)

Resettlement directors come from a variety of backgrounds and cultures as do the staff members that they supervise. The cultures of those involved in the resettlement endeavor may add an additional layer of meaning when examining their experience. In his writings

on the immigrant's experience Akhtar (2009) notes the importance of the familiar, friendship and food in retaining a tie to the home country in general and the mother in particular.

> An important source of an immigrant's psychosocial struggle is the difference between the food he ate as he was growing up and the food he now consumes every day. Besides gustatory and olfactory familiarity, the food of his youth provides all sorts of narcissistic and object-related gratifications. Memories of a nourishing and kind mother are especially associated with the recall of the early pleasure of being fed and the favorite food items of childhood. Recollection of deep satisfaction with home food buttresses the internal 'good-enough mother' (Winnicott, 1960) representation besides operating as a screen memory (Freud, 1899) for plentiful libidinal supplies during one's formative years. Pride in one's secure tie to the mother extends to celebration of her culinary skills and vice versa. (p. 263)

The familiar essentials of culture provide an anchoring for a person both internally and externally. For those whose cultural experience has been displaced there can be a displacement in the internal experience of that which is experienced as comforting and securing. The psychic stabilizing internalized "good enough mother" (Winnicott, 1960) may be disrupted.

Vicarious trauma and secondary trauma.

Vicarious Traumatization is a process in which there is an alteration in the being or inner self of the therapist or helper brought about through exposure to the trauma material of the person she is helping (McCann and Pearlman, 1990b). Secondary trauma can be

considered a workplace hazard and refers to the phenomenon in which the persons who are in proximity to trauma survivors, either as helpers or witnesses, are secondarily impacted by the trauma experience and may display similar symptoms to those who are primarily exposed to the trauma, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (Figley, 1995). Thus, any workplace in which helpers are exposed to traumatized clients must be prepared to address the inherent hazards. “Vicarious trauma can be considered a type of occupational hazard in settings where there are high levels of traumatized clients. As a result, organizations providing services to trauma victims have a practical and ethical responsibility to address this risk” (Bell, Kulkarni, & Dalton, 2003, p. 466). There is then an inherent risk in workplaces in which workers closely interact with clients who have experienced trauma, and leaders of such workplaces must attend to those risks. According to the literature that examines caregivers who work with trauma survivors, there is a high risk of a negative impact.

> Caregivers working with victims of violence carry a high risk of suffering from burnout and vicarious traumatization unless preventive factors are considered such as: self-care, solid professional training in psychotherapy, therapeutic self-awareness, regular self-examination by collegial and external supervision, limiting caseload, continuing professional education and learning about new concepts in trauma, occasional research sabbaticals, keeping a balance between empathy and a proper professional distance to clients, protecting oneself against being misled by clients with fictitious PTSD. (Pross, 2006, p.1)

Other measures can be employed to aid in managing the risk, “Research has shown that having a more diverse caseload is associated with decreased vicarious trauma (Chrestman, 1995)” (Bell et al., 2003, p. 467).

Professions, such as social work, whose members are frequently exposed to traumatic material, are being studied to examine the occupational hazards. “Recently, the occupational stress of social workers working with trauma survivors has begun to receive attention (Cunningham, 1999; Dalton, 2001; Regehr & Cadell, 1999)” (as cited in Bell et al., 2003). This attention to social workers and similar professionals is essential in order for the profession and organizations to properly care for those who work for them.

> Unsupportive administration, lack of professional challenge, low salaries, and difficulties encountered in providing client services are predictive of higher burnout rates (Arches, 1991; Beck, 1987; Himle, Jayaratne, & Thyness, 1986). Individual staff members suffer, and the resulting loss of experienced staff can diminish the quality of client services (Arches, 1991). This research has helped identify organizational supports that could be effective in buffering or mediating burnout and point to workplace characteristics that may also prevent vicarious trauma. (as cited in Bell et al., 2003, p. 464)

Resettlement agencies often employ social workers who may experience the impact of working with traumatic material and need to be well-versed in ways to protect, support, and nurture their workers. Similar to secondary trauma, “Vicarious trauma can be considered a type of occupational hazard in settings where there are high levels of traumatized clients. As a result, organizations providing services to trauma victims have a practical and ethical responsibility to address this risk” (Bell et al., 2003, p. 466). By

definition resettlement workers are exposed to trauma survivors on a daily basis. Research demonstrates an impact of trauma on the worker.

> Various studies have documented the effects on counselors and others who are exposed to tragic stories presented by traumatized clients. For instance, a study of 70 human rights workers in Kosovo who were responsible for collecting data on human rights violations revealed elevated levels of anxiety in 17.1%, depression in 8.6%, and posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms in 7.1% (Holtz, Salama, Cordozo, & Gotway, 2002). (Bober, Regehr, & Yanqiu, 2006)

Supervisors then have a role in aiding workers to manage the impact created by their work with refugee trauma survivors.

Social Work Practice with Refugees

A wide range of services are provided to refugee newcomers by local refugee resettlement agencies. Programs and services are designed to promote early self-sufficiency and integration of refugees into their new communities. Those services include but are not limited to initial housing, case management, advocacy, cultural orientation, English language training, employment services, skills training, transportation, mental health services, and coordination of referrals, medical case management, referral resources, integration programs, youth and elder services, women's programs, micro-enterprise and match savings programs amongst many other services and programs.

Human service and humanitarian professionals from a variety of disciplines including social work provide these services to refugees in resettlement agencies. In addition,

paraprofessionals from refugees' own communities who may not have a U.S. education in a human services field may also provide services, often playing a variety of roles including language and cultural broker (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). These resettlement workers are called upon to have a variety of sophisticated skills that allow them to provide a myriad of services while attending to the complex psycho-social needs of refugees.

While networks of resettlement providers across the U.S. meet annually in person and also frequently share information and train on best practices for working with refugees, providers outside of the resettlement community may not receive specific training on working with refugees. As Potocky-Tripodi (2002) notes, "Although professionals have a high degree of training in their particular disciplines, they often do not have special training for working with refugees and immigrants. This is especially true for professionals in mainstream agencies" (p. 113). Professionals then may not have training in working with refugees prior to working in resettlement, and paraprofessionals may have cultural knowledge but no training in social work practice or best practices for working with refugees. The intricacies of providing appropriate services to refugees requires an in-depth understanding and knowledge of the refugee situation, the cultural dynamics, and trauma and its impact on individuals and communities in addition to standard social work practices. "The complexity of the refugee situation requires a model of social work practice that has global applicability" (Balgopal, 2000, p. 221). Social workers must have specific knowledge of the wider context of the refugees with whom they serve. "Refugee workers must understand that all the refugees have left is their cultural heritage, their traditions, and their skills of survival" (Balgopal, 2000, p. 221).

Refugees have, by definition, experienced oppression and violations of their personhood. Social work with refugees requires a perspective that values the refugees' self- determination and unique needs,

> The empowerment perspective in a social development context allows service providers to focus simultaneously on the economics of refugee self-sufficiency and the psychology of self-esteem (Elliott and Mayadas 1996). Such a model enhances cooperation between the local population and refugees, reduces xenophobia, improves communication, and above all, provides resources for the refugee's economic self-sufficiency. (Balgopal, 2000, p. 222)

Increasingly, social workers and other human service professionals are called up to work with immigrants and refugees, "For social work to live up to its mission and commitment to work with the immigrant and refugee groups is a challenge but it is a challenge it can and must accept" (Balgopal, 2000, p. 239).

The challenges inherent in the work with refugees requires providers to have a knowledge of what the refugees have experienced throughout their journey from their home country to the country of first refuge and then to the transition to the U.S. "In order to provide quality service delivery for refugees, social workers must deepen and broaden their comprehension of refugee' traumatic migration experiences beyond narrow formulations. To achieve this, a clear picture of the life journey taken by refugees needs to be captured as they interact with their new environment" (George, 2012, p. 429).

> Refugees, on the other hand, are pushed from their homelands, and, heretofore, most have not come directly to the United States, instead arriving at the borders of countries that neighbor their homeland and serve as first countries of asylum. Refugees are

> selectively resettled in the United States or other nations based on guidelines defined by the host country Most leave their homes unwillingly, and many would probably prefer to return if safety permitted. They leave home with little or no planning; flee with few, if any, tangible belongings; suffer inconceivable atrocities in the form of persecution, degradation, and violation; and witness the destruction of their fundamental rights and lifestyle. (Segal, 2005, p. 564)

"The practitioner, therefore, not only needs social work skills and cultural competence, but also must understand the breadth and depth of the immigration experience" (Segal, 2005, p. 568). The social worker in the resettlement context is faced with a steep learning curve and the responsibility of mastering a substantial amount of knowledge about the refugee culture and experience.

> Whether healthcare professionals, social service workers, or professionals in law and finance, practitioners must be aware of conditions that can hinder working relationships with many immigrants and refugees. To develop rapport, education about both general and specific immigrant experiences, adjustment to the United States, and the community culture is essential. Interventions, services, and resources must be offered with awareness of their implications for other cultures. Service providers need to explain processes in the context of the client's cultural norms. Only when service providers establish credibility, rapport, and sensitivity will immigrants and refugees provide sufficient information or comply with the guidelines of intervention. Self-disclosure must be used to increase credibility and authority, while *understanding* must be used to develop the relationship. (Segal, 2005, p. 569)

Social workers in the resettlement context are in a position to gain the trust of the refugee and thus must be attuned to the needs, fears and vulnerabilities as they work together with the refugee.

Organizational Supervision and the Workplace

The dynamics of the resettlement agency as a workplace offers a unique opportunity to be viewed through the lens of psychoanalytic theory. The resettlement director as supervisor is entrusted with the role of creating an environment of hope and care that allows workers to be their best selves as they provide services to refugee clients. The psychoanalytic study of organizations looks at the unconscious as well as the conscious dimensions of organizational life. "Psychoanalysis maintains that people are motivated by interactions between conscious and unconscious needs. In emphasizing the unconscious, Psychoanalysis asserts that organizational members may unknowingly behave in ways to meet their own needs…" (Anderson & White, 2002, p. 501). In their work, Diamond and Allcorn (2003) also speak of the unconscious processes at play in an organization or workplace "that are hard to locate and understand but which, nonetheless, influence organizational dynamics and performance" (p. 79). Leaders of organizations or workplaces, such as resettlement directors, are in a position to assist workers in managing their conscious and unconscious needs. Diamond (2003) refers to theorist Harry Levinson's ideas on the use of psychoanalytic theory in management of the workplace. "He argued that unless management is psychologically aware of these manifest and latent dimensions of worker motivation, it is highly unlikely that employees will feel adequately nurtured by their employers. This oversight of course can lead to

demoralization and poor performance" (Diamond, 2003 p. 3). Similarly, White argues that organizations present an opportunity for workers to experience an environment of nurturance similar to Winnicott's "holding environment." She writes,

> Just as young children need carers to nurture them so they can grow and develop, likewise employees hope their work groups will provide them with favorable emotional responses and, in Winnicott's terms, a suitable holding environment (Stapley, 2006) When group members perceive an organization's holding environment to be "good enough" and have basic trust in it, employees can help each other to feel valued and to work effectively with each other. (White, 2013, p.109)

In his work, Diamond (2003) refers to the role psychoanalytic organizational consultants play in organizations. Organizational leaders can play a similar role as consultants. Leaders and consultants are in a position to field and manage the transference and countertransference undercurrents at play between members of the organization. Diamond and Allcorn (2003) write,

> Transference and counter-transference dynamics between consultants and organizational participants represent a psychoanalytically unique stance and frame of reference for in-depth exploration of organizational culture. These transference and counter-transference dynamics, transport members' anxieties and their concomitant defensive and regressive actions (such as splitting and projection) into workplace roles and relationships. (p. 79)

Containment and boundaries are concepts examined in the psychoanalytic study of organizations.

> Organization boundaries are important in containing emotions. At an individual level, the boundary we create around us enables us to afford some protection from the experiences and feelings expressed by others. A boundary around a group or a larger organizational unit enables the group/unit to focus on its own tasks and work at its own relationships without being flooded by the concerns of other groups/ units. Boundaries contribute to a sense of identity (who is on the inside and who on the outside) and a sense of being protected by the group/ unit. If the boundary is sufficiently impermeable to the outside it will prevent experiences and emotions such as anxiety in one part of the organization from flooding the organization as a whole. (James & Huffington, 2004, p. 214)

Boundaries around the person or group provided protection and a buffer against intolerable or unhealthy anxiety or other toxic emotions. The containment of these toxic states aids in the prevention of the entire organization becoming overridden or infected. Appropriate boundaries are then facilitating a healthy and contained group whose concerns are managed and not allowed to overrun the organization but rather create a sense of security.

The concept of transitional space developed by Winnicott can also illuminate the dynamics in the workplace between the organizational leader and the workers who are in their care. Transitional space relates to the relationship between the inner world and external reality, as well as the relationship between the subjective experience and objective reality. The mother's role is to aid the infant in navigating the internal experience of mother and the experience of mother as a real external object (Winnicott, 1971). Analogously, the organizational leader or director aids the worker in navigating

their internal subjective experience and their external objective experience in relationship to their work with traumatized refugee clients. Allcorn (2003) writes about the anxieties present in organizations, particularly at times of change, and the transitional space experience of persons who work in those organizations,

> One's experience of organizational life can become distressing and anxiety ridden as a result of unresolved operating problems and conflict. Change seems to be needed but the question arises, who will lead it and to where? Unresolved anxiety fuels individual recourse to psychodynamically defensive behavior that, when shared by others, leads to socially defensive outcomes…Change as represented by many uncertainties and a notion such as transitional space and time, presents organization members with a context that may be more anxiety ridden than their current experience. Therefore, organizational change contains many problematic and even chaotic elements. Transitional space and time hold the hope of salvation as well as fulfill the fantasy of the monster under the bed. (p. 62)

Organizational directors have an opportunity to help their staff members hold onto the hope for which transitional space allows.

In the field of organizational psychology, the study of "perceived organization support" is an area of inquiry that may prove useful in understanding the environment of care created by resettlement directors.

> Eisenberger et al. suggested that employees' perceptions of the organization's commitment to them, referred to as *perceived organizational support* (POS), are based on employees' global beliefs concerning the extent to which the organization values their contributions and cares about their wellbeing. Using a social exchange

> framework, Eisenberger and his colleagues argued that employees who perceive a high level of *organizational support* are more likely to feel on obligation to "repay" the organization in terms of affective commitment (Eisenberger et al., 1986) and work-related behavior (Blau, 1964; Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LaMastro, 1990. (Eisenberger et al., 1986)

The traditional approach to the study of employee commitment to organizations, according to Eisenberger et al. (1986), has previously focused primarily on "employees" perceptions and attitudes toward the organization. However, researcher Eisenberger turned his attention to how "employers" contributions to the work environment can influence what Eisenberger termed "perceived organizational support."

> We suggest that in order to meet needs for praise and approval and to infer the readiness to reward greater efforts to meet organizational goals, employees form global beliefs concerning the organization's commitment to them. Perceived organizational support is assumed to increase the employee's affective attachment to the organization and his or her expectancy that greater work effort will be rewarded. The extent to which these factors influenced work effort would depend on the strength of the employee's exchange ideology favoring the trade of work effort for material and symbolic benefits. (Eisenberger et al., 1986, p. 504)

According to Eisenberger, employees perceive organizational support when the organization's agents provide support that is given to the employee through praise and approval in a manner that is earnest, specific and directly targeted to the individual employee. Also, employees perceive actions taken by individual representing the organization as actions taken by the organization itself, as explained by Eisenberger:

> As in everyday life, perceived organizational support would be increased by the receipt of praise and approval. Much of the value of such symbolic benefits depends on the perceived sincerity of the donor (Blau, 1964, p. 504). Therefore, indiscriminate praise given to all employees or other easily penetrable facades of disingenuous approval by agents of the organization would reduce perceived organizational support. Material rewards such as pay, rank, job enrichment, and influence over policy would increase perceived support to the extent that they signified positive evaluations. In other words, increases in material rewards and symbolic rewards that the employee attributes to the organization's own disposition would increase perceived support. (p. 504)

Shore and Wayne (1993), suggest that employees who experience or perceive organizational support are more likely to give back to the organization through their emotional commitment as well as their work efforts.

> Eisenberger et al. (1986) suggested that employees' perceptions of the organization's commitment to them, referred to as perceived organizational support (POS), are based on employees' global beliefs concerning the extent to which the organization values their contributions and cares about their wellbeing. Using a social exchange framework, Eisenberger and his colleagues argued that employees who perceive a high level of organizational support are more likely to feel an obligation to "repay" the organization in terms of affective commitment (Eisenberger et al., 1986) and work-related behavior (Blau, 1964; Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LaMastro, 1990; Eisenberger et al., 1986). (Shore & Wayne, 1993, p. 774)

Creating an environment where workers are supported and held increases the level of commitment to the organization as well as the clients they serve.

Winnicott's concept of "holding environment" is also useful in understanding the support needed in organizations to promote the well-being of the organization and its workers. Ogren, Boetius, and Benyamin (2008) write about the support of psychoanalytic supervision in training programs. Eisenberger's concept of "perceived organizational support" is a jumping off point for their discussion. Ogren and her colleagues suggest that the concept of "holding environment" can be likened to that of "perceived organizational support" in that organizational support is a type of "holding" which promotes good care of employees in organizations.

> The concept of perceived organizational support (Shore and Shore, 1995; Rhoades Shanock and Eisenberger, 2006), which is used in connection with working life and work groups, could be seen as a holding function of an organization when using a concept developed by Winnicott (1985). Based on Winnicott's work, Amado and Ambrose (2001) have developed their theoretical model in co-operation with Harold Bridger. A key component in their theoretical framework is that changes in societal and organizational transitions involve changes both in social groups and organizations and in human beings and their concerns. Although the processes of change in these areas are quite different, they influence each other in a profound way. (Ogren et al., 2008)

The conditions of the organization, coupled with the individual attention and care, provided to the employees constitute the "holding environment" that provides the "good enough care."

Thus, a good enough holding environment in an organization consists, on a group and organizational level, of designing and arranging external conditions. On an individual level, it entails being available and listening to individual needs. As described by Stapley, 'We use it [the organizational holding environment] to supply the same needs as the maternal holding environment and we apply the same emotion to it and create similar defenses when it is seen as not "good enough"' (Ogren et al., 2008, p. 256)

Ogren and her colleagues suggest that supervisors, similar to employers, can offer a more supportive environment of care when they also have access to such a conducive environment. "There is reason to assume that an important prerequisite for a creative learning climate in the supervision is that the supervisors have access to an organization that offers a professional and trustful structure and a holding environment (Brown and Bourne, 1996; Hughes and Pengelly, 1997; Rhoades Shanock and Eisenberger, 2006)" (Ogren et al., 2008, p. 258).

Conclusion

The literature follows a psychoanalytically-informed perspective with an emphasis on object relations theory (British School) concepts to form a framework upon which to conceptualize the study.

The idea of creating a holding environment is one of the central concepts in this study. The "holding environment" is an analogy for the task of care entrusted to resettlement directors. They may provide a psychological support system or "holding environment" for those resettlement workers to whom their care has been entrusted. Winnicott (1960) speaks of the holding environment that is created by the mother in caring for her infant.

While directors of resettlement agencies are not parents and resettlement workers are not infants, Winnicott's concept of the "holding environment" provides a metaphorical framework for understanding how directors create or facilitate a work environment that allows for staff members to be psychologically held or aided in their management of the complex emotions and experiences that they encounter in relationship to refugees with whom they work. In the therapeutic relationship with trauma survivors, the existence of a "holding environment" is important to the course of treatment, "The creation of a 'safe-holding' environment (Winnicott, 1960) is crucial to the establishment of mutual trust in the therapeutic process" (Wilson and Lindy, 1994, p. 6). The resettlement director, while not in a therapeutic supervisory role, is in a position to assist resettlement workers by creating an environment of safety, consistency, hope, and comfort, which allows them to better understand and perform their work and facilitate the same holding and trust with the refugee clients for whom they provide care.

Chapter III

Methodology

Introduction to the Case Study Method

The overarching objective of the study was to identify the psychological understanding and experiences of directors of refugee resettlement programs as they relate to their actions to promote a holding environment for the workers they manage. The study design that was used is the psychoanalytic case study methodology developed by Tolleson (1996). This method uses case studies to explore the depth of participant experience through the lens of psychoanalytic theory. Such a method explores the unique narrative of each individual as well as the narrative that emerges across individuals. "The case study method involves the presentation and interpretation of detailed information about a single subject …the case study of an individual life" (Runyan, 1984, p. 121). The manifest content, as well as the latent or depth meaning of the participants' narratives, was examined in response to the specific questions asked. The data was informed by my interpretation of the subtext of subjects' narratives, which inform their particular experiences. The results of the investigation emerged through the use of narrative data gathered through semi-structured and non-structured interview questions posed to six refugee resettlement agency directors. The study was exploratory in nature because of the methodology used, as well as the reality that there is little published research with this participant group.

The case study method has had a long history in the social sciences. Case study research proponent William McKinley Runyan (1984) writes,

> There are few things more fascinating or informative than learning about the experience of other conscious beings as they make their way through the world. Accounts of their lives have a power to move us deeply, to help us imagine what it must have been like to live in different social and historical circumstances… (p. 5)

The case study method is challenging in that it necessitates closely following the participants' experience while managing one's own reactions to the material. This method requires diligence in following thorough procedures. The case study method is used in a variety of circumstances to "contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena" (Yin, 2009, p. 4). The case study research method provides a window into understanding "complex social phenomena" and allows for the researcher to "retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events…." (Yin, 2009, p. 4). Case studies are typically used in an effort to illuminate a problem in understanding (Runyan, 1984). The problem that requires understanding in this study is the psychological experience of the participants. Case study methodology is considered appropriate to use when attempting to answer "how" and "why" questions that relate to contemporary events over which the researcher has little or no control (Yin, 2009). Thus, in a study in which the psychological experience and understanding of refugee resettlement agency directors is explored, the psychoanalytic case study methodology provides a valuable approach to gaining some understanding of a contemporary social phenomena.

In many spheres, systematic empirical research is privileged over qualitative approaches. There is a movement in the field of psychoanalytic study to encourage the use of empirical research to demonstrate the efficacy of the psychoanalytic process and at the same time minimize the role of in-depth case studies as a research method (Hoffman, 2009). However, psychoanalytic case study methodology was ideal for the study at hand because the aim of the study is to understand a particular problem or experience,

> …good social science is opposed to an either/or and stands for a both/and on the question of qualitative versus quantitative methods. Good social science is problem-driven and not methodology-driven, in the sense that it employs those methods which for a given problematic best help answer the research questions at hand. (Flyvbjerg, 2006)

A strong case can be made that psychoanalytic case studies represent a viable method to be used in the realm of psychological research. Hoffman criticizes the movement to privilege empirical research over case study methodology,

> My thesis here is that the privileged status that this movement accords systematic research and neuroscience as compared with in-depth case studies and strictly psychological accounts of the psychoanalytic process is unwarranted epistemologically and potentially damaging both to the development of our understanding of the analytic process itself and to the quality of our clinical work. (Hoffman, 2009, p. 1044)

It is Hoffman's thesis that the case study method should actually be elevated within the field of scientific discourse and seen as equally valid to other forms (Hoffman, 2009). He points to the thoughts of other theorists who believe the same. In addition to Hoffman,

Fishman also promotes case studies as a suitable method in psychoanalytic research. He writes, "'In recent years, there has been a revival of interest in the case study's potential to create viable scientific, psychological knowledge that is not inferior to experimental, group-based knowledge, but rather complementary to such knowledge – especially in the area of psychotherapy research'" (as cited in Hoffman, 2009, p. 1044).

The case study method which engages both researcher and participant has much in common with the meaning-laden in-depth interpretive inquiry used in the psychoanalytic endeavor between therapist and client, "the clinical professions are concerned with understanding 'persons in particular,' and the case study method is crucially important in this endeavor" (Runyon, 1982, p. 440). Scientific inquiry suggests that the case study method is value laden and lacking in controls particularly because there is so much of the researcher's subjectivity embedded in the process. However, "…the fact that case studies do allow for consideration of the person of the therapist as he or she engages in the process goes a long way toward contributing to their special scientific power, notwithstanding whatever limitations they have" (Hoffman, 2009, p.1050). Thus, there is a strong contingent of theorists in the field that support the use of the case study method and not only validate its place in the field of psychological research but demonstrate its particular fit for in-depth psychoanalytic studies, "The case study is a necessary and sufficient method for certain important research tasks in the social sciences, and it is a method that holds up well when compared to other methods in the gamut of social science research methodology" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.26). The use of psychoanalytic case studies to elucidate the experience of directors provides an in-depth approach

understanding a social phenomenon that would be hard to gain from an empirical method.

Research Sample

The six study participants were directors leading local refugee resettlement agencies or affiliates that resettle more than 150 refugees each year. Participants were recruited by word of mouth and through network listservs in which resettlement directors participate. Efforts were made to interview resettlement directors representing an array of disciplines such as social work, ministry and international relations. Participants were older than 21 years of age. In addition, participants all worked in the field of resettlement for more than two years.

Participants may have experienced secondary trauma through their experiences as resettlement directors serving traumatized populations or may be former refugees themselves and, therefore, were considered a potentially vulnerable population. Specific precautions were put into place to minimize possible re-traumatization and safeguard against participant harm. Participants were given the opportunity to “pass” on questions that they do not want to answer and/or to stop the interview process at any point. Participants were given the opportunity to provide informed consent. Participants were informed of their right to terminate their participation in the study at any point in the process. Finally, participants were offered a referral to qualified mental health professionals in the event that participants were disturbed by the interview process or found that they would like to further explore their experience in a therapeutic environment.

Sample Size

A relatively small sample size of participants was necessary in order to focus the study on the qualitative depth experience of participants. The sample size allows for a deep dive into the participants' understanding of their experience. It was the "researcher's contention that depth of analysis, rather than breadth, would generate the most compelling and valid resulting formulations" (Tolleson, 1996, p. 80). Six participants were interviewed three times each. Due to the sample size, study conclusions serve to highlight potential areas for future study and theory building as well as point to distinctive individualized data and possible areas of shared experience rather than presenting results that can be generalized or used for wide sweeping conclusions. The small-scale nature of the study lent itself to the grassroots character of the subject being studied. The intimate depth approach lends itself to understanding the lived experience of the director participants.

Interview Sites

Across the United States non-profit agencies engage in the work of refugee resettlement. Resettlement directors from various agencies and communities were recruited. Efforts were made to interview a diverse group of participants, both male and female, persons residing in varied locations and representing a range in tenure. Interview sessions were held in locations such as director's offices or other spaces that allowed for undisturbed, free flowing, confidential conversations. Interviews were done face to face, over the phone and by Skype. Confidentiality of data was maintained by safeguarding

data in password protected electronic files and locked file cabinets and by separating identifying information from interview data.

Research Design

The research design that I employed involved conducting individual case studies using categories of meaning informed by psychoanalytic interpretive analysis. The design considered four issues. Those issues include:

1. questions to be investigated;
2. relevant data;
3. data to be collected; and
4. how the data will be analyzed (Yin, 2009).

There are also five components that Yin suggests should be considered in a good case study design. Those five components include:

1. a study's questions;
2. propositions;
3. units of analysis;
4. the logic of linking the data to the analysis; and
5. the criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin, 2009).

The study's questions formed the boundary for the investigation. The propositions direct attention to the areas of the study that should be examined. The individual resettlement directors are the unit of analysis or the case that was studied. The data was analyzed and themes were matched across the case studies and linked to propositions set forth in the study design.

Unlike other qualitative methods, theory development prior to beginning the investigation is necessary in case study design (Yin, 2009). However, in studying the psychological experiences and understanding of refugee resettlement agency directors there is little available research on the topic upon which to base a statement of theory. Therefore, the study was exploratory and guided by tentative assumptions of theory.

Data Collection

Participants were interviewed up to three times with interviews lasting approximately one hour each. The interviews were semi-structured and non-structured with a set of questions to guide the interview initially and a flexible process throughout. In addition, I followed the direction of the participants as they responded to the semi-structured interview process. They were encouraged to elaborate on their experiences in a similar fashion to the narrative data collection approach used with incarcerated gang youth conducted in a study by Tolleson (1996). As Tolleson notes, the interview has parallels to clinical interviewing with parameters around the process all the while free exploration was encouraged in order to get at the in-depth experience of the participant.

> This intensive, narrative-based approach to data collection contains obvious parallels to clinical interviewing methods, and that was very much the researcher's intent. Although the interviews contained clear and circumscribed parameters around what was to be discussed, within those boundaries the subject was free to elaborate on whatever of his experience were the most salient for him. It remained the investigator's task to follow his discourse, to clarify its significance, and to pursue

exploration of the larger, more latent meanings embedded within it. (Tolleson, 1996, p.96)

All interviews were tape recorded, coded with a unique identifier for purposes of privacy and transcribed by myself or a transcriptionist.

Data Analysis

Following the collection of data through the interview process, the data was analyzed with the aim of tracking themes relative to the study throughout each participant interview and across participant interviews. Using a similar method for data analysis as that used by Tolleson (1996), the data gathered was examined for patterns or themes of experience within each case and across all case data. The investigator looked at the data gathered from the perspective of what is unique to each case as well as what is common across cases.

In the data analysis form designed by Tolleson (1996) following the actual collection of data, I strived to "locate patterns or themes of experience, both within and across subjects, which emerged and which were relevant to the study issue. By moving progressively from the idiosyncratic to the more general, and from the concrete to the abstract" (Tolleson, 1996, p.92), the investigator aimed to develop a conceptualization of the links between participant experience of serving as a resettlement director, "which would be experience-near, coherent, comprehensive, and aesthetically compelling" (Tolleson, 1996, p.92). Although my interpretation of the data was subject to my own theoretical assumptions and biases, I strived to not unnecessarily impose my own preconceptions on the data. The unique and common data points were considered in the

formulation of an evolving theory regarding directors' experience of creating an environment of care for their staff members.

Within-Case Analysis

Using Tolleson's (1996) "within-case analysis" model, I studied the case in a psychoanalytically-informed manner by analysis of the data first at the level of the individual case.

> In this way, the richness and detail of each subject's psychological experience could be preserved, illuminated, and not overridden by an analytic preoccupation with generalities. The material derived from each subject, in other words, [will be] initially examined as an entity in and of itself: idiomatic, distinctive, and informative in its own right. (Tolleson, 1996, p.93)

Therefore, the case study of each participant was examined in its entirety. I did this by elevating the rich data of each director into categories of meaning that were particular to each person.

The participants were interviewed and data was collected and analyzed as case studies. In addition to examining each case individually, the cases were examined in relationship to one another. The goal was the formulation of similar threads in participant narratives that were tracked as themes or patterns from each participant's material. The raw material was analyzed for categories of meaning that offered insights into participants' experiences of creating an environment of psychological care and hope for their staff members (Runyon, 1984; Tolleson, 1996). These meaning categories were "comprised of both the subjects stated, or manifest, psychological experiences as well as my own

inferences of latent meaning as derived from her overall experience of the subject and her own clinical and theoretical knowledge" (Tolleson, 1996, p.93).

Cross-Case Analysis

After each individual participant's data was analyzed, I then examined those categories of meaning identified across all participants. The aim was to track meaning that is shared or not common amongst the sample. "Following the detailed analyses of individual subject data, the researcher examined the meaning categories generated by those analyses in totality, i.e., across subjects, in order to discern features of experience which were more or less general to the collective sample" (Tolleson, 1996, p. 86). Shared meaning, as well as idiosyncratic meaning, was analyzed in an effort to arrive at nascent theory formulation.

Ethical Considerations

The protection of participants was of the utmost importance in this study. The research methods conformed to the standards, policies, and procedures of the Institute for Clinical Social Work, the Institute's Internal Review Board, and the widely accepted Ethical Standards for Human Research. All participants were given a document of informed consent to sign. The document outlined my responsibilities as the researcher and the policies and procedures that are designed to protect participants. Participants were fully informed of their rights with regard to the research, the purposes and scope of the research, the procedures that were put into place to protect their privacy and any anticipated negative ramifications of the study. Participants were also informed of their

right to terminate their participation in the study at any time. Additionally, participants were offered a debriefing session with me following the interview process and referrals to qualified mental health providers in their communities if needed. Copies of the informed consent document were given to all participants.

The anticipated risks included participants' unexpected emotional responses that may have arisen from the examination of their thoughts and feelings related to their experiences. Additionally, there may have been cultural barriers to being interviewed for a study related to mental health, as resettlement agency directors are often a culturally diverse group. Participants may have lacked knowledge or understanding of concepts such as research, mental health, trauma, or psychotherapy. There may have also been taboos or concerns about talking with an outsider about personal memories or feelings. Anticipated risks may also have included the inconveniences inherent in taking personal time to participate in the interview process. Inconveniences and barriers were discussed at the outset of participant selection and at the beginning of the interview process. Measures to mitigate complications were instituted to avoid any that would inhibit the process. Such measures included scheduling interviews at times convenient for participants in locations of their choosing, providing informed consent regarding the process and checking in with participants to ensure they wanted to continue and allowing participants to pass on questions with which they were uncomfortable.

All information collected from the study participants including participant identities and any client information revealed was treated as strictly confidential. Several data security measures were employed to maintain the integrity of the study data and the confidentiality of all involved. Notes, tape recordings, and transcripts are secured in a

locked file cabinet and marked with a de-identified code that in no way can be linked to the names or identifying information of the participants. Electronic transcripts are secured in password protected files and marked with a de-identified code. Information that may have identified participants are kept in a separate locked cabinet only accessed by me. The original documents, electronic files, and taped recordings will remain in my possession and are secured for a period of three years. Additionally, transcriptionists and reviewers signed a confidentiality agreement and had no access to identifying information.

Direct quotes were used in the analysis of the data; however, all efforts were made to conceal any identifying characteristics of the material in an effort to disguise the identity of participants. Names of participants were changed in the document and references to places, people and events were disguised as well. The field of resettlement in the U.S. is small, and information from interviews may unwittingly point to particular directors who are experts in the field or well-known. Directors were informed of this particular risk.

Issues of Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, particular measures must be taken in order to ensure the trustworthiness of the data collected and the totality of the study. Recognized qualitative research techniques were employed to meet the requirements of fidelity in this study. “One of the key criteria addressed by positivist researchers is that of internal validity, in which they seek to ensure that their study measures or tests what is actually intended. According to Merriam, the qualitative investigator’s equivalent concept, i.e. credibility, deals with the question, “How congruent are the findings with reality? Lincoln and Guba

argue that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in establishing trustworthiness" (as cited in Shenton, 2004, p. 64). In order to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the study, Tolleson's strategies were used. Following my analysis of the data, member checking was used to examine select transcripts and those that the reviewer did not agree with was re-examined by me. In addition, I sought to keep interpretations of meaning closely tied to the actual data.

> In order to reduce the degree to which the categories of meaning derived from the data would simply reflect the idiosyncratic view of the investigator, two major strategies were employed: 1) following the researcher's original analysis of individual data, a second reviewer examined select transcripts of interviews; researcher interpretations with which the second reviewer did not agree were re-examined; 2) the researcher kept her inferences about meaning as closely tied to the data as possible (Tolleson, 1996).

In addition to these strategies, I employed others utilized by Tolleson in her research in order to safeguard the credibility of the data collection and subsequent analysis. Participants were interviewed multiple times in an intensive fashion. I tracked and scrutinized my own reactions to study participants through the use of a journal as Tolleson did. "The researcher kept a journal of her own ongoing reactions to the subjects and to the data in order that her own biases could be monitored" (Tolleson, 1996, p. 87). All of these aforementioned strategies served to safeguard the trustworthiness of the data and the conclusions drawn from the data.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study was limited due to the small sample size and the exploratory nature of the study. In addition, the psychoanalytic case study method relies on the subjective experience of participants. However, exploring the subjective experience of the individual participants is the aim of the study. "Case studies are primarily useful for tasks such as describing an individual's experience, for developing context-specific predictions, plans, and decisions" (Runyan, 1984, p. 125). The results of the study, gaining information on the depth experiences of participants, led to building theory and point to promising areas for further research and training in the field of resettlement.

The Role and Background of the Researcher

In qualitative studies, the role of the researcher is unique. The "research is considered an instrument of the data collection" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p.3). This means that data is mediated through this human instrument, rather than through other research devices (Simon, 2011, p.1). It is important to inform the reader of the researcher's background and experience as it influences and informs the study. "This qualitative researcher needs to describe relevant aspects of self, including any biases and assumptions, any expectations, and experiences to qualify his or her ability to conduct the research (Greenbank, 2003)" (Simon, 2011, p.1). As a psycho-dynamic psychotherapist with more than 20 years of experience in private practice, I come to the psychoanalytic case study process with a particular understanding of human behavior and experience. In addition, I served as the executive director of a refugee resettlement agency for eight years. This experience of supervising staff members in the resettlement context provides the basis for

my interest in the topic. After leaving the local resettlement context, I moved to a senior position with a national resettlement agency. In that role, I have the opportunity to influence the kinds of supports offered to directors in the field. My experience underlies the interest in the study topic and the assumption that directors of resettlement agencies provide a psychological environment of care that "holds" staff members as they work with refugees.

In my role as a researcher with intimate knowledge of the role of the resettlement agency director, I found the interviews with the six participants to be rewarding, moving and provocative. I enjoyed spending time with every director listening to their ideas and understanding about themselves in relationship to the work. I found myself often deeply missing the local resettlement context and my old role as a resettlement director. Some of the best moments of my personal and professional life were spent with the staff and clients of the agency I served for eight years and the interviews stirred in me a longing for the "good ole days." There is an experience of team in the resettlement context that cannot be replicated elsewhere. The rich diversity and experience of the resettlement staff and the shared mission that all are bound by can be intimate and intoxicating. The experience of welcoming newcomers and learning from their spirit and resilience is sacred. The interviews brought all of those experiences back for me and more. In the course of the director interviews I found myself learning from them and challenged by them. The directors' understanding of their efforts expanded my ways of thinking about the work and opened up new ideas for how I might better provide care to directors in the field. I also found some interviews challenging as we explored ideas that conflicted with my own values regarding staff and client care. At the end of the interviews I found

myself profoundly grateful. I had an amazing opportunity to participate with each of the directors in a depth process in which we were all vulnerable and honest with our thoughts and feelings. I am honored to share in the same mission with the six passionate and dedicated professionals.

Chapter IV

Findings

Sample Profile

In accordance with the study parameters, there are six participants in the study. The participants are all directors of domestic refugee resettlement offices. There are three male and three female directors. All participants have been directors of an office for more than two years and the majority for significantly longer. All directors oversee offices that resettle more than 150 refugees each year in their locale. The participants represent offices across the United States with the majority residing in the northeast and southeast. All six participants have been resettlement directors only for their current office. The six directors all participated in multiple interviews.

Responses to the Researcher

All participants volunteered to participate in the study because they felt it was a topic that was meaningful for their work as directors. They each made themselves available as needed to participate in the interviews. Each also expressed their appreciation for having the opportunity to express their thoughts and ideas and having a forum for talking through what they feel is an important topic. The participants also expressed their interest in reading the study once it is finished and hope that it will lead to insights or further training that they can use in their daily work. Several participants also stated that they

rarely have the opportunity to talk about their work with other directors and that they were grateful to do so with me, a seasoned director, whom they felt could understand their unique perspectives and challenges.

Within-Case Analysis

A key aspect of the analysis of the participant interviews is the process of 'Within-Case Analysis' in which I looked for categories of meaning within each interview through a process designed by Tolleson (1996). The categories of meaning were unique to each participant interview and reflected the content of the interview and the interpretation of the interviewer. While categories of meaning were in some cases similar from participant to participant, the Within-Case analysis was specific to each participant. The titles given to or "coding" of the individual means themes or categories arose from the language of the interviews.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Participant	Gender	Area of U.S.	Age Range	Years in Resettlement	Discipline
Director 1	Female	South	30-40	8 years	Psychology
Director 2	Male	South	50-60	25 years	Information Technology
Director 3	Male	West	60-70	35 years	English Studies
Director 4	Female	North	50-60	30 years	International Relations
Director 5	Female	South	50-60	20 years	Russian Studies
Director 6	Male	East	50-60	25 years	Ministry

Director 1

Raised in the southeastern U.S. and rooted in the city of her birth, Director 1 is very committed to her community and to the way it embraces diversity and the refugees her office welcomes. Director 1's straightforward and earnest manner makes her immediately likeable and respected by colleagues and those with whom she works. Director 1 has a low-key vivaciousness about her and comes across as an open, sturdy and trustworthy person. She also has a light and engaging laugh and a quick sense of humor. There is a no-nonsense quality to her. Director 1 grew up in a hardworking family influenced by the

legacy of her maternal grandparents' immigration experience from Ireland, their belief in the "American Dream," and a "solid work ethic" to go along with it.

Director 1 is in her early-thirties and has worked in the field of refugee resettlement for 8 years. She has been the director of a mid-sized resettlement office for more than 2 years. Director 1 attended a state university and studied psychology. She had planned to pursue the field of clinical psychology but after experimenting with several different internships in the field, she realized that she enjoyed working with people in a "social work" context and "passionately hated research and paperwork." After graduating with a bachelor's degree, Director 1 "went back and forth" about whether to work and gain some experience or pursue graduate studies. She said it turned out she needed experience to get into a graduate program so she looked for employment. Her first professional position was in the resettlement office.

Knowing nothing about refugee resettlement or refugees, Director 1 applied for the position at a new resettlement office in her city. The position was for an "employment specialist" who would help refugees find work once they arrived in the city.

> So, I was applying for jobs that were sort of all over the place, different social work type jobs. Like I applied for some jobs at retirement communities and hospitals and boarding schools and other stuff. At the time, I was nannying and ended applying for this job at [the resettlement office] as an employment specialist. The office was brand new then.

Despite the fact that the office was new, Director 1 was not the first person in the role of employment specialist. A few others had already been in the position but had not lasted long.

> While they started resettling refugees earlier in the year but they opened physical space in July and by the time I was applying for this job in late August they had already been through two people. I was young enough and maybe desperate enough it wouldn't have been a red flag.

Throughout the interviews with Director 1, it became clear how thoughtful and intentional she tries to be in managing the care of both staff and clients. She has very strong convictions about modeling good self-care and boundaries as well as making a well-thought choice on a regular basis to say “yes” to the work. I found myself learning from Director 1 in every interview.

Categories of meaning.

Sheer luck to good fortune.

Embracing the opportunity to work in the resettlement office became an opportunity for a career Director 1 did not know she wanted. The opportunity chose her by “sheer luck.” Despite not having experience in working with refugees, Director 1 saw herself as open and “moldable.” Her own early experiences and education set the groundwork for Director 1 to feel ready for the opportunity. She recalled,

> I had very little experience, really no experience with refugees. You know I think at the time. Probably because of the turnover they had in that position I may have been in some way sort of appealing to think about taking on somebody who was kind of moldable in certain ways.

She was interested in being around persons from other cultures and learned early on to value exploration of diversity.

> I think I've always been interested in different cultures and the way that people are different. I went to kind of like an earthy hippy private school through eighth grade. But it sort of got me started pretty early on. I like being interested in the ways that people's background and their circumstances shaped their experiences, and what they go on to experience…This school that I went to was very kind of like kumbaya. But it was very accepting and they really promoted exploration. We would do these different exercises that would sort of force you to look at your own cultural values and realize how they weren't better or worse they were just different from others. So, I think those were things that came kind of naturally from the beginning even without knowing a whole lot of about or really anything at all about refugees or resettlement per se.

The serendipitous nature of Director 1's entrance into resettlement and subsequent delight in learning and openness to experiencing the people who she encounters along the way, is emblematic of her approach to her work as a director. In describing her foray into the world of refugee resettlement, Director 1 presents as a "lucky" passive participant, happening upon the work rather than an actively choosing it herself. However, once into the field she chose to continue the work and embrace her "good fortune."

> So, I started doing that and just kind of never looked back with this work is so fascinating and so interesting every day and I have always appreciated. The extent to which I feel like we come to work every day and we do just a little bit to actually make the world a better place. And also the piece of this work that makes me feel more grateful every day for all of it. All of the good fortune I came into. For no reason, just by sheer luck. So, I ended up kind of moving through our employment programs and

> just adding things to my plate over the years. And then when [the former director] left I took over here as the director.

In each of the three interviews with Director 1 it is apparent that she does indeed see herself as fortunate to work in resettlement, with the staff in her office, and with refugees. While Director 1 came into the field of resettlement without specific training in the work, knowledge of refugees, the feeling of luck has made her grateful for the opportunity, while aware that she must not take that luck for granted. Despite her "lucky" entrance into the work, it is also apparent that she intentionally checks herself periodically to ensure that she is still making a conscious choice to stay in her role. She performs this self-check because she believes that when people do not make staying in the field a choice they may over-stay their welcome and cause harm.

> The big thing that continues to motivate me to come to work every day is that I love what we, what I do. I never wake up in the morning and don't want to go to work. On a day to day basis I appreciate the element of having to constantly problem solve and meet people from different places and try to comprehend new things that I may have or have not ever seen or heard of before.

Embracing her good fortune and loving what she does underlies Director 1's success in remaining open to the experience and staying focused on those she serves.

The golden rule.

A refrain throughout the interviews that seems to relate to Director 1's experience of "good fortune" is Director 1's clear sense of social responsibility to others, both to the staff she supervises and to the clients with whom they work. Director 1 takes a stance that

there is a larger world view to keep in mind. Rather than just considering one's individual situation, Director1 takes the approach that she must embrace the needs and perspectives of others and treat others according to the golden rule of mutual kindness and respect. Director 1's interpretation of her good fortune is that there is a responsibility to that fortune. Her stance reminds one of the biblical tenant, "To those who much is given, much is required."

> I think it's always been important to me to recognize what I believe. The sort of a responsibility of each person is to try to leave their mark on the world in a positive way. I think that we have a responsibility to be kind to each other and to treat others the way we would want to be treated and I think that's it's more than an individual responsibility it's a social responsibility. I often think about refugee resettlement from a perspective of like…what would it be like if something happened in this country and we all became refugees? What would we want other countries to do for us as individual people?

While not explicitly stated, Director 1's personal philosophy of social responsibility permeates her work as a director and serves as a guide to her action in relationship to the work of resettling refugees. The metaphorical act of putting one's self in the shoes of the other can provide an understanding of what it might be like for those serving refugees to consider what it might be like to be a refugee, and this act creates perspective. This intentional empathic stance is a theme throughout all of Director 1's interviews. She is someone who takes a clear stance of treating others with dignity, compassion and respect and she strives to empower staff and clients alike.

Perspective.

While there are altruistic underpinnings to Director 1's approach to her work, she balances it with what she calls "perspective." She believes she must continually and consciously check herself to be sure that she is doing the work for the right reasons, that she still enjoys the work, and that she is setting the right boundaries for herself and her staff. She keeps the work in "perspective," because ultimately, to not maintain perspective could lead to self or client harm.

> I try to maintain a perspective about what's important to people who have totally different jobs and people who are in business. People who are not just not dealing with refugees every day or not in any sort of social work capacity at all. And I think in some ways that helps keep me grounded. To maintain some perspective on the work we do at least is something that's healthy for me.

There is an intentionality to Director 1's approach to maintaining perspective. She thinks about what helps her keep an appropriate relationship to the work she does with staff and clients. This notion of "perspective" is the underpinning to all the work she does as a director. She promotes "perspective" with her staff to influence their practice of staff self-care and to support clients in their own initiative and choice. Director 1 also focuses on creating a team that will support and create a net for one another.

> Facilitating the development of a team that every staff person can fall back on is really important. We have to create a team that supports each other and is there to take over when they need others to hold them in the work. People need that team they can fall back on when they get the door slammed in their faces. When something doesn't go the way that they thought it would, or they have a run in with a volunteer or a client

> loses their job. They need to have a safety net to fall back on and they also need to keep the job in perspective. People need to understand that they are responsible for creating their own reality. The job can be stressful and at the end of the day it is still a job, while others have been through terrible life situations. When people allow their stress to infect their work or focus on how hard they are working it takes away from the clients.

Director 1's understanding that staff stress can be ameliorated by a strong team and that unmanaged stress can take away from the client's experience of staff is an important aspect to how she defines perspective.

> Regardless of how hard we work we have never experienced what our clients have. It is still a job and for refugees this is their life. This job is hard. Alleviating highs and low lows with a strong team is essential. The realization that life can be unfair and resettlement is only part of the story of people's lives is also important to help staff understand and they also help each other understand. You come into this work and there is a shattering of what life is like. We learn that our lives are a matter of luck. Resettlement is just one step in people's lives, we can influence that one piece. This is the kind of perspective we have to keep.

Director 1's concept of perspective allows for there to be the space and support required to create a vantage point from which resettlement work can be viewed in a realistic and nuanced manner, and perspective is needed to promote the value of staff and client experience. The "perspective" that she subscribes to is one that promotes a stance of standing outside of oneself to engage in a clearer and more respectful distance that can truly allow appropriate empowering care for others.

Self-care other-care.

The theme of self-care in the service of other-care, runs throughout all of Director 1's interviews. She is very eager to underline her philosophy that caring for self is the only way to responsibly care for clients. As a director, one of her most important roles is to properly model and train staff on the how to succeed at self-care, manage stress levels and maintain appropriate boundaries, so that staff members do not become "burnt out" or fatigued by the work in such a way that they have to leave the work or they do harm to clients inadvertently.

> I think the most important thing I feel is that there's always a trickle-down effect of stress and as a leader you have to practice what you preach. If I seem overwhelmingly stressed out, then no matter what I tell other people to do or not to do it won't matter. Because they will believe that I am saying it and I don't mean it. So, I try really hard to take good care of myself and when I'm not feeling so confident about that I try to keep whatever stress I'm feeling compartmentalized and sort of away from my staff. I think that it's again a sort of a general practice. There is no replacement for limiting the number of hours that people are working. It doesn't do you any good for people to talk to you about the importance of exercise or yoga or deep breathing exercises, if you don't have any time to do those things.

Accompanying her philosophy, Director 1 has a repertoire of actions that she employs to ensure that staff have what they need from her and the organization to take care of themselves and in turn their clients. She clearly has strong convictions about what is necessary to operationally put in place to support staff. Director 1 takes the stance that there is a kind of hypocrisy to those self-care mandates that don't take the real needs of

staff into consideration. All the self-care techniques that trainers offer as examples of good practices matter very little if staff members are not granted the permission or allowed the freedom to take the time and space they need to create the boundaries needed for a work life balance.

> I rarely offer as extra hours or overtime. I've started doing it more lately. Because we've been really busy. My sort of philosophy has always been if you are always going to feel you have way more than you could possibly do in fifty hours a week or in sixty hours a week then at some point you're going to have to start just prioritizing things, and either delegate them to volunteers or on call staff members or sometimes just not do them. It depends on what those things are and that ability to be able to appropriately prioritize things. It is very important way that we evaluate our staff ability to prioritize. So, I am trying to also create a culture where people don't believe that they're evaluated on the number of hours per week that they work or necessarily even the volume of work that they do, but rather the volume of work that they can do in the hours that they're allowed to be working and how efficient they can be.

Director 1 explains that she is intentional in her approach to facilitate an environment in which people can be open, creative, and able to try new things.

> I've tried really hard to create an environment where people feel that if they have creative ideas for being more efficient they are encouraged to pipe up and bounce those ideas around off other people. I want them to feel they have the support to implement whatever is possible.

There is a very practical and no-nonsense nature to Director 1’s approach to staff care. She is a firm believer that staff need the time and space outside of work to “have a life”

and nurture healthy habits so that they can be their best selves when they are working. The tactical policies she employs serve to create the boundary between one's work and non-work lives.

> I want people to protect the time that they're not at work and to create a very clear boundary between work and home, so that they feel like they really do have the physical and mental, emotional space when they leave to do whatever it is that they need to do to take care of themselves. Everybody gets this space. It's understood across the office that people are not to be calling other staff members at home after five o'clock or whenever they know that person is done working, to ask them a question about a client or report or something like that.

Director 1 works toward creating an environment that allows for staff to feel responsible for their own care as much as that of clients. This environment requires openness and honesty as well as trust and diligence. Staff have to have a certain level of imposed expectations and guidelines from the organization in order to manage their own care and that of others. This is particularly important as it is common for helpers to feel guilty when they take time for themselves rather than understanding that self-care is foundational to the care of others. She wants staff to feel a closeness to one another in such a way that they can be honest and work together toward the mission.

> I aim to create this atmosphere of…I feel weird about saying, kind of like a family you know but like this very unique atmosphere where there is a unit, a very strong team of people who all work closely together and enjoy each other and have these common goals. In order to know if I have created this environment where people feel

> comfortable saying what is on their mind, I have to hear it the way it's intended. To really hear it, acknowledge it and incorporate it.

Director 1 finds that it is critical that the staff members are provided with clear expectations and structure. They need to know the limits. Structure provides holding and security.

> People absolutely like structure. They like accountability and they like clear expectations. Sometimes we talk about them like they're very mechanical or by the book but they also apply to human behavior. All sorts of work habits like how to interaction with clients they don't read like a manual. It is important we convey these expectations and skills to staff as we don’t want them to be missing something important or not have the emotional reserves to pay attention and then something goes wrong. The greatest battle that we fight in creating that environment is eliminating the feeling of guilt that can come along with giving proper attention to yourself.

Director 1 believes firmly that she needs to walk the talk if she is going to get buy in from her staff members. She practices her own self-care and works hard to create the work life balance that she wants others to have. She is a very physically active person who works out regularly and plays on an organized sports team several times a week. Director 1 also spends time with people outside of resettlement to maintain the balance she talks a lot about. She finds reliable resources and outlets in these activities.

> I go to the gym almost every day and play in several adult soccer leagues. And, I have really good friends who are in those leagues who don't have anything to do with refugee resettlement. Sometimes we grab beers after a game or something. It's just really rejuvenating for me and it keeps me really grounded in something that's not

> related to refugee resettlement. I mean that's something I do that takes up about two hours of my time usually about five days a week.

In addition to Director 1's reliance on physical activity for her self-care outside of her work, she has a group of friends who are outside of resettlement and help her see another side of life. Her husband is also a support and they have activities they enjoy with one another. One of Director 1's key supports are her pets. In the future, she would love to be able to provide safe haven to elderly and disabled animals.

While Director 1 can articulate the tenants of good staff-care and self-care, she does not have knowledge of any theoretical underpinning for this personal philosophy. She cites participating in several one-off self-care and staff-care training sessions, but does not recall ever receiving specific training for directors that provides the foundation for understanding why these techniques work or lead to better staff or client care or even prevention of more serious psychological situations. Everything Director 1 knows she learned by experience or from other colleagues. For Director 1, paying close attention to staff allows her to gauge their well-being.

> I try to meet with people regularly and check in and see how they're doing and how they're feeling. I try to pay attention to see if people are struggling or if I know that somebody who's been working with a really difficult case. I meet with them to give them a chance to feel like they can release some of that. Once or twice in the past I have brought up counseling through the employee assistance program, but I haven't had anyone take me up on that offer that I know of.

Director 1 is able to speak about her vague knowledge of certain psychological theories related to the impact of working with traumatized clients on the self of the staff

person providing care. She interchangeably used terms such as “burn-out,” “compassion fatigue,” and “vicarious traumatization.” While she seemed to understand that client care can have a significant impact on the person of the staff member and correspondingly the client the staff member is caring for, Director 1 knows she does not have a depth understanding of that impact.

> When people allow their stress to infect their work or focus on how hard they are working it takes away from the clients. Regardless of how hard we work we have never experienced what our clients have. It is still a job and for refugees this is their life. We need to pay attention to when people are suffering from compassion fatigue or burn out.

There is a clear perception that when staff are not able to practice self-care or have a work life balance they can run into trouble with becoming over-involved in such a way that they stop seeing their work as a “job” and start placing their needs above the clients’ needs. Director 1 believes that staff can run afoul of their duties when they over-emphasize their own situation and become “martyrs” of sorts. She feels this over-emphasis on the staff members’ work-related strain is disrespectful to their clients who have suffered so much.

> Our jobs are a privilege. This work is complicated and human however, to be on their journey we have the responsibility to come to work with a positive attitude and engage. The Martyr complex is an insult to our client’s dignity.

Thus, taking care of self is a way to own one’s responsibility, acknowledge clients’ situations and support their dignity. Self-care then becomes client-care.

Self-determination.

Embedded in Director 1's principle of client-care is the concept of client self-determination. Being able to support clients in making their own decisions is key to promoting their well-being in their new country. There is a balance needed in empathizing with client's situations, providing appropriate care and supporting client's in taking responsibility for their own situation.

> I've always felt like my sense of empathy was a strength...it's very important to me to embrace this idea of doing our best to put ourselves in other people's shoes while understanding that it doesn't in any way absolve us of our personal responsibility to not let our clients take their own responsibility for themselves and have the right to make their own decisions. And we need to let our clients deal with the consequences of those decisions whether or not they're good or bad. I believe really firmly that people come to this country to get their dignity back and that's very largely related to their freedom of choice. We can do our best to answer questions or to try to point people in the right way but if we believe that they're making decisions that are going to lead them down a bad path we have to respect that that's their right. And maybe that's kind of a weird thing to say, but you know I think to me that's really important. And it's something that I want all the staff here to embrace. People come to this country to have the right to determine their own destiny.

The primacy of the autonomy of clients, and in this case refugees, is a notion that aligns with Director 1's personal philosophy and is a basic social work tenet. It is offensive to Director 1 when she perceives that staff or colleagues privilege their own

needs or experience over that of their clients. She sees it as antithetical to client care. Therefore, she promotes client autonomy in her supervision and training of staff.

> One of the other things that we do is just sort of generally try to see clients as really complicated human beings who are more than capable of thinking for themselves and deliberately making decisions in their own best interests. Each person's agency is something to be supported and honored. Trying to really see your clients as the complicated human beings they are and not like you know sort of the poor sweet sad refugee.

To view refugees as anything other than "complicated human beings" who have their own interests and decision-making capacities is a clear sign to Director 1 that one is on the wrong path, which can only lead to harm for clients. Director 1 is very clear that ensuring and honoring the self-determination of refugees is the one assumption that undergirds all other efforts in the work of resettlement. Resettlement case management work requires that staff members walk closely alongside clients. The staff members welcome to clients, they assist in problem solving, provide knowledge of the new city, connect them to resources, alleviate fears, and comfort them when concerns become too much.

A key role of the persons who work with refugees is that of the "helper." Those providing care to refugees as they resettle in the U.S., are often in the position to hear the stories of horror that caused the refugees to flee their homes, as well as the trials that followed as they sought refuge in a second country and then eventually were resettled in the U. S. Beyond listening to refugees, the helpers also assist them in navigating the transition to life in their new land. The helper often serves as a lifeline in a very difficult

time. These helpers both comfort and cheer on the newcomers as they establish their new life. The work is intimate and important but it poses a risk.

> In this work, we frequently meet people where there's an element of feeling like this person is really special, this person is unique and it's a little bit of a blessing to me to know their story. And, whether I know it or not it's amazing and I think that they'll do really incredible things with whatever opportunities they are given. You know I think there is sort of a kind of helper's high. That feeling that you get when you've done something good for somebody or with somebody. And I think sometimes we have to combat that like drive for the helper's high. And make sure it's not destructive that staff aren't being enabling because they're kind of seeking out that feeling. You know I think clients also have the ability to make us realize things about ourselves that we never would have realized otherwise. Sometimes good and sometimes bad. I guess that's always good.

Resettlement staff can easily fall into a trap of doing work on behalf of clients or becoming consumed with "helping" to make themselves feel good and inadvertently interfering with the process of clients' own success.

> I certainly see the negative impact of working with incredibly needy people day in and day out on staff members. You know the pull that people feel toward being obligated to be available all the time. The way that folks will worry about their clients. You know at night and wake up in the middle of the night thinking about the client's food stamps, an electric bill or a job start. I know I have been there and my staff goes there too.

The phenomena of the “helper’s high” is an idea that Director 1 considers to be a seductive pull to staff members who are trying to help their clients and become hooked by the good feelings that helping provides. However, this seductive pull can drive staff to disregard boundaries and deny clients autonomy in the service of “helping.” This pull can also cause staff to veer off the path of promoting client empowerment and respecting their dignity and independence.

This positioning of staff in close proximity to clients requires both an empathic stance, as well as clear boundary management. Both over and under involvement can create harm, so this idea of self-determination of clients becomes essential when supporting clients in coming into their own. The staff working with refugee clients are passionate and dedicated to helping their clients become successful and thrive. “Clients are always best cared for by experienced staff who are happy with their jobs and carefully managing their own stress levels.” Sturdy, positive staff members with boundaries are the most able to provide empowering care to those they work alongside.

Where good things happen.

Director 1 brings together the concepts of perspective, self-care, client-care and client self-determination in her understanding of the role of the director in creating an intentional environment of care. She sees it as her responsibility and that of leadership in general to promote an environment of care for her staff. Director 1 is particularly concerned for staff who are themselves former refugees or immigrants with close ties to the refugee communities. For those staff that are embedded in the refugee communities

themselves it can be a greater challenge to disconnect, not disappoint and adhere to clear boundaries.

> Like one piece of me that I tried to bring. To really kind of promote in the office is a very firm concept of self-care like I think that was something when I started doing this work that I struggled with a lot and I believe very strongly that if there hadn't been an emphasis on it from leadership when I started, I would have quit a long time ago. It may or may not be true with all people or with all of my staff but it's something that I believe to be true and I want to make sure that we have an office where that's a philosophy that we promote particularly for staff members who come from immigrant or refugee communities themselves.

When staff and clients alike have a positive and boundary-laden environment in which they can control their stress and have clear expectations, they will have more opportunity to reach their goals and not become mired in the stresses that are not theirs to take on. Leaders are in a position to set the tone and facilitate "good things" to happen and then staff learn to create that environment for themselves and their clients.

> I try to control my own stress and emotions to create an environment where other people are able to do that too. I think about it most often related to stress but what I am really trying to do is create a positive and productive work environment where people, staff and clients, are able to come in and accomplish whatever goals are in front of them or that are at least most pressing. Creating a place where the energy is such that good things are happening all the time. Even when maybe they don't seem like such good things in the moment. But a place where nobody is bogged down or overwhelmed by any sort of negative energy that they can't focus on the task in front

of them or the job they came to do. And I think for clients especially. At least in my office, I feel people, they work for a couple of months and they come into their own and they develop a sense of confidence and this personality that interacts with clients and often the way we're the most effective is being genuine. Confident staff recognize their own responsibility to create this environment where clients are learning things for themselves.

The work of resettlement provides an opportunity for staff and clients alike to experience opportunities that they might not otherwise have. These opportunities do not just happen. Intentional actions and structures must be in place that facilitate such opportunities to be available. The resettlement director is in a unique position to set the stage for these facilitating environments.

Executive orders.

The Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States was put in place in January of 2017 (and a second revised EO in March 2017) by the newly elected U.S. President Donald Trump. The Executive Orders (EOs) dramatically impacted the resettlement of refugees in the Unites States. The EOs sought to limit the number and populations of refugees that would be admitted to the U.S. This impact reached far and wide and included local resettlement offices such as Director 1's. In addition to the Executive Orders, the accompanying anti-immigrant sentiment also hangs over the resettlement community and has created unique challenges.

The shadow of these events clouded Director 1's thoughts. She was grappling with how to help herself and her staff adapt to the new reality that was created as a result of

the EOs. While she once understood the ups and downs of resettlement as “riding waves” that would eventually settle out, she no longer uses that metaphor as a frame of reference. Rather, she must face her “demons” and ensure her attention is even more acutely focused on her responsibility to provide care for her staff. In addition, she believes she must help the staff stay motivated and protected from the vicissitudes of the current reality for refugees and resettlement. Director 1 is deliberately considering her own philosophy of staff care and the actions she employs, as well as the “demons” that would thwart those actions as she faces a new day in resettlement.

> The current environment…I guess we'd all probably agree that it's unique, it's not anything that we've ever seen before. You know, I mentioned to you a little bit about this changing environment being a new normal situation rather than like waves that we ride out. This adaptation is kind of a self-care strategy. The recognition of something being a new normal rather than a short temporary situation. I believe that self-care or stress management is essential right now. I decided a long time ago that I would never treat it as something that was optional or wasn't my responsibility as a leader.

As a leader, creating a culture in which staff members not only have tools for self-care but are also afforded the means and opportunity to care for themselves is essential.

> I believe that all people who work in an organization contribute to the work culture but that ultimately the person or people who are in leadership positions have the most control over that work culture and have the ultimate responsibility to create the sort of culture that they want to work in. And, they must work to maintain it. I decided a long time ago that a culture where self-care is a priority and stress management is a requirement was going to be the culture that I would work in. And, the one that I

> would try to lead. So, that is certainly something that I've had to confront over the last few months. I have had to face down some of those demons that trickle in to try to make me not do those things.

Managing stress and prioritizing self-care in an environment fraught with unpredictability is not for the faint of heart. Rather it takes focus and the courage to stick by one's convictions. In light of the EOs effects, Director 1 felt she must intensify her efforts to address the negative stress symptoms she sees in staff members.

> Within probably a week and a half after the first executive order, I could feel myself getting really tired and could feel physical symptoms of stress and of being overwhelmed. I could see it in staff particularly the people who were working a lot or organizing an event planning for our advocacy efforts. I quickly came back to how we can ride this out but also this probably isn't going away and we have to figure out a way that we're going to do this in a sustainable manner.

As the time moves forward, the situation has intensified and Director 1 has had to find new ways of making sense of the environment in which she is working. She also must help her staff members to find solid ground so that they can continue their work.

> Over the last few months I feel what's changed the most is that it's just gotten more important to me and it's also become more difficult. I think traditionally in refugee resettlement there has always been waves of things even if you think you're adjusting to a new normal you also know that you're riding something out. A period of political pressure or really high arrivals or something like that. Both of those things have been major factors. Changes to strategic planning both ramping up and then coming back down have been really significant factors in our stress loads over the last few months.

Her greater sense of purpose and intention included providing staff with concrete strategies as well as the structure to adopt those strategies.

> One of the things that I try to promote or put out there in my office is kind of a general idea that the more you feel like you can't take a vacation or you can't take a day off the more it means that you need that. I am trying to really make sure that people are coming back to include the basic strategies for self-care and there's a lot more pressure or competition for your emotional resources. It is important that I make sure that people aren't working hours that they're not getting paid for or trying to make sure that people including me can take a break in the day from email and come back to it the next day.

Director 1 feels frustration with those who do not help staff manage their stress or just offer simple techniques for self-care that are not focused to truly address the over-arching issues of lack of the time and space that allows for the care to take place. In addition, Director 1 is adamant about the absolute necessity to create clear boundaries around work time now more than ever.

> There is a pressure that I feel a lot when things are kind of ramping up. I remind myself to come back to that strategy of creating physical, mental, emotional space to then engage in self-care activities. I think for most people one thing we love to talk about is self-care and how it's important and that kind of thing and we love to tell people things like, oh you should go to yoga or that you should do this or you should go take a bubble bath. That’s great but if people don't do those things it's not because they don't like to do them it's because they don't know how to make time or energy to do them.

Organizational policies and procedures must not only allow for but promote good staff-care and good self-care. In addition, in the fast-paced context to resettlement there needs to be the space for staff members to reflect and plan rather than constantly react to what is in front of them.

> The first thing we have to do is promote good time management, good work management practices and make sure that people are not working hours that they're not getting paid for. Particularly for hourly staff. Doing things like checking email is work. And, when you're doing it you should be paid for it. At some point, you need to step away from it and do other things. There needs to be a foundation for creating an environment for people that’s healthy and promotes self-care and room for growth and development. There needs to be space to allow staff to carefully contemplate the needs of clients. These are all things that sometimes become more difficult to do and things are really frantic and much more important.

The field of resettlement is typically filled with ups and downs. There are often irregular refugee arrival patterns, which makes it difficult for local agencies to plan. High arrivals can lead to high stress and slim people resources, while low arrivals can lead to client worry, strained budgets and low morale. There is always financial stress in the local offices as the funds received through government grants are less than what is needed to assist refugee newcomers. Typically, offices are understaffed and have much to do, and the fast-paced nature of resettlement attracts those who thrive under pressure. However, in recent months the peaks and valleys have been more pronounced. Prior to the Trump presidency, the Obama administration readied the resettlement community for the highest arrivals in decades. Offices staffed up and there was great excitement in

anticipation of being able to welcome large numbers of refugees in response to the largest refugee crisis of our time. However, in the wake of the Executive Orders, offices were forced to reduce the capacity they had just staffed up for, and uncertainty regarding the program became the new normal.

> We had a staff meeting and the team was even flatter and more down than last week. The staff is really great and a few have a really high EQ's (emotional quotients). They have had staff transitions but that isn't what is bothering them, as much as feeling not busy and not seeing new refugees. They feel sad. (Joked about before trump and after trump as the new way to mark time) I am always talking about riding the wave and how we need to slow down and reframe. We need to use the down times to plan and gain perspective. Take this team, they got their ass handed to them with so much work and now they feel sad that there are no new refugees. They feel excitement when there are refugees.
>
> (Interviewer: There is a kind of adrenalin rush like working in the ER?)
>
> Yes, that is a really good analogy. There is a way that people become masochistic and talk about how busy they are. It is important to normalize the waves to them. We need to re-motivate and re-center. The waves and ups and downs are always a part of the work. We need to re-accommodate. As we enter into slow periods we can be intentional about projects and more intensive client service.

Despite the challenges created by the EOs and political environment, Director 1 has experienced a renewed vigor that is carrying her through the difficult times. This renewal has been brought on in part by the outpouring of support from the community which has served as a source of care and support for resettlement staff.

> After the inauguration seeing just the general outpouring of public support, I have been feeling different. I don't know that I was ever not committed to this work, but I think the time between the election and inauguration was really stagnant for me. It probably was for a lot of people. All of the unknowns were kind of suffocating. But when support started pouring in for refugees, I felt myself springing into action and feeling like this is not just something that I care about or a burden that I carry but other people believe in it too.

Experiencing the support of those who embrace refugee resettlement as well as those who do the work, propped Director 1 up in a time when the national narrative has been divisive and demoralizing.

When horror becomes normal.

Director 1's careful attention to her staff brings her close to the stresses and strains of the work with clients. In addition to the ups and downs of the arrivals of refugees and the political climate, significant pressures come in managing the relationships with clients and walking with them through their struggles. Creating a system for training and supporting staff and directors is an area of concern that Director 1 acknowledges needs more attention in the field.

> I have been thinking a lot about how working with refugees impacts the staff and me. I have a trainer from the local rape crisis center coming to talk about how to manage secondary trauma and self-care. I don't have the tools myself to do this type of training but I think it will be really helpful. Directors are often removed from the stress that's associated with working directly with our clients. However, the stress is really

> apparent when working with certain groups like the Congolese. I definitely recognize it in myself. Occasionally, I realize that things have become normal sounding to me that are horrifically upsetting to people who don't do this work every day. This is an area that we need to do a more institutional job of addressing. I can't be the only director who feels this way.

Director 1 is adamant that there needs to be institutional policies and procedures in offices that address the ways in which staff are exposed to client trauma with training and protocols that help directors to create structures of care in their offices.

The experience Director 1 has had with certain populations has impacted her in ways that she was unaware of until recently. She found herself normalizing that which is horrific to others and it startled her into examining herself more closely.

> Over the Holidays at one point, I was talking with a couple of my closest girlfriends and they were asking how work was going and they're asking a lot of like fairly detailed questions and I don't remember exactly what I said to them but I laid out what I would consider to be sort of a fairly typical scenario of a Congolese family. You know where there is a single parent and several children and the child of a child, who was only like 12 or 13 years old when that child was born. You are aware that that child is most likely the product of rape. I was kind of just talking about this and in a very matter of fact way. It just had become so normal. I looked at my friends and all of a sudden realized that they looked horrified. It was like they couldn't believe that this was a thing for one family, much less fifty percent of families. It struck me at that point that it didn't even cross my mind that they wouldn't recognize that those situations were out there. One of the things that I thought in that moment was, am I

> really ok? I really chewed over that question for a long time. Is it ok that that this is floating around in my mind and not in somebody else's. So now I'm coming to grips with the idea that this is normal for me and I had forgotten that it wasn't normal for other people to know that the world works this way.

Director 1 had not consciously engaged the idea that there are those in the world who experience tragedies beyond what most people are able to comprehend. She allowed herself to grapple with the fact that she is one of those people who is exposed to these tragedies through her relationships with refugees. She was forced to acknowledge that she does not “get to be” one of those people who can ignore the “ugly” realities of the world. Because she is exposed, she believes she must consciously commit to the work and check herself to be sure she is ok, so that she does not inadvertently harm herself or those she holds dear.

> I wondered, how do I feel that I don't get to be this person who can sort of ignore that there are all these really ugly things in the world? Do I wish I were that person? I think over the last couple of months, particularly more in the beginning of the year, I have really done a lot of wrestling with the work. I've always said if this work gets to be too much for me and I can't handle it, I will leave. I'm not going to let it destroy my physical or my emotional wellbeing or my marriage. I'm not going to look back on my life and feel I regret certain things because I was so dedicated to this work that I wouldn't leave when the time to go made itself obvious. Now any time that I feel like I'm really struggling with something, I always ask myself, is this it? Is it the time when I want to leave? So, I wrestle with that a little bit and I. I started to embrace that I can have complicated feelings towards the idea of recognizing the world as a really ugly

place. And it's ok that other people don't know the ugly. It doesn't have to influence everything I do or every decision I make. I just kind of have to let it be. I recommitted myself to the idea that if I ever don't feel that way about it I will leave. And, I also honestly felt really rejuvenated.

(Interviewer: Did you wrestle a lot with this yourself? Did you wrestle with it with anybody else?)

I didn't I thought about it a lot. Both of my friends said maybe you should see a therapist and they are good friends and I seriously considered their advice. I did not decide to go see somebody partly because I just thought about my time and my schedule. I felt like I had been slipping up on some of my commitments to self -care in other ways. And, honestly just going to see a therapist would be a scheduling conflict with other self-care activities that I know have worked for me in the past.

Director 1's new awareness has led her to acknowledge the importance of addressing these issues not just for herself but also to institutionalize ways to address the impact on her staff members.

Up and down the ladder.

The director's role in preparing the next rung of leaders for the work and creating a culture that cultivates staff members' talents and career path is a crucial one according to Director 1. She sees it as her obligation to reach down the ladder so to speak and lift people up as her former director did for her. She also believes directors are in a unique position to shore up one another with resources of support that they cannot get from other sources as they have a unique perspective that is shared by few.

> [The former director] and I were very close. We couldn't have been more different but I learned a lot from her strategies. Her defining characteristic was that she didn't believe in formal supervision. She believed that supervision should be more informal and about learning and reflection. I learned how a supervisor can set up an environment to learn. I learned how to enjoy the job and part of doing the work well is creating an environment that allows for reflection. You can only engage in reflection when you are not bombarded by tasks. You have to control the hours that you and staff work. There are staff that provide care to me. These are people I have worked with a long time and we support each other. I also cultivate relationships with other directors from other agencies. The other directors create an outlet for discussing things and a network of support. There are few who understand the scope of responsibility that the job entails and how much of this work requires to do it well. There are these crazy weird paradoxes that come across your plate, domestic violence, people with kids who are sick, homelessness, mental illness and other major social issues. Other things like, staffing issues, working with refugees on staff and how the work impacts them and when dealing with the things that happen with staff that others might see as just a termination issue but is something else in this work. In general, I feel personal experience informs the director positions a lot. Whenever we all get together and think about how differently people can run an office or bring different things to the table that are still very effective. The only people who would understand are other directors.

There is an informal but useful support system of directors that Director 1 can access in her network, and she does so periodically. There are "crazy weird paradoxes" and unique challenges directors are faced with in resettlement that are unlike those in any

other field. A more formal system of facilitating director-to-director collaboration, reflection, and support, is something that Director 1 would value and use. Being a director in the resettlement context can be isolating when there are not opportunities to discuss the challenges and unique aspects of the work with others who understand.

> The director positions are not lonely in bad way but they can be lonely. Sometimes you know there isn't anyone that can understand. You are alone in your office. And, I guess for me when I think about refugee resettlement as a field I want to develop people and retain talent. It's really important that people don't move up the ladder and into a director position without beginning to develop some of the life skills or strategies that help you survive in it. The only way to do that is to lend some of that experience down the ladder.

Creating an environment in which directors are not isolated, future directors are trained for the work, staff are thoroughly informed and supported, clients are well-cared for, and the field of resettlement is structured in a manner to hold up those who serve and are served, is Director 1's aspirations. She is seeking a way to operationalize this aspiration.

Conclusion.

Director 1's understanding of her efforts to create an environment of care for her staff are purposeful and full of hope and determination. She takes an intentional approach to her role. There is an underlying central theme to everything she does. It is captured in her statement, "Our jobs are a privilege. This work is complicated and human; however, to be on their journey we have the responsibility to come to work with a positive attitude and

engage. The martyr complex is an insult to our client's dignity." There is an empathic toughness to Director 1 that allows her to be real, present, and maintain perspective, so that she can do her best for and with others. As a person who enjoys competitive sports, Director 1's understanding of her efforts as a director brings to mind the sports metaphor of the team captain. She cheers people on, she does not leave her teammates behind, she pushes herself and others to do their best, she lifts others up, she dusts herself and others off when they fall down, when things get tough she rallies the team, strategizes, and keeps things moving. When there are wins she encourages celebration, and when there are losses she acknowledges them, learns from them, and moves on. Director 1 is the kind of leader with whom others would want to be on the field.

Director 2

Identifying Information.

Director 2 is a distinguished Cuban-American man in his late fifties, always perfectly dressed and groomed with a professional air about him. He possesses an authoritative stance. Director 2 is small in stature but presents with a no-nonsense attitude and a big heart. He gives off the message that if Director 2 is present, he has things covered. Director 2 garners the respect of those who work for him and those in his professional sphere with his knowledge, experience, and success in the field. Director 2 is self-assured with a bit of a swagger but not cocky. He is a man of few words and affable but guarded. His dry sense of humor, no nonsense demeanor, and realist attitude serve him well. Director 2 is eager to be helpful, and participating in these interviews is his way of being helpful to others. Director 2 is passionate about the work and dedicated to doing it well. It

is clear from his words, reputation and actions, Director 2 does this work for those he serves.

Refugee resettlement was a career that Director 2 stumbled into. There was no planned trajectory or career path that included refugee resettlement. Director 2 was working his way up in banking information systems. He was handling telecommunications and information technology for the bank. He had reached the assistant vice president level when his bank was bought out in the early 1990's. He was offered a job in another bank, but it was too far away and his children were small at the time, and his wife did not want to move. Director 2 worked in insurance for a short time and "hated it." He started working in sales for a luxury car dealership but it was not enough for Director 2. He had flexibility with the car dealership so he started looking for a part-time job.

> A friend from the bank told me about the part-time job at the [resettlement office] and since I was working at the car dealership I had the flexibility to work part-time. Eventually, I became full-time at the [resettlement agency] and left my work at the car dealership. I did not have any social service experience and I was concerned that they would think I was over-qualified, so I lied about my work history. I got the job as a part-time temporary caseworker. Then the Guantanamo Exodus happened and I started working with Medevacked Cubans.

Once in the resettlement field, the new career became a vocation for Director 2.

Categories of meaning.

Never looked back.

Director 2 found himself truly appreciating this new field, “I really enjoyed the work. The moment I started I never looked back.” It was much more interesting and rewarding than his previous work. In 1994, Director 2 ended up working with the “Cuban Haitian Entrant Program” as more than 30,000 Cubans fled Cuba as well as other boat people. The Cubans were medevacked to detention centers.

> I represented the agency at the detention centers and interviewed the Cubans and arranged for their release to our agency. The program started growing and a Supervisor of Processing position was posted. I applied for the position and got it. I got the position and did it along with running the Cuban Haitian processing department.

According to Director 2 it was a crazy time in history and in his office. They worked long hours and helped a lot of people. The work created great bonds between people. It was an important time for Director 2, and he explains,

> There were 12 to 14 staff doing this night and day. I went to the Airforce base two times a week to process incoming clients from Guantanamo. We were putting people in hotels once they were released from the detention centers and we had up to 300 people in hotels at one time. We interviewed people from 9 am to 12 am daily for eight to nine months. A lot of things suffered in my personal life during that time. But the staff really bonded with one another. We would work all day and then end the day with dinner back at the office. The next morning, we were back at it.

The program continued to expand, and Director 2 continued to work his way up in the office, gaining more experience and responsibility. Eventually, the director left the agency, and he was named interim director and then director. Director 2 feels he was made for job and would not want to do anything else. Throughout the years there have been many ups and downs in the work; however, “we have always made it through and we are ready for anything.”

Immigrant story.

Director 2’s story is that of an immigrant. His family emigrated from Cuba when he was a child in the mid 1960’s. His own story has helped him understand the stories of those with whom he works. Remembering his own experience as a newcomer child, as well as his parents’ struggles as they worked to adapt and succeed in their new country, allows Director 2 to have an insider appreciation for struggles that clients face when they arrive.

> I emigrated with my parents from Cuba in 1966. I saw my parents struggle and it helped me understand the struggles of others. I went to school when I arrived, and I didn’t speak any English. I never took vacations and went to summer school to learn and because my parents were always working. My parents really struggled. I can relate. I see clients and what they need to have and what their children need. The reason they are here is mostly the same. To make a better life mostly for their kids – so they can go as far as you can without limits. My parents said I have to go to school. Getting an education was really important to them. You build resistance to things you have to encounter. You work hard to make sure your children have what they need.

Director 2 has great empathy for these families who make their way against all odds. It is important to him that the staff of the agency also regard the needs of the clients with the utmost priority.

> We need to do our best for the families. We try to find the cheapest housing near the best schools because education is so important. I try to help the staff to be as objective as possible and always see the refugee's side of things. I explain to the staff that they have to try to understand the refugee's or entrant's viewpoint even when they are being demanding or they say we are not doing enough or we are being unfair in some way.

Director 2 takes a firm stance with regard to how clients must be treated. He continually guides his staff members back to taking the clients' needs and position into consideration even when the clients display their frustration.

Staff members can often become discouraged or frustrated when clients become angry or frustrated themselves. The transition to life in the U.S. can often be arduous, and it takes its toll on the clients. They may strike out at staff because they are safe persons to express themselves to. Director 2 believes that part of his role is explaining the immigrant experience to the staff and helping them become more sensitive to their plight. His personal experience helps to inform him of the client needs, and he can then translate that perspective to the staff.

100 miles.

Director 2 spoke of the impact of the clients' experience on their own psychological well-being as well as the impact on the staff. Director 2 noted that how staff work with

clients makes a real impression, “The kind of work we do has an impact on how things go for them in the future, even if they don’t understand at the time.” Those who seek refuge go through unimaginable perils. Director 2 feels that the situations faced by clients during his tenure are so much more brutal than what his generation of immigrants encountered.

> Those who came by freedom flights were crossing borders and it was difficult. But now they are coming by sea. The Rafters tell us about horrific experiences. 100 miles doesn’t seem like a lot unless you are on a raft. Last week out of 20 only 3 survived. We hear the survivors’ story it’s heroic, what they have done to survive. They witnessed the killing of Cubans in the jungles of Columbia. These are terrible ordeals for people to have to experience.

It is important for Director 2 that the staff are able to empathize with clients’ experiences. Many of the staff are immigrants themselves and may or may not have suffered the same level of trauma that current clients have faced.

> Refugees from the Middle East, Syria. They have experienced war and it is getting worse. With the terrible anti-refugee sentiment, our work is more important than ever. When we came from Cuba it was bad for us, but we came by plane. People from Africa have been in camps and other terrible situations. The stories they tell are horrible. I want people to understand what they have gone through so that we can do our best by them.

While Director 2 does not have a systematic way of informing or training the staff on the psychological impact of trauma on clients or on themselves, he does strive to talk openly with staff, brings trainings to staff, and looks for training opportunities for them to take part in outside the office. For Director 2, a well-informed and well-cared for staff is

a more psychologically-prepared staff, which will then be more able to support clients who have experienced extreme circumstances and continue to suffer.

Environment of care.

Director 2 has been involved in this work for a long time. His personal and professional experience have made him wise. Creating a good work environment is important to Director 2, as he knows that staff members who are attended to properly, in turn, create the best environment of care for clients.

> As director, it is very important to keep in mind the hard work that our staff does and the mental toll that it can have on them. It is important to do everything possible to create a good working atmosphere, which should include listening to staff and their concerns as well as suggestions. People should feel appreciated and respected.

In a fast-paced environment, it is a struggle for directors to set aside time for training and structured opportunities for staff support. Many directors have too many responsibilities to focus on developing comprehensive training plans for their workers, even though they understand and appreciate the importance.

> We need to be on top of providing training, and things that support staff like down time, EAP counseling for staff and other types of things, particularly when we see that they have been impacted by what they are hearing and seeing with clients. We have had trainings for staff on self-care and other topics but not consistently. There are not a lot of trainings [on] how to do this work.

Director 2 and his senior staff work with their managers to provide supports to their staff as well, so that they are paying close attention and intervening when they notice

their staff members needing extra care. Director 2 also keeps his eye on staff himself and finds ways to affirm and intervene when needed.

> We have helped our staff to grow, to appreciate different types of clients, to see how important the role is, the significance of clients' experiences and embrace the diversity of other human beings. I also try to let them know that it is incredible to see what they do every day. We see signs in staff when they are negatively impacted by the work and we try to intervene. Some of the managers see that staff have gotten to a point where they need to be disconnected. They are just tired. They get frustrated by all the red tape when they are made to do something because of legal requirements, or program requirements or benefit requirements. It's frustrating for staff when they know something is necessary but can't promise clients that things will get better.

An important aspect of creating an environment of care for Director 2 is that the atmosphere is accessible and inviting for staff and clients. Director 2 views himself as an inviting director with an "open door policy" to all staff. He genuinely sees himself as approachable and receptive to hearing from all staff. He solicits their ideas and input. He checks in on them and knows about their personal lives. He wants staff to understand that he has high standards for how the work is done and how clients are treated, but at the same time he is there for them and his door is always open.

Food for the soul.

Beyond the supportive environment that Director 2 works to create for his staff members, he believes it is also important to put forth gestures of appreciation. Whether it is Cuban coffee in the office kitchen, pastries for a staff meeting, pizza for lunch after a

particularly difficult week or a Christmas party at a nice restaurant, Director 2 believes that little acts of kindness make a big difference to staff.

> Other supports we provide include meetings with pastries, and we allow supervisors to order pizza or lunch for staff. We might close the department for a few moments to give people a break. We had a Christmas party at a nice place so that the staff could forget about things for a little while. We let the staff participate in events like the children's Christmas party we put on every year for our clients' children. We think it is important to keep track of staff and provide these simple pleasures to be sure they know we appreciate them.

Director 2 is a generous and gracious man. He is a demanding supervisor but also likes to give to those he cares about, and he cares about his staff members. "The Director has to be involved and approachable with an open door and show your appreciation while also keeping up professionalism and high expectations." Appreciation can come in many forms. Director 2's office is known for their hospitality and their Cuban coffee. It is these little comforts that can make a big difference in showing the staff that they are cared for by the director.

Tough love.

The way that Director 2 conducts business with his staff is to be there when they need him but to set clear expectations regarding the work. Director 2 thinks people perform better when they have clear roles and boundaries. Director 2 would say he is firm yet fair with staff. He can be supportive and accessible, but he is all about business when the situation calls for it.

> A director should make sure work gets done while also doing it in the right way. How you go about it is important. As the Director, you are there for them but not always the likeable one. I am on the demanding side but also flexible. There is a balance.

Director 2 is known as a strong director that runs his organization in an orderly and organized manner. When staff members are not on the right path, Director 2 makes sure they understand his expectations and provides the necessary supports to get them back on track.

> You need to have good rapport with the staff so that they can look up to you and respect you. Honesty has to be the guiding force in the office. Ultimately the staff needs to trust you if they are going to follow your lead. You have to set expectations and hold people to them, because we are working with vulnerable people and the work has to be done right.

Ultimately, it is Director 2's passion for the work and for the people that makes him simultaneously a demanding and loving boss. Director 2 told a story of one of his staff that was not meeting his expectations. The story demonstrates how Director 2 approaches "tough love" with his staff

> One of the staff guys has a tendency to be negative. It pisses me off to no end. Everything is doom and gloom. I had had it with him and called him in and just said, stop it – you are too good, you are excellent. I don't want you to have that attitude it is horrible. I was worried I was too much and came on too strong. But he turned himself around and he came and thanked me. It was a tough love approach but I see the passion, see the hard work and want them to see that they can achieve. It's a strengths approach. But I do think there have to be different approaches for different people.

This approach is strong but taken for good reason. He seems to be the kind of director who is both generous and tough, simultaneously holding people to the highest standard while also showing his respect and concern for them. The staff members are loyal to Director 2 and would not want to disappoint him. Director 2 takes this approach out of genuine concern for staff and clients alike.

What a difference a job makes.

Director 2's care and attention toward staff members comes through in the interviews. However, what is most evident is Director 2's fierce commitment to the clients. It is his primary motivation for all that he does in his work. He is a passionate advocate and believes in what he does. It is not just a job, it is a calling. He is attuned to the clients' situations, and he communicates his insights to the staff. Director 2 wants the staff to feel for clients the way he does.

> I hire people who fit. No one has a chip on their shoulder or thinks clients are less than them. I want staff to see that there is another part to the world we live in. It is very personal to me. We are making a difference in people's lives this is not just work. I want people to take ownership of their work. We have had staff just do it as a job and now they have come around to being proud of what they do. As a manager, when you start to see how staff change and see the difference their job makes and they experience dedication and devotion to their work - that is great. It makes all the difference. This dedication impacts the clients they are working with. Seeing clients' lives change and feeling welcome is the reward.

In addition to staff caring about the clients and their work, Director 2 likes his staff members to be in sync with him.

> You set a certain tone and you have to project an image and be an example. Other people perform the role in parts – that way the staff have more common ground than others have. I feel it should be expected that certain priorities are met. I would like to have that more with other people in the office and be more in sync with how we do things.

It is very important to Director 2 that he knows others are in agreement with him and that they are valuing what he is valuing, particularly when it comes to excellence in the standard of work and in how clients are treated. He has no patience for those who are not on board with him. There are a few people in his office that he feels in sync with, and this is the model for him of how things should be to provide the best services.

These days.

The work that is being done in resettlement offices across the United States is important and lifesaving. However, the current political situation is jeopardizing that work.

> Refugee work becomes more critical and important every day with the misinformation and lack of respect for human life as it relates to refugees coming to this country. Our work gives those who are fleeing from persecution and war an opportunity to have a safe and descent life where their children can grow up safe and pursue the goals that they could only dream of in their home country.

The recent presidential election and subsequent impact on the refugee program and Director 2's office in particular were in the background of the interviews with Director 2. The Trump Administration's Executive Orders that placed a ban on arrivals of refugees from certain countries was a blow to the office. However, another event also has significantly impacted his office in addition to the refugee ban. President Obama, on his way out of office, rescinded the long standing "wet foot, dry foot" policy that allowed Cubans, who arrive on United States soil without a visa, to become permanent residents. This change in policy has dramatically impacted the number of clients and subsequent funding streams that come to Director 2's office. Director 2 is faced with having to make significant cuts to his staff and shift program focus to keep the office viable.

> I am not going to tell you it hasn't been rough. It has. Just trying to stay positive but can't believe it. Don't believe the optimistic options. People are busy which is good. We had a Christmas party for staff to make them feel good and we got a DJ to make things positive. It has been a hell of a year. This is the final straw. We are trying to be positive but transparent at the same time. I am just trying to stay positive and answer the questions that I am able to answer.

Prior to the political shifts, Director 2's office had seen large numbers of clients in a short period of time. The office was strained to maximum capacity. This increased workload was followed abruptly by the bad news that slowed down the flow of clients. These huge swings are some of the most difficult in the history of the program. There is a great deal of disbelief and fear for the future, fear for staff jobs, for clients' security, for family reunification, for the program in general, and for the U.S. as a country.

> The staff did not support a certain candidate's agenda. Younger Cubans did not support that agenda but older people in another part of the state did support that candidate. We don't know where the Cuban program stands. Also, if Haitians come they might not have assistance. Overall the office was 98% for the other candidate. A lot of people don't want to talk about it. Trying to avoid it. It's depressing. The day after the election we had pastries and time together to talk together. There was not a lot said but we listened. Most people did not want to deal with it.

Following the shock of the election results, reality started to sink in for Director 2. He knew he needed to be realistic and proactive.

> There is a lot to think about in terms of a financial decisions and trying to figure out how to make adjustments before anything gets worse. I am being much more conscious of all my financial decisions for the office. Looking to see what we can shift around and how we can transfer people to other programs, that kind of thing.

When asked how the situation is impacting his relationship with the staff, Director 2 said that he is being very honest and transparent with staff, and he thinks they understand the situation and appreciate his candor.

> And I think for the most part they appreciate the efforts we are making to cut back. They are sharing their ideas and we are considering them. When we make adjustments, and tell people why we are doing it they understand. I tell them basically, this is why we're doing this and I think they appreciate that you're telling them the truth as to why you're doing the things.

Director 2 and his senior management team strategized on what they could do to manage the crisis and try to ameliorate the negative impact as much as possible. He then

worked with the managers to strategize for their own departments and support their director reports.

> And one of the things I think we did first was to meet with the managers and try to figure out different things that we're going to do and I made sure to get back to their staff and let them see what we're doing now to improve our system so we're in a better shape and things like that. We met with managers first and presented on what all we are doing to try to manage the situation as best we can and how to reassure their staff. I've also been working with other managers as to what the departments are going to do to address what's coming up. I had this meeting at the office and even the people from our other office came. I wanted to come across as to what is it we're doing and to be able to address the issues we're going to have in the future and to have them all understand each other's roles and each other's departments. Some people are sending referrals from one department to the other more than ever now. I think that it came across pretty clearly and they can go back to their shop now and talk about some of the changes that we talked. Everybody got really into it.

Director 2's approach is to be direct and lay out the situation to everyone. He is charting the same type of course in this situation that he does in general management of the office. Not only is he addressing things thoughtfully and in a non-reactionary manner, he is helping his managers and staff to also speak up, which promotes in them a sense of ownership and control. According to Director 2, the staff members are concerned about their futures and their employment. They are also concerned that the management will not be transparent with them about what is occurring. It is very important to Director 2 that he find ways to manage their concerns. Furthermore, the staff are particularly

concerned for clients. They want to help as many clients as possible, and they want to be sure that those they are helping are not afraid.

Alleviate fears.

When asked about the toll the program uncertainties and political situation are having on the clients, Director 2 was quick to describe the fear that clients have for their future.

> The clients express their uncertainty about their options. Questions about whether or not they will have legal status is a deep concern for them, particularly for the Cuban clients. They are worried about whether or not they will be granted work authorization and other concerns like that. We are trying to alleviate their fears as much as we can and provide as much information as we have. We have not seen any outrageous things come up here and I think that helps a lot. We are working with families with children to be sure they tell us if things are happening that impact them negatively. We are doing that with everyone really. We want to know if there is any negative political backlash that impacts our clients. The staff and management are checking in on people.

It is a time of heightened concern for everyone, particularly for clients. However, client stresses when they come to the U.S. are typical as it is always a tense and uncertain transition to life in a new land. The uncertain political times in the U.S. and the anti-refugee and anti-immigrant rhetoric are only serving to increase client fears. Much of the work of the resettlement staff is to “alleviate their fears” and manage the complex anxieties and concerns that arise for newcomers.

One of the top concerns for clients is that a program slow down or stoppage would prevent reunification with family members. A significant part of the resettlement program is dedicated to families being brought together. The end to the wet foot dry foot policy, which allowed Cuban nationals asylum if they made it to United States soil, stands in the way of families joining one another. In addition, the Trump administration's Executive Orders also aim to slow down or even eliminate refugees coming from various countries. This may also prevent families from joining their loved ones. Clients who have already arrived in the U.S. are distressed about this possibility. "They worry of not being able to be reunited with some of their other family members. Whether it is Haitian, Cubans, or refugees from their countries in general they're all worried about that." There is also concern that the current political environment will lead to discrimination against them. This concern is increasing as clients hear the negative rhetoric in the news. According to Director 2, all the refugee and immigrant communities they work with are worried.

> I think finally the fact that any big changes in the program will mean more problems for them. They are concerned that they might not be able to adjust. They are also concerned that the discrimination seems to be building up and will continue going forward.

Fundamentally, the current situation in the U.S. has added to the insecurities already inherent in vulnerable populations. Director 2 is acutely attuned to those who are discriminated against and the impact it has on them. "I think that this administration is showing that yes people can discriminate against you if you're Spanish, or because you're Haitian, or because you're Iraqi or whatever? The clients see this and it is terrifying."

Director 2's own intimate experience with being a member of a vulnerable community informs his appreciation for the experience of others. This identification is the lens through which Director 2 views his role as a director in relationship to his staff and clients. The fears of clients and staff are weighing heavily on him.

Seamless self.

A part of Director 2's experience that informs his perspective as a director and his passion for clients' fair treatment and care, is his sexual orientation. As an immigrant and as a gay man, Direct 2 is acutely aware of what it means to be marginalized for who you are. As a Cuban immigrant from a machismo culture, coming to terms with one's own sexuality can be complicated. However, Director 2 came to accept himself as a gay man later in his life. His struggles with self-acceptance have created a sensitivity that allows him to be attuned to the struggles of discrimination that clients face.

> I am very conscious of my sexual orientation but I came to terms with it a long time ago. A person can be successful in all aspects of life when you are self-assured and ok with self, then people respect you. I am more approachable, more intolerant of discrimination, more knowledgeable. I hope I have achieved that. I am open about it. I don't hold back. I feel like I have to be seamless in myself. It is about integrity.

Director 2's self-authenticity is an act of self-care. He is acutely aware of the need to not only be true to himself but also practice care for himself in and out of the office. He views this self-authenticity as something he must project to staff and clients alike as he is a role model.

Weak in the knees.

Director 2 is a person whose natural inclination is to be the one to be present for others and the one that others can lean on. To be the one who provides the care rather than being cared for. “I always try to, with my kids, and my parents, even with my partner, I try to do that. Sometimes I try not to but I feel like I have to.” This is a role that he likes and he is good at. However, he is aware that there are times when he indeed needs to seek the support of others. There are a reliable few who he feels he can go to for support. There is a small circle of people that have earned his trust.

> Life experiences change you a lot. Keeping your feet on the ground and setting priorities is what you have to do to stay in focus. And things that I might have feared or given priority to before are not important any more. Through my years of life at those times when I'm getting weak at the knees there are those I go to that can…are able to say, you can do this, you can do that. You know what I'm saying?

Director 2 has a repertoire of supports that he accesses. This small but reliable support network includes a few of those persons with whom there is mutual reliance, those whom he can rely on personally and professionally, as well as his faith.

> I do turn sometimes to faith and I pray a lot. It gives me foresight to things and helps me understand things. I do feel support in a spiritual manner. I'm not the most religious person in the world but I do have a lot of faith and I do pray a lot. That's one of the things I pray for I mean that we will be able to have foresight. That we will be able…that I will hopefully have the ability to move this office forward once again…yeah, I pray for that every day.

Professionally, Director 2 turns to other directors occasionally, and at other times he gains some support from a select few of his work colleagues. He knows who he can talk to, and although he does not do it very often, he does seek out the counsel of others at times.

> I don't know if it is support but I guess it is. I might talk to one or more of the other directors sometimes. It helps to see what others are thinking about things and get different questions. Sometimes they ask me questions thinking I know some things I don't. It kind of like…it's good to understand and to share ideas I would say. Sometimes just to get opinions on things, on what they might be doing, this guy from the Kentucky office, he's really good too, just to get different ideas on what they might be doing.

While he did not get much support or training from his supervisor early in his resettlement career, he does look to his current supervisors.

> The previous director of my office was not a support but she inadvertently supported my development. She threw things at me many times. Like, she would cancel a trip and just throw me in to it. Or say she wasn't going to do something and put it on me all of a sudden. Like I had to go to the board meeting I was terrified of speaking in public and I had to go and do it. That made me learn through doing. Once I became a director the head of our national organization was my mentor. He would say, "What does Director 2 want?" We had good communication. The national people and my boss still do that. When I need to talk something through, I can call use them as a sounding board and just get another opinion. They will give me a straight answer if I

> am trying to figure out what to do or need another perspective. Sometimes you need to just talk out loud to someone.

Faith, supervisors, and peers all play roles in Director 2's support system. However, more often than not, Director 2 turns to his partner, his adult children, his father, and the other managers that he works with to access the care that he needs. They know him the best, and he relies on their counsel.

> No yeah definitely and people that are not gonna be afraid to tell you that might not be a good idea because sometimes when you talk to your peers or the people you supervise they might not. My partner is kinda that way, sometimes when I talk to him or I go you're rude and he's not being rude he's just straight out. Like why are you thinking that and it's like I might run some things by him because he's kind of, being an attorney he's like the devil's advocate sometimes which sometimes you need that. The other managers I work with are like that too. Just by the fact that they're always looking out for what would we could do better. Giving me ideas. I can sit down and talk to them. You know, I can say, I'm worried about this. You can't get that stuff from just anybody. When it gets down to important stuff it would probably be [one of the managers] that I would depend on even though she's young.

Director 2 is a seasoned professional. He takes the work seriously and has created the small but reliable and trustworthy network of care he needs to do his work well.

Conclusion

Director 2 is a man of few words who exudes a strength of character, a fierce determination, and a passion for doing what is right that speaks volumes. Throughout the interviews it became apparent that he operates from a strict code for how one must

conduct himself both personally and professionally. The meaning category of the "seamless self" is a fitting description for the manner in which he carries himself. Director 2 comes across as someone who is who he says he is.

The stresses on the program and on Director 2 over the last several months played a prominent role in the interviews. He has much to be concerned about, and there is a heavy weight on his shoulders. Director 2 is someone who cares deeply for the staff members of his organization and the clients they serve. He is someone who likes situations to be controlled, and he is used to handling them. While he cannot change the outcome of various political or program decisions, he can influence how his staff conduct their work and treat their clients. He is fiercely committed to providing the most compassionate and excellent care possible to those clients they are able to serve. While Director 2 does not have a theoretical understanding, a training curriculum or even a procedure manual for how to create an environment of care for staff, he does have his internal code, which he has developed through experience both professionally and personally, and it permeates everything he does in relationship to staff and clients. The tenets of the code include: treating others with dignity and respect, putting yourself in the shoes of the other and from an empathic stance, expecting excellence, and being open, transparent and supportive.

Director 3

Identifying information.

A long timer in the field, Director 3 has been working with refugees for decades. He is one of the people who has held multiple jobs along the way. In his early 60's, Director 3

does not talk about retiring. He is still invested, although for him the challenges are greater than they once were. Director 3 received his degree in English. He taught as a substitute teacher for a bit but did not pursue a career along those lines. Rather, he chose to go overseas and work in Asia interviewing refugees. After working with various groups of refugees in the field, he came back to the northwest U.S. and got a job at a local refugee resettlement office as a case manager. He held a variety of other positions in the resettlement office and then in the mid 1980's, he took on the role of director and has held it ever since.

Director 3 said he was hired by the resettlement agency because of his truck and ability to move furniture. It would seem being practical is a prerequisite for a resettlement director as well.

> I think more or less it was considered to be, maybe a six-month job, some sort of temporary thing that people did while there was this crisis. I was hired because I had a truck, I think, and I could move furniture.

Director 3 downplayed any actual skills he brought into the work with refugees and stayed with the narrative that he was hired because it was easy for the agency.

> So, I mean that was probably it and I had volunteered with them. Hanging around. I had volunteered with [another agency]. It made it a little easier to hire me, because they didn't have to tell me where the bathroom was, or anything like that.

Director 3 is a slow-talking guy with what appears to be a relaxed manner about him. I would describe him as low key, although there is also a bit of an edge to him as well. Director 3's frustration with the current political environment and state of resettlement weigh heavily on him.

Categories of meaning.

A dose of idealism.

Director 3's motivations for working in resettlement were not grand or well-thought out but earnest all the same. He seemed to be motivated by adventure and a dose of idealism. Making a difference was a desire that Director 3 articulated several times.

> That's a long time ago and hard to understand completely what might have been in my head but I thought it was pretty exciting and a neat thing to do. I was 26 years old or something. Now I kinda see myself a little bit in some of the case managers and such that we're working with now in the field. Just idealism about working with newcomers and excited about the idea of the contributions that we could make and it being a good and interesting thing to do. Yeah, I think that was probably pretty much my motivation. Not your average job kind of thing.

When asked what keeps him interested in continuing as a director of resettlement, Director 3 gave his usual low-key response.

> I don't know maybe a little bit of a feeling for change in society and I think refugees and immigrants generally bring change to a society. It's not always gonna be what's expected but I have an inclination to think that's a positive thing.

Director 3's view is not only that he can impact society with his actions but also that those clients he works with bring about a positive impact on society as well.

> When I walk through the door in the morning I think that some of the refugees I've brought in make a difference and I'm happy about that. I know that's just sentimentality. That's the way I feel. I've always felt that way.

He strongly promotes the idea that those who come to this country as immigrants and refugees have a strong desire to give back and make their own mark on society. For Director 3 his focus is on their contributions rather than his own. Those he has resettled in the past are “People that are prepared to make a mark in society, and make their mark in a new country.” Director 3’s motivation and joy in the work is closely tied to how well clients do in their new city. He stays in touch with former clients and tracks how well they are doing. For him, this is the measure of success both for him and for them.

> When I first got into this work I was really a younger person, they were the ones that we were the most involved with so, I suppose they remain in touch and that's great. So, I see people more or less persisted, it's a happy experience for me.

The best part of resettlement then is watching people succeed and make a difference in their new communities. The progress of this process can be slow and painstaking. Director 3 says, “…most of refugee resettlement is like watching a river pass.”

Boiling blood.

While Director 3 views the work with a dose of altruism, he sees the work as changing in frustrating ways. The tensions and challenges of the work bring out his anger and frustration and foster a jaded view of the process. It seems to be taking its toll on him. Director 3 uses the term “jaded” at least four times when talking about himself and the term “angry” (or anger) 18 times when talking about himself or his clients. One circumstance that raises Director 3’s concern is the political environment. When speaking of the impact of the election of President Trump, the subsequent ups and downs of the resettlement program, as well as the contentious political environment regarding refugees

and immigrants, Director 3 says, “It’s made me pretty angry and anxious,” although he notes that in the city in which he lives, the vast majority of the residents voted for former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. He believes the city is overall supportive and welcoming of refugees and immigrants. “We live in a very deep blue city and they are positive about doing refugee resettlement, so that's helpful.”

Unfortunately, the agency has been the target of anti-immigrant threats with intimidating calls to the office and graffiti painted on the outside of their building. “We get graffiti and recently we've had bad phone calls.” The phone calls target the resettlement workers, “They're really railing on and mocking us about how we're gonna lose our jobs.” This anti-immigrant vitriol has made the work even more difficult for those in his office. This makes him angry. However, he says “I don’t have to fight the entire refugee sentiment in the community and with people I know. I don’t have those kind of debates.” When asked how the current political environment impacts the staff, Director 3 responded that he was not really aware of the impact. He speculated that staff members might be looking for jobs as there might be concern for the program being shut down. However, he did not have direct information from the staff as he had not inquired, “It is probably affecting people more than I know.”

One point of frustration is the competitive community that sometimes works against each other rather than joining forces to make change that will positively affect them all. However, in the current under-resourced environment it is not as bad as it once was.

> There is only a few out there that are really against you in a sense that they would like the funding instead of you and others are much more cooperative and all those kind of fights of the ethnic guys versus the white guys have sort of petered out and everybody

> knows they're in the same boat and they better stay together or they're all doomed. Except for a few.

There are still those few other organizations that get under his skin. There are many refugee serving agencies in his city and significant competition for resources. There is also no shortage of those who would like to tell the resettlement offices how to do their jobs as well as suggest they can do the work better at their organizations. This is the case in most resettlement cities. This kind of community friction just adds to the challenges already inherent in the work.

> They throw rocks at the house, but at least I'm not the only one they're throwing rocks at. You know, throwing rocks at glass houses. There’s organizations that without understanding start making a mess of resettlement. I’ve learned to work very well with whatever group you can work with. Everyone knows they’re in the same boat and they better stay together or they’re doomed. Except for a few.

Despite the jockeying for position amongst the other community players, Director 3 reports he has learned how to negotiate the environment and make it work for the most part with the other groups.

Another area of concern for Director 3 is that of the new client populations who don’t have the same attitudes as those of the past. This is one of the most significant concerns for him, as he sees the ultimate impact on his staff members as they attempt to meet the needs of their clients and come up short. He spoke specifically about how some of the newer client populations have high expectations and are hard on staff which makes Director 3 angry. He noted that there are particular client situations that arise more and more frequently of late. These situations usually involve clients complaining about

services or accusing staff of not providing what they are required to. These clients will lay blame on staff for their situation and elevate their concerns to Director 3 as the “boss man.”

> I mean you latch on to those situations and predict them quicker sometimes than you need to. If I'm in the office and I see a guy in the hallway and I just look at the way they look and the way they're talking to others and they may be talking to a female case manager but I can pick up how they're not paying attention to her, not at all. She delivers cultural orientation. They’ve got to talk to the white guy boss man and I find my blood starts to boil a little bit and it's not going to do you any good by getting angry. But then this might be the 30th time this month you've dealt with a situation. That situation you're just impatient with it. So, it makes you more, in a sense, I don't want to use the wrong word but in a sense more jaded or more suspicious. I think sometimes it does but other times I really feel you flip around and defend your client too.

Director 3 understands that much of the client concerns originate from their previous life situations as well as the lack of resources inherent in the program these days.

High wire act.

A serious deficit of material aid for refugees is alarming, challenging, and demoralizing. This lack of resources seems to be the greatest source of frustration for Director 3. “It is sort of like a high wire act.” According to Director 3, managing resources and managing the job responsibilities, are a significantly challenging part of the work. When referring to the efforts he employs to try to get clients to understand the

resettlement workers limits and direct their concerns in the correct direction, Director 3 says he must employ innovative strategies.

> And you try to invent ways for their anger and frustration to go someplace else besides you. And one of the things we've done is just hold, partly because we've got a contract that will allow us to get paid for it a little bit…All these landlord tenant orientation sessions which go beyond the content you get in the 15-minute cultural orientation course.

One of the diversion techniques that Director 3 created, is landlord/tenant orientation sessions that provide clients with more information on their rights and responsibilities. Procuring safe and affordable housing is a particularly arduous situation in Director 3's city.

> We do a class, sometimes on a Saturday. And, usually there's a lot of angry people in the class. I try to direct that anger, even though it can rub off on us, right to the city council or something like that.

This creative approach to client grievances helps in diffusing contentious situations and reestablishing rapport with upset clients.

> Because the anger is not coming at me, it's coming at someone else and generally kinda where it should be going. So, if I can do that, if you can divert it then you show you're kinda sympathetic too. You're more than sympathetic. I mean you just mostly want to be not the guy that has to deliver the bad news or that type of thing.

Director 3 is clear that clients often do not listen to what they need to do for themselves, and it is maddening for everyone. Also, the landlords, who are housing refugees, are the source of much of clients' anger, in addition to their concerns about how

they will continue paying the rent after the initial assistance from the resettlement agency is used up.

Well that's people, sometimes you get to the part where you're not so guilty feeling about it, cuz they're just idiots. But I mean, they have a certain lack of perspective. But if you do get angry you'll only make matters worse. I can point to a lot of examples, even apartment managers in particular, landlords are in trouble with the city. Not so much because they're any different than the next broken-down place, but they haven't been sympathetic to the refugees living there. They've insulted them, so now they're pretty riled up and getting the attention of politicians, etcetera. So, I mean, the same thing. Just a human nature factor, if you're gonna, if you've got somebody in an impossible situation. Part of it is their own doing, cuz they're not realizing the way out that you're offering. Getting angry with them will only make matters worse.

Interviewer: So, the refugee is not realizing what you're offering?

Yeah that's correct, some of these guys just don't get it. And they don't get what they need to do help secure themselves? They need to get a job as soon as possible, and they're not accepting that.

Director 3's harsh words are stated not in a dismissive manner, but as acknowledgement of the need for some clients to have a dose of realism. However, the issue that causes great tensions for the resettlement staff and clients alike is the lack of affordable housing.

Housing issues for refugees was a concern that Director 3 raised repeatedly throughout the interviews. It has become the most tangible concern for all involved and also

symbolic of a failure of the program more broadly. These issues test the resolve of Director 3 and his staff.

(Interviewer: So, can we dig a little bit deeper because you mentioned the rent, I understand the rent being a problem.)

Yeah, yeah and I probably talked about it too much.

This area of concern for Director 3 was clearly related to a bigger issue. While lack of affordable housing is a major issue in his city, it seems to represent much more for Director 3. Beyond feelings of frustration, not being able to help, the way he knows clients need him to, causes him to feel impotent and generates a reflex to blame someone.

(Interviewer: No, I think it's important, so what fears do you think it brings up in your staff or in you, when people can't pay their rent?)

That somehow, you're responsible and you're doing a bad job, like you didn't get the money somehow to do this and you were supposed to be able to do it. You're supposed to be able to do this and I think. Sometimes the younger people are, I mean I keep telling you this, cuz that's what I'm dealing with. Really, it's sort of a millennial generation that's on this stuff. I think they're doing a lousy job. But I know it's not them. It's not, I know. It’s the environment, which is beyond you, it’s the problem. I think that the idea of people coming here to start a new life, because they've lost their homes and then you aren't able to fully stabilize them in a home…like the ultimate bind.

This bind is experienced by Director 3 at a visceral level. The idea of not being able to provide the one thing, the most important thing that refugees need, a safe affordable home, is untenable for him. “The rent thing makes for hole in which you aren’t able to

create an environment, where you can't deliver what you got to deliver." This a decisive "high wire act" with no net. The stakes have changed for resettlement in his city, and Director 3 believes that it is at a point beyond challenging and "almost futile."

The Story Line

When asked how he could be supported in the work, Director 3 had a lot to say. There was a clear message from Director 3 that his frustration and feelings of not being heard, appreciated, or helped rose to the top where the national resettlement agency he works with is, in his opinion, sticking to their own "storyline" and not seeing or assisting with what is going on in his context.

> There's a word beyond challenging for what we're facing. In New York and some other places they like to think it's a challenge but we're succeeding. That's the story line. Well, it's not. It's almost futile. There's a word between challenging and futile that describes it better…The only ones that know that in their hearts are all people like directors and stuff so they know it. If we can support each other, I think it's a big deal so that's helpful. I would like a national office that when I saw a case coming and it's clearly gonna be a disaster, that they let me have some say, whether I take that case or not. They don't do that for me. They just send whatever they've got, with some exceptions. Actively supporting us. If there was some recognition that in a high rent city you don't send obvious cases that are gonna have such a high possibility of failure. Sick people, single women, and kids, what are you thinking? That would be supportive.

Director 3 is attempting to support staff and clients alike. However, he is clearly feeling unsupported by those who could possibly be in a position to aid him in his quest.

He feels unrecognized for his efforts and unheard in his pleas to get relief from certain types of cases that he believes will fail due to the environment in his city.

> But I would like some recognition. It's just that I can't bat 1000 and you keep sending me these kinds of cases, something not good is gonna happen. And be able to make some adjustments for our circumstances, more than they do, they make some. But to make more [adjustments] would be a thing that I would like and to not just pile them [cases] on. These bad events can happen…it's kind of a crisis for us.

Director 3 expressed that his staff and their clients are the ones who suffer when arrivals are high and resources are low. When I asked Director 3 how he supports the staff in these situations he talked about their vulnerability and that of the clients.

The vulnerable.

A recognition of and sensitivity to his clients' and his staff members' vulnerability demonstrated Director 3's empathic understanding. Director 3 explained that the client populations coming to his city currently have experienced significant trauma. The local health department conducts an initial mental health screening and finds that at least one-third of all refugee newcomers are experiencing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). He finds that they are more vulnerable due to their trauma history and he feels that their expression of symptoms can be contagious in the sense that their fear and anxiety can permeate their relationships with people in their community and with the staff members seeking to assist them.

> And people, particularly from war, places where there's war, and have got problems. I mean, they come and they're, they've done the psychological, the studies, the health

> department we take them in for a health screening and they all get a psyche test too and they figure one-third of them have severe PTSD. So, right there and that stuff is contagious. They're angry and it rubs off on you too and maybe even more on younger, more vulnerable staff too.

Director 3 recalls that those client populations that were resettled in the past also suffered from PTSD symptoms, but their expectations of what they were entitled to upon their arrival to the U.S. was more aligned with reality and did not create the same challenges for resettlement staff. However, he suspects that the current populations' expectations are rooted in their belief that the U.S. owes them something because of the wars that the U.S. has been involved in. Their expectations for something better do not actually match the reality of what is available. "And so, there's no leavening or cooling effect." The client's unmet expectations turn to fear and anger that spills out to all around them. "Lack of support puts them in a vulnerable position" and when clients are in a vulnerable position staff are vulnerable as well.

> Yeah kinda like now in a situation with me we're gonna have Afghans this week that came with the idea that they're on some sort of employment visa and they're highly employable in the field that they used to work in. And they just can't accept the idea that you've got three months to get a job and it's not gonna be in the field you thought it was gonna be, it's gonna be something else and maybe you've gotta get two jobs and at the bottom of the rung sorta thing, they're not gonna accept you. So, those are situations that maybe you find yourself, your patience being lost sometimes.

Director 3 feels that while he tends to hire "kinda gritty" staff, the young are more vulnerable to the impact of clients' discontent. He feels the need to protect the younger

staff members. He and the associate director, who is also a long-time staff person, try not to be over involved but also provide a buffer when needed.

> Sometimes I'm concerned about some of these situations, myself plus the associate director, who has been here a long time. And we probably support each other in this whole thing, help each other out. We see that younger staff are vulnerable. We have to protect them. That's the only thing I can think of. They're sometimes more vulnerable and other times they're not. So that's the way I see it. I guess it depends on the situation.

The stresses of the work weigh heavily on the staff, and encountering obstacles such as lack of housing and employment often lead staff members to despair. Director 3 tries to look out for staff members when he notices the effects on them.

> Right yes and yeah you can imagine somebody's vulnerable on this. I've had one person in particular I had to really help through that. And she's just in tears about the whole thing. But I think I've been able to help her out because I also know that she's not gonna get angry and if you get angry with the refugee for not realizing their situation you just make it worse, you make everything worse.

The vulnerability of the clients, the lack of resources to assist the clients, and the overwhelming needs of the clients can be too much for staff members and can lead to increased vulnerabilities in them.

Material support.

When pressed to further outline the kind of care his staff might need to support them in their work with refugee clients, Director 3 suggested that the most important supports

he could give them are similar to what clients need, material resources. However, providing these tangible resources to the staff are not always in Director 3's power to give, and what he can provide he is not sure he needs to.

> Maybe better resources but there is some, we have an old van that is part of the problem. The young ladies don't want to drive in an old van. It's just an old car but it is still functional, but they don't want to do that. I get the sense I haven't provided the correct resource. So, we are going to spend a little money on something that is a little more modern and relaxed and drives easier. It is a little annoying, but I think that's something that I can do that's more, that's something that takes it. I think resources are a part of what I can do.

In addition to things such as a better vehicle, Director 3 also suggested that staff members want other material resources, such as better office space. However, according to Director 3, rent is not affordable elsewhere in the city. Their office is housed in a church space, and they use classrooms and such for meeting with clients. Director 3 insinuates that the "millennial" staff members feel deprived "just as bad as the refugees" because their office space does not exhibit the status that they would like it to. He suggests that the staff are envious of the office space of another agency in town.

> That's a problem with young people sometimes. It's the office environment, you have to sit there just as bad as the refugees. You've gotta admit something in there about what's status and what isn't, and its status to have a certain kind of office. And if [the other resettlement agency in town] has an office they like [his millennial staff members], that's the whole thing. That's really, I often think that's just the whole caboodle. But we just can't afford it. Can't afford it.

Not being able to provide these material resources to the staff seems to be a point of dismay for Director 3. With a grudging tone, Director 3 remarks, “They wanted to sit at a nice desk in a nice office,” but it is not the priority for him and the resources are just not available. Director 3 intimates that the other agency in town may have bit off more than they should have in trying to provide these resources to their staff. He also suggests that staff members will stay with those organizations that think the way that they do or have the same values.

> They [the other resettlement agency in town] are going to pay $10,000 a month on finding those resources, so we’ll see if it turns out to be the priority they thought it was. We’re just an under-resourced operation. They know where I'm at. I mean in a way your organization eventually keeps the people that think the way you do.

According to Director 3 it takes a certain kind of “maturity and recognition” to provide the kind of support that staff members truly need in the face of the challenges that come their way. It is striking that the staff members are confronted with a similar feeling of impotence in relationship to the clients that Director 3 feels in relationship to his staff. There are not enough resources to meet the need and everyone feels frustrated, overwhelmed, and vulnerable because of it. The idea that what is most important is providing a sense of cohesion and positivity in the difficult environment, is more of what Director 3 believes will be helpful to staff in the long run.

> You either support each other or you sink together. And there's plenty of that. There's plenty of problems in the environment. So that support is helpful. I think that life is worth the bigger ones.

His role is to help them manage their expectation and maintain a positive and creative approach despite the lack of resources.

> Help them at least be cohesive and feeling positive when they're in an environment that doesn't lend itself to that and just because it's under-resourced and they're up against a lot of expectations.

The cohesion that Director 3 indicates is necessary for holding staff comes in the form of structure and good boundaries. Director 3 calls this “sticking to the playbook.”

Sticking to the playbook.

According to Director 3, staying close to the prescribed role that you are employed to perform, is the best way to experience a level of predictability and success in conducting case management with refugees, especially in assisting those refugees who are under stress and who need more resources than you can provide.

> And there is something to be said about simply sticking to the playbook so to speak even if it's not in your heart of hearts you're not gonna be able to do more. And you can gain respect for yourself if you stick by what you're supposed to do here and what’s possible to do. So, in a sense keeping your structure in place or keeping your general way of doing things in place gives people a sense of security, or normalcy. I think so I think so. I think more than even they know. I think it's a natural thing when you're in these tough situations. If you've practiced a thing and you know what you're supposed to do almost by rote. You can feel some degree of respect and that helps people. Some, a lot of people, not everybody but some.

One of the key responsibilities Director 3 sees for himself in relationship to his staff is to provide this type of expectable structure and sense of normalcy. Encouraging the staff to stay within their boundaries and maintain a "psychological distance from the troubles your clients are facing," is something he tries to do. There needs to be "structures where people reliably know what to do." Director 3 helps them to understand that there are limits to what they can and should do for their own sake and that of the client.

> Over the years and it's all boiled down to the difference between being totally interested and involved in somebody's life and having some distance or disinterest or something. Where you're not hateful or you wish them well, but you have some distance.
>
> So that's what I've tried to establish. It's that we're doing our job. I think that's about all the things that I've learned from trainings I have attended…Or frankly, just gotten indirectly, I've taken various courses, extension courses at the local university on non-profit management and a section of it is care of staff. The essence that I've retained is to establish boundaries because they have to deal with one case after another. And it's something even sponsors, church sponsors need. There's an end date to things and you have a role to play here. You're not like this friend coming to dinner sort of thing.

While he remembers hearing some of this advice in one-off training on best practices in staff-care, he actually feels that he has learned more from life experience.

Team spirit.

Director 3 said he learned how to support staff and manage appropriate boundaries through his time in organized sports as a young man. "It's from playing sports when I

was younger. You get your court and you go out and do your thing. You are part of a team." When Director 3 sees staff struggling with clients' needs or encounters clients mistreating staff out of frustration, he often wants to step in and manage the situation for them as a way of protecting them. However, he does not give in to the temptation to intervene. Rather, he and the Associate Director find ways to improve the circumstances by engaging all as a team.

> Sometimes it's something that is really…I'm just listening in on it trying to stay out of it cuz I don't want to be that director involved in everything. Kind of makes me a little upset. But I know they're not seeing it quite that way. They're just earnestly trying to do their work which is the exact thing I want. I'm the only one that can be jaded, that's what I'm saying, not them. They're not old enough to be jaded, that's probably what I tell them sometimes too. But anyway, so I think all these things are gonna affect people. Just the troubles of arrival and adjustment. And I'm sure it's excellent to some degree. And hopefully, we created a sort of team spirit environment in our office that helps ameliorate some of that.

Director 3 also ensures that staff members know he has an "open door policy." He hopes that they can feel free to come to him if they need support or counsel. The staff have so much that they are trying to manage that it is almost impossible to do it all alone. "We can't do everything that's required of us, and there's quite a lot." In addition to his open-door policy, Director 3 finds that the team approach provides the best support and extends from sharing cases to having fun together.

> Well, we have a fair number of meetings where people can talk about all the cases and it's not just a case that's assigned to this person and it's your problem and you fix it and

> it's done in isolation. We kind of share on each case. And as we're working on them as a group. And come up with strategies to deal with it. And on some of the stuff that comes along.

The team approach is fostered in a variety of ways and is an attempt to relieve stress and bring folks together, not only around cases but also interpersonal support and fun.

> So, we do that, we have some things, we do things that staff can do together, kind of a field day where we just take most of the day off and go play games in a park or something like that. And that seems to work.

Despite Director 3's efforts to bring staff together with activities and play, he notes that it is more his Associate Director's strong suit than his own. "And I'm sort of watching my watch, thinking about all the problems I got to get done." However, every year they have a Christmas party, and Director 3 seems particularly proud of it. He feels it is essential the staff get the recognition that they deserve. While he is "not fooled to think that it is gonna solve any problems, these type of events go a long way."

> People need some sort of camaraderie. We just had a Christmas party Friday and I'm sure that by about Wednesday next week they will have forgotten. Some of them will remain happy. The management is still behind people. They started to hand out presents, and complimented everybody, and supporters, so I think that those kinda things help. We did a Christmas party and [the Associate Director] and I got gifts for people. I did not purchase with Government funds they are from church donations. Nice presents for most of the staff. We had a bit of a holiday bonus which we were able to get through via the personnel policy, so we wanted to be able to give out bonuses. We had to get approval, we didn't get approval until last year. We got it

> through and everybody got a little holiday bonus, and nice presents and gift certificates to restaurants and that kinda thing. And they had a pretty good meal and volunteers and maybe some other donors showed up.

Providing affirmation and support to the staff is a high priority to Director 3. It is something he does not feel he gets from the "national office," but he feels strongly about giving it to the staff.

Director 3 gives his Associate Director credit for bringing staff together, creating a strong team, and supporting staff the way they need to be supported. She has been on staff with him for a long time, and he feels she is the more intuitive and empathic one. However, he believes that they have a strong approach to working to together to provide what the staff and clients need. They play off each other with complimentary roles.

Mommy and Daddy.

Director 3 suggests that the complimentary roles he and the Associate Director play are similar to the approach of a "mommy and daddy."

> I think that comes from a reflex of understanding of what people are up against and trying not to be too judgmental at their expense. When things are not as productive as I otherwise would like. I think I have a team going with my associate director, where if one of us is not being particularly, I don't know, understanding, then the other is. And it kind of makes things work. Sure, you jokingly make comments about being mommy and daddy around the office sometimes. But they're not too far off. If I am a little upset today. Mommy's okay, or the other way around. So, I think that what we have here works…Really, we talk to each other like mommy and daddy are upset and

everything…But there is a big age difference between us and the people that are working for us, so it makes sense.

When I explained to Director 3 that his “mommy and daddy” metaphor aligned with my interest in how directors might play a role of caregiver for staff it resonated with him and he said, “Maybe you’ve got something there. That is interesting.”

In his role, Director 3 attempts to impart a bit of realism to his staff. This fathering approach suggests that he needs to “model” for staff how to do the work and care for others. He wants to impart to staff that they should strive to “do what [they] can with [their] limited resources” and when they fail “[they] shouldn’t blame [themselves] too much.” This is part of his role as director. He sets the boundaries, supports them in their roles and consoles them when it does not go as hoped.

Conclusion.

Director 3’s struggle to be a “good-enough” director in the face of overwhelming circumstances is raw and real for him. He has committed his life to the ideal that refugees need a secure base to call home and that his city can be a place where they are welcomed and where they can contribute to the overall good of their new community. The circumstances of the political situation, the context where he lives (an expensive city with a lack of affordable housing), the growing needs of the populations his office is currently serving, and the lack of resources available to serve newcomers well, have all come together to create an untenable situation in which Director 3 finds himself in the ultimate bind. The bind is how he can in good conscience resettle newcomers into this situation and support staff in their work when they are up against such difficult odds. His anger,

frustration, and jaded view is emblematic of the lack of support he feels for himself and the deficit in support that he then passes down to his staff and they to their clients. His attempts to manage this lack of support include rallying the team in supporting one another, using the mother and father team approach to provide care, getting the church to give the staff recognition, providing the basic material supports that he is able, and encouraging staff to stick to the "playbook." The struggles that Director 3 faces in caring for his staff are parallel to those his staff members face in relationship to their clients and, in some ways, the struggles faced by refugees in trying to care for themselves and their families. Director 3 is a man faced with managing the impinging context of the larger social world while at the same time struggling to hold on to his ideals and practically meeting the needs of those to whom he is committed to providing care.

Director 4

Identifying information.

Director 4 is a woman in her fifties with a slight build and a gentle countenance. Director 4 has a reticent style to her talking. She is warm and friendly while being rather reserved. Her smile is engaging and she appears open and honest throughout the interviews. Director 4 came into the field of refugee resettlement by chance, however, the field was attractive to her because she long had an interest in international relations. She sought out an opportunity to study the field in college and graduate school. Despite not having her own strong understanding of her immigration heritage, she has always had an interest in "internationals."

So, I got my master's degree in 1987 and I graduated and went in to work at the resettlement office. It was my first job professionally. My degree was in international relations and back then there weren't that many programs, so I went to University of Kentucky they had the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Relations. I wanted to work with internationals. I thought that I wanted to work overseas I considered going into the Peace Corps but once I graduated I met a guy, who I then married and I didn't want to move out of the town we were in so I stayed here and then I was really happy to be able to find a job working with internationals in a small city.

Director 4 also has a facility with languages that informs her interest in international relations.

Yeah so, I always liked languages…learning different languages. I just speak Spanish and then in college I studied French but I wouldn't say I can't really speak it. Yeah. And I also studied Latin and Classical Greek which I love both and they were very, very helpful to me you know. It was that I was just always interested and it's funny because I did travel all around the United States but not outside much. But I was always interested in different cultures. In fact, I took some anthropology courses. Central America was my area of interest in my graduate studies.

When asked about her experience with refugees, she acknowledged that she did not have any, other than knowing about their existence in her town.

Nothing at all. I will say that we had a lot of Vietnamese refugees in my city and that was my only experience. It's not as if my church sponsored a family because we didn't. But I did keep up on the news but I can say that I read a lot. I was in graduate school I remember reading a lot about Haiti…when what was his name, Bertrand

> Aristide, was in power and that's what I remember reading and thinking and you know I was so interested in that. I forget, Baby Doc Duvalier, yeah, the Duvaliers. So, I just always had an interest in things going on outside of my small town I think I always felt like I wanted to know the bigger world.

Director 4 reported that her town was made up of other immigrant groups, and their lives were always of interest to her, but her actual knowledge of refugees came from what she read and heard rather than any hands-on experience or training. Despite this lack of first-hand experience, Director 4 found herself with a keen interest in immigrants and refugees, and this led her to the field of graduate studies in international relations initially and then on to working in the field of resettlement. Her facility with languages also peeked her interest in learning about other cultures.

With no prior professional experience, Director 4 began her work with the agency that she still serves 30 years later. Director 4 started by assisting volunteers and the faith community in creating relationships with refugees. She went on to work on case management, legal services, and job development with refugees. Eventually, she took on the role of director of the office. Director 4 was not trained to serve in any of these roles, rather, she learned everything by trial and error. In the initial first years, while the office was getting established, Director 4 performed all the roles by herself.

> For thirty years so that's where I started I was hired. My boss was the director of the main office in [another city] and we had been working in [a smaller town]. She had been working in [in the smaller town] but it's an hour and a half away and so she wanted to put an office there so my first job was sponsorship developer. And the [smaller town] area so I was a one-person office and then that office grew for 19 years

and I became the coordinator of the office with a staff of let me see, I think it was about twelve tops and in that office and then in 2006 [a national organization] took over the office and I stayed on.

They brought me along and others that were on staff, I think about five others, on staff. I became the local office director. And I've also been in positions of sponsorship developer, legal immigration counselor and others like employment you know I did it all, case manager, employment specialist, found jobs for people, so I did all that but it was a one-person office. I have been the director for 11 years but been there for 30 years.

Director 4 is in the work for the long haul. She still is committed to it, enjoys it, and is challenged by it after all of these years.

Categories of meaning.

Make things easy for people.

In the 30 years that Director 4 has been in her office, it has grown and developed just as she has. Presently, the office is relatively large and quite successful. Director 4 suggests that what she learned about the job she learned by doing. She recalled that her boss was not helpful in guiding her or preparing her for the role. When asked whether her previous supervisor was a role model for her in how she cares for her own staff, Director 4 said that she trained herself to be the director by doing the opposite of what her boss did.

No, it was the opposite you know my boss wasn't there for me. I was still an affiliate I worked under the main office. My boss was never there for me you know she came

> late every day. So, she had the main office an hour away and I was in my office. She was a really unique individual very vision driven but not too good on details. Her timing was strange. She would come in to the office at two in the afternoon and then still be there at the office at two in the morning. I was on a different schedule of course. I would come in from 8-5, so it was rare for her to be in when I needed an answer to something. So, maybe that's where it came from that she didn't take care of me she would throw things at me, and expect me to do them. She would say “oh my gosh, I can't go to this conference in Washington D.C. tomorrow you're going to have to go. I promised to be there to give this presentation so you're going to go.

This boss was very influential and lacked regard for Director 4 and her needs as a staff person doing a big job on her own. Director 4 found herself putting up with this behavior for many years and never addressing it. She learned to be a supervisor by doing the opposite of what her supervisor did and by doing for others what she needed for herself.

> So, I think that it had a big influence on me, I worked for her for 19 years. Yeah and I wasn’t like me to complain. It was my first real job. I just put up with it. I had never been a supervisor you know before I worked under her and then gradually I built my office up. I was a supervisor and I was sure that I was, you know, no way was I going to be like she had been to me. That is at least partly where it came from but also, I just feel like I'm that kind of person that wants to make things easy for people.

Director 4 is known as a compassionate and well-respected boss to her staff members. It is not in her nature to throw staff into situations without support like her former boss did in the early days of her tenure. Dedication and working to create a support system for staff are what she strives for continuously.

Avoids conflict.

Director 4 describes herself as someone who avoids conflict. She does not like to confront people in difficult situations or say things that could be construed as adversarial. This trait is seamless between her personal and professional lives. In the field of resettlement, there are often community tensions. Many groups are frequently involved in aspects of the work with refugee newcomers and there can be tensions when groups get together to work through challenges or partner on various endeavors. While Director 4 is a successful director with a track record of achievements, she often does not express herself or challenge others when she feels they are not being helpful to refugees in the manner that she believes is appropriate.

> Yeah and I guess the bigger thing is that I've avoid conflict which isn't always good. You know but I do that avoid conflict. Well for example. There's a particular coalition that I am a member of that I don't agree with. Coalition members and I seem to be operating at a different level. For a couple of years, I just I didn't say things against them or if we had a vote and I voted I would vote against but I wouldn't make a big deal of it. I have started with this particular coalition sort of expressing myself and I don't like the feeling because they don't agree with me. And they sort of ostracized me. I'm not the only one but there are some strong groups in the coalition that are not doing the best for refugees and it puts me out and I don't like that. So, I'm even talking now about how we need to drop out of this coalition…I don't want to be a part of that so I see that as a way like OK let's escape this conflict you know just bow out of this coalition.

Confronting conflict is a true struggle for Director 4. She avoids being seen as the opposition, and it can be difficult for her to stand up for what she believes. She would prefer to see herself as one who makes things easy for others.

> Actually, I should be proud that I stuck it out this long. Well as far as conflict that's all that needs to be said but as for the coalition themselves, I worry about how it appears to [the national office]. The last thing they would want is to lose the most influential organization on immigration and refugees in the community. What would leaving the coalition say to the community? So, I'm thinking about that. I am talking to other people about it and I don't want to. But any way it really feels like I am running from conflict. Feels like I am sometimes. But that's been my MO. I mean I try to overcome it but really, I don't like it. I don't like to have a face to face about things I disagree on. It is like arguing and I don't like it.

Presenting her views if they are different from others feels like conflict and arguing to Director 4, so she avoids it at all costs. She is concerned that expressing a different viewpoint will be seen as argumentative or cause her to be ostracized.

The helper.

Rather than being one who embraces her abilities or stands up for her ideas, Director 4 sees herself as a person that avoids the "limelight" and places herself in the role of "helper." She prefers to embrace a view of herself as one who facilitates the success of others or creates an opportunity for those around to be their best selves. She feels very uncomfortable in owning her own efforts or achievements. As a humble aid to refugees

and her staff, Director 4 seems to view herself as a kind of servant leader with a small-town experience and approach to what she does.

(Interviewer: One of the things that I have noticed since we've been talking is that you have this really amazing story and history of building this office and you have a great staff and people give you a lot of credit and support and they talk about what an amazing operation that you have created. And yet there's still this sort of hesitancy on your part to claim any of your own contributions toward the success. Can you speak to that?)

Director 4: Well I know that my personality lends itself well to this kind of thing. I see myself as more of a helper.

I don't like to be in the limelight you know and I've always known that I like to help people so in this line of work that lends itself to that. It is my personality and experience to just be helpful. There is no experience that I have had. I have always been here. I grew up in this town. I can’t say that I moved a lot from another location.

This unassuming “helper” image comes across as timidity but belies the steely resolve that Director 4 has displayed for 30 years in the field of resettlement. Director 4 is not one to catalog her own accomplishments or take credit for team efforts, rather she points to the skill of her staff and managers for all that happens in her office. Despite her curiosity about other cultures, her studies in the field, and her many years of professional experience, her limited experience outside of her “small town” seems to contribute to Director 4’s modest image of herself. However, this modesty also seems to speak to something else in her expression of self that causes her to avoid owning or identifying with the role of public advocate or leader for the more palatable role of “helper.”

"Not churchy."

The national organization that Director 4's office is connected to has ties to the faith community. In the course of the interviews with Director 4, discussions of the involvement of faith communities with resettlement came up. Director 4's first role in her office was as a "sponsorship developer," which is a person who works with the community to involve volunteers, particularly from the faith community. These sponsors provide support and engage in efforts to welcome and assist refugees to settle into their new communities. Director 4 was not particularly keen on the role she performed. She found the constant work of speaking publicly to churches was difficult and challenged her reserved nature.

> OK to be honest I don't really like that job. I didn't like going out and speaking to churches. I wanted to work with people from foreign countries. That's why I applied for the job. And indeed, I had experience in working with those but I was really uncomfortable in that role because, I'm Catholic, Roman Catholic and I am practicing but I am not churchy.

There was a time in resettlement and particularly in the agency that Director 4 serves, that there was a significant involvement by the faith community. There was an expectation from the national organization that the local resettlement offices would partner with local churches as much as possible. Local congregations were very involved with welcoming refugees and "co-sponsoring" refugees and embraced their role in helping them become established.

> You know, you've been in the business Carleen. I was never like a real churchy person and I felt you even back then it was like really churchy. We never had conferences

> where there was alcohol served. You didn't go out and drink. And I did back then, so I was kind of uncomfortable with that role. I'm not real churchy. But it really worked out. I mean I made some great, built some great relationships that are still ongoing. So, what it was about the job that attracted me, was not that sponsorship part of it, but working with foreigners.

When asked about the role of spirituality in her own understanding of the work of resettlement, Director 4 became reticent but eventually explained that her spirituality is something that is of a personal nature to her and not something she reveals much about to others. She did acknowledge that spirituality plays a role in her work, albeit a private role.

> Yeah although it's so private. That's what I have always felt about Catholics… about maybe I should say about myself. But we don't put it out there. I'm not a proselytizer but it's made me see so much good in people, so much good.
>
> I talk now with…we have a sponsor developer now and we talk about when you go to churches. I go, oh no another evening and I've got to spend it with church people. Just because you're tired of going out at night and then when you come back it's like all, oh my god these people are beautiful. It is so wonderful. So, it really restores my faith in humanity. And yet it contributes a lot to my spirituality. I mean I know that it is God who made them and I see God in them.

While the idea of talking aloud about her own spirituality or being with people who she views as "churchy" is not comfortable for Director 4. She clearly identifies the role of her own spirituality in her work and the manner in which she is moved by both the "church people" and the refugees they welcome together. There is tension for Director 4

when she is in a position to publicly reveal herself whether it be her spirituality, her successes, or her disagreements.

Lucky

The office that Director 4 runs is highly successful and has seen both wide-spread community support as well as received national attention for its stellar programs. Despite the accolades that the office has received, Director 4 remains humble to the point of not accepting any of the positive feedback as belonging to her efforts. She gives all the credit for the successful program to the staff she has assembled. Director 4 says she believes she is just “lucky” to have a great staff that does all the hard work to make it all happen. In the process of interviewing Director 4, I came to see the tenacity of her desire to downplay her own contributions whether it is because she is a “helper” or just “lucky.” No attempts on my part would allow her to say otherwise.

Director 4: I don't know why I always feel like… I just…things fell into place. And I'm lucky that I have the people that I have on staff like I really…I have so many people that are really admirable and I feel like oh my gosh if I didn't have Y. running these programs or X. raising the funds and she’s so friendly and personable. It’s not me, you know. It's…without all these people doing a good job like really caring about the work they do.

(Interviewer: Would those people be there if you weren’t doing a good job yourself?)

Director 4: I guess the only thing I did was I hired them but did I attract them to [this office]? Maybe. I don't know. I don't feel like it was because of me. It was because here's this great organization. We do good work.

(Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, I understand what you're saying but I also…There's something about you that keeps people there and there's something about what you have been a part of creating that makes things work. Or you know people wouldn't feel good about being there.)

Director 4: Yeah, I guess.

(Interviewer: I don't mean to try to convince you, but I do hear that you don't feel you can own it. It feels like it's bigger than you, which it is.)

Director 4: It does feel that way like when people say, “oh my gosh, you’ve done so much work”. I'm not the one going to the airport at 11:00 at night or calming down parents whose child is sick. I'm not like these people, who do what I see as hard work.

The work of case workers is very challenging and in many ways the most rigorous role that staff play in the field of resettlement. Director 4 affirms that this role is something she has a hard time imagining herself performing. There was a time when she did in fact perform the role, and it informs her work as a director and how she guides staff. However, Director 4 prefers to consider herself as “lucky” to have the amazing staff she has who now do this work. There is disconnect between her own efforts and those she attributes solely to the staff.

It's really hard, hard work. Well it's funny because that's what I did in the beginning yeah. It's funny how you think about doing it, like I could never find an apartment in three days and get it furnished or calm down the guy who wants to kill himself. You know like I did that I did that. And, that's what they do you now. The stuff goes on every day, yeah, every day.

It helps that I've done it…Everything really. I was a one-person office for so long. It does help.

It is difficult for Director 4 to own that her initiative has made an impact on the operations of her office. She would rather attribute the success of the office to luck or to the staff persons who do the very difficult work of resettlement. Even though Director 4 herself did that difficult work at one time and guides and supervises the staff that now do it, she is adamant that the achievements are a team effort driven by those doing the hard stuff. Interestingly, in addition to the role of case manager, the resettlement office director is also often viewed in the field as one of the most difficult roles. To acknowledge what she knows and embrace her achievements seems threatening to Director 4.

Limits.

There are immense pressures placed on resettlement staff members as they seek to care for clients, traverse challenges, and meet a high number of needs with few resources. Resettlement directors help supervisors and staff to manage the myriad of tasks they encounter on a daily basis. At times, these tasks become overwhelming. Therefore, managing expectations and setting limits is essential in the resettlement context. Director 4 mentioned one staff person in particular who she recently witnessed becoming distressed by all that she could not get done on behalf of her clients. This is the kind of strain that is very concerning for Director 4 and staff members alike.

I think she was going through something herself and a lot of it was stress caused by the job. Her attitude as a team member was really bad and it was all because she felt like

> she didn't have enough time to take care of the clients the way they should be taken care of.

Having time and resources to properly do one's job is essential for staff morale and well-being as well as that of clients. Director 4 has focused on finding ways for the staff at her office to have limits in their work but also meet those needs of clients that are a necessity for them to meet. However, setting limits even for herself can be challenging.

> I like comp time and we use to give it and it went really. Until we found out that it is not even allowed and is not even legal. And so, then we started figuring out what can we do to make sure that we were managing time. Staff would say, we have to work overtime or else we won't get everything done. So, then I certainly look at what are you doing and see how we can fit that into forty hours a week and what can we do to hire new staff, give out different jobs or delegate tasks. We found that people felt like if they still have work to do and then leave it – it kind of made them feel bad. Or if anyone feels that if others or their supervisors are still working and they leave are they supposed to feel guilty and different people do feel guilty. I mean not to necessarily make them stay but stay late but they felt guilty like oh I'm not giving it my all. So, I do know that when I stay here it probably has that effect on people.

There are often endless needs that must be attended to in resettlement work. Staff members are dedicated and passionate about their work and devoted to their clients. Additionally, staff members must work closely together to manage all that needs to be accomplished. The pressures of doing a proper job and caring for one's self create binds for staff and directors alike. Having an expectation of limits for all staff is important to create the balance necessary to prevent over work and a feeling of guilt or poor morale.

Director 4: When my old supervisor [from the national office] was here it helped so much that she told us to be very careful about working long hours, not working sixty hours and then it honestly makes you feel like well she's not doing it so it must be OK not to do it. And then there are actually days now where I leave on a Friday. I feel like I should come in to get this caught up before Monday but I don't. And I just banish it from my head. You know like I'm just not going to do it this time I might do it next weekend but I'm not going into work this weekend and then I don't worry about it all weekend. I just come back Monday of course it's still there waiting for me and that's fine.

(Interviewer: So, in a way she gave you permission to set limits.)

Director 4: Yes. So, I better to say the same to my staff. I'm sure that my actions too will speak to that and I should be watching for that. Yeah, I think it's important just to be there for them.

The director can set the tone for the others and serve as a model of how to set good boundaries around work. However, if the system as a whole does not support this kind of limit setting then it creates conflict for staff and managers alike. Director 4 found it very useful for her own supervisor to help her create boundaries around the work. Subsequently, Director 4 was able to do the same for her own staff.

Restructuring.

There was a time when Director 4 did not set limits for herself and was overworking and therefore unable to fully attend to her own needs or those of her staff members. She

came to a point when she needed to make changes to how she managed her work. She referred to this shift as “restructuring”.

> I'm just thinking back Carleen to like 2007 even when I felt like everything was on me when I moved to this office and the staff started to grow that I didn't have time and I remember back then being really grim, and saying I have too much work to do and I was just kind of tired and people…I remember looking up and someone would come in my office. I know I looked up with an expression of like annoyance. But, that's not really how I am. I was just so stressed and had so much to do and I can't really say what changed it.

Director 4 found herself in a position in which she was responding to staff with annoyance, and the stress of the work was changing her in ways that she did not feel were congruent with how she viewed herself. Fortunately, something shifted for Director 4 and she was able to make the necessary changes.

> I actually I had a staff member who was studying to be a non-profit manager. She was in grad school and she told me, ‘you shouldn't be doing this and this, and this, and that's the kind of work an administrative person should do. You know secretarial stuff. You need somebody to help you.” So, I did do that at that time. I had a big restructuring of the office and I divided up all those little tasks I was doing because I used to feel like well I am not going to ask someone to do it if I won’t to do it myself but I was doing a lot of that kind of thing.

Not only did Director 4 shift the tasks that she was doing by moving more administrative tasks to more appropriate staff members but she also restructured who and how she supervised the staff in the office. Director 4 found herself providing direct

supervision to far too many staff members to provide the kind of supervision staff needed. So, Director 4 reorganized that aspect of her work as well.

> Listening to every case-manager's problem cases and helping them to solve it together. But, since the restructuring, I don't have to. At that time, everybody was reporting to me and the staff was like fifteen people and I was the one they all reported to me and so after the restructuring, I had supervisors that reported to me. I think I'm good at choosing staff. So, I got my supervisors and they report to me and other staff report to them.

The "restructuring" not only addressed how and who Director 4 supervised and what tasks she handled herself and what tasks she delegated to others, the restructuring also involved how she managed her internal and external ways of interfacing with herself and others. Director 4 found herself moving about in a frenzied fashion with little time to slow down and have open conversation or to engage the needs of others. She felt her pace of work was off-putting to the staff, and although she felt she had extended a welcoming presence to staff, her actions gave off a different impression.

> Maybe my metabolism is so fast you know like I moved fast and I realized that I was like running around the office, walking too fast like I am in a rush. I am in a rush and not taking time for people. I just realized I did that again today and I kind of ran down the hall, so I stopped myself. But yeah, I know that it does or if I'm walking past, people are going to think 'oh I can't ask her now she's looks too busy' but I have an open-door policy and I want to keep it.
>
> And, sometimes, I think this is why I have to stay late because I want to take the time with staff. So, I do not rush during the day any more. I don't want to rush. Like I'm

rushed or talk to me now I don't want to have it appear that way and so I don't, I have my doors open and if someone steps in to talk to me now that's good. I have the time and it seems to do a lot for people that I can be that way.

And then on the other hand I think sometimes but I feel good that people are that way they don't feel like I can't bother her as she has too much to do I would even make comments in the past like oh my gosh I've always backed up that I can’t catch up with my emails so knowing I am better at that I don't always bring that up, I don’t run around the office so I think it's a good first step.

Unfortunately, Director 4 finds that if she slows down she must take more time in the office. There are trade-offs for Director 4 in how she is present for staff while also managing her time. The restructuring helped her to wrestle with this.

I can't have it all ways. I'm going to have to stay a little bit later if I want to be open to talking to people or I mean ever finding out about what's going on at home or with a new baby. But to me it's more, I'd prefer that, I mean I don't want to be that person that rushes around just to get out of here by five o’clock. Maybe I was just thinking ten years ago. If I was different, I would just put my nose to the grindstone and work, work and that wasn't healthy and I was like I have got to get out of this job what else can I do. So, I made those changes and I am a lot more even. Though, I can tell it sounds like I am stressed. It's a lot better. I mean…I think there's always some stress here. So, I feel better I don't know quite why. But I feel that I do take better care of myself than I used to even though it is just recently with everything. We've gotten busy. I do have to start going to the gym that's the best thing I can do for myself. But yet. It's better than it used to be.

“It’s better than it used to be” seems to sum up Director 4’s efforts to balance her busy work schedule and her desire to support and connect with staff. She seems to be making an earnest effort toward doing both but as everything is, it is a work in progress for her. In recent years, Director 4 added a senior administrative assistant to her staff to help her meet her promise to herself that she would work fewer hours and remain available to the team members.

Together.

Along with her limit-setting, restructuring her work, and creating time for staff, Director 4 has found that finding ways to enjoy one another’s company and work together as a team adds to the morale and success of the office. For Director 4, the key to how to help staff work less and continue to get their work accomplished is for the staff to help each other. However, she acknowledges that the staff members continue to struggle and work hard.

> So, I recognize more how you need to spend your time and I talk to everybody. I have less time. I have to stay here longer. You know it's not necessarily that everyone seems happier and I don't have people working too much. But, I mean we really clamped down on that too…and I remember people saying, ‘I can't work overtime, how am I going to get everything done.’ Well, guess what? Everybody does get everything done except on unique occasions. So, it's not like the work lessened or decreased. But everyone working together more as a team and getting to know each other sounds kind of lame but that has worked out.

There is repeated reference to the many ways that Director 4 and her team strive to create a strong team that are “together” in all their efforts. The strength of this team allows for the staff to not become burnt out or work more hours that needed. The team approach assures that the staff are providing the best care possible to clients while maintaining an appropriate work balance. Director 4 feels it is important to work together as a team and have opportunities for play and fun as a team.

> This morning we had our staff meeting and our team activity was building gingerbread houses and decorating them, so it was really fun. So, we do things like that. We have refugee concerts. All of these things help bring people together. And I would say like five years ago I didn't do things kind of things. I was like, there's not time, there's not time.

Time together allows Director 4 and other managers to share on a professional and personal level, which Director 4 believes makes for a stronger more cohesive team.

> We're having a Christmas party and it's going to be at the place it's a bar that we had another event recently…We go to this bar. It’s like a community center everything happens there and we decorated some of the snugs, the little what do you call them in Ireland they are called snugs. Cubbies that you know they're in one area of the bar and they're like little places where you can close the door in a way so we each took one of those and decorated them. We named this cubby Somalia and another something else. We got some of the refugees to come. And it was a fun thing, so they all went to decorate early in the morning and then they hung around to talk to people that came and it was really crowded. People came in the afternoon, most of the staff, and then also at night.

Sharing simple, social moments with staff members allows for time for them all to get to know one another in a more holistic manner and creates a bond that serves them well. In Director 4's estimation this reinforces a team environment, and it also aids Director 4 in understanding her staff more deeply.

> It's nice to be able to have a beer with them sometimes. Then you're in that kind of a situation then you start talking about your climbing hobby that you're doing or your bike riding or what's going on with your husband or children. And having that is really, really, good sometimes it's good for me to be there. Sometimes it's not. Recently, it was someone's birthday and so I went to a happy hour after work. So, sometimes I don't always go out because they need time on their own. Right now, I think it has brought people close. It helps so much to know things about people's personal lives, so when we put people in a situation where they're likely to talk about that to each other it helps the team a lot so we do we do things like that.

Director 4 has found that in some situations knowing staff members more fully allows her to have a better understanding of their struggles with work and more empathy for them as she works through their professional struggles with them. This empathy for staff members helps her and other supervisors in their overall management of the team environment.

Choosing staff members who will fit well together and complement each other is another tactic that Director 4 employs to create a well-functioning team. The staff members need to have different gifts but be like minded. Director 4 strives to hire people who will help each other and enjoy each other. She finds that staff members will perform better on behalf of clients and the organization when they like working with one another.

Director 4 finds that the staff members she hires even sometimes become friends outside of business hours and this reinforces the strength of the team.

> You know sometimes I hire people so that everybody fits. I'm not going to introduce some element into the office that's going to disrupt teamwork. So, sometimes I guess I feel like that's the first thing I did was hire people who know how to get along and know how to adapt. To be part of the team but also people different from themselves. Some staff are friends. I mean a lot of the staff hang out together outside of work.

The concept of team is very important to Director 4 as she find it to be one of the most important aspects of creating an environment of responsiveness to clients while also protecting staff from over-working.

"Give them umbrellas."

Taking care of the needs of clients and properly connecting them to resources is of the utmost importance to Director 4. She guides her staff in providing comprehensive and compassionate care to their clients, while also empowering the clients to reach for their own success. When asked about her philosophy of client care Director 4 stated the following:

> Yeah, I guess I never put it into words. You know I haven't written anything down. I've thought about it but to describe it. I compare our work with the other resettlement agencies in our area. I think that we have to do what we can, certainly, to adhere to the cooperative agreement but beyond that we never let go of a family until they've been connected to all services that they need going forward. And that doesn't mean we

> never let go of a family but rather that when ninety days comes I want staff to have connected clients to the resources they will need.

There is an intentionality about Director 4's philosophy of care for clients. She articulates a method of how staff must serve clients that goes beyond any imposed system. "I believe in empowering the clients. But making them still feel secure that they have someone to go to if they fail it's kind of like staff. So, my staff is good about that."

Director 4 trains her staff to not create dependency with clients but rather to empower them to have achievements of their own. She sees this as the way that clients learn and become successful and own their own resettlement. The staff are encouraged not to do things for clients but to work with clients to do things for themselves. Often resettlement and community members will fall into the trap of doing too much for clients which can be disabling. When resettlement workers do adhere to appropriate boundaries of care for clients, they are at times in a position in which they are called out by others as not helpful to clients. However, they are in fact caring for clients by facilitating their accomplishments and empowering them to take control of their own lives. This is particularly crucial for refugees who, in so many circumstances, have had their power taken from them.

> Recently a church complained. It's the first time it ever happened and I'm going to get back to them, but they felt that one of my staff members was too harsh on the clients, but I know him and he's really good about it. He's not going to take someone here or there if they could walk or take the bus where you know they've already been.

Rather than taking the easy way or the self-satisfying route, Director 4 asks staff to provide care to clients by providing them the tools to be successful on their own terms.

> So, we don't want to create a dependency in clients. We used to do a little bit too much of that and that would add on to caseworkers' caseload and they would feel and that's kind of they used to feel like I there's not enough time to do everything they need to do. So, that's kind of when we changed it to go through very carefully that we need to do this or that but not something else. There are these instances when you do something that you might think is a little bit beyond but case managers need to think through what they are doing. For example, all kinds of little things like, go get them if it's raining out, pick up a client if it's raining. We say no, let's give them umbrellas and they can walk. So, I think we're a lot more conscious.

It is not about a kind of sink or swim tough love that Director 4 promotes in the work with clients. Rather, it is a compassionate and client focused approach with the goal of lifting clients up and promoting their agency. Director 4 feels that they provide a different kind of approach to client care than other resettlement agencies. She sees other agencies providing the minimum of services according to their contracts and not resourcing clients appropriately.

> We are more warm and fuzzy than our other resettlement agencies here. Who we sometimes feel they just drop it like 'no we can't help you anymore it's 90 days up.' So I'm trying to go between…I don't want to overload case managers but we need to do proper care with clients as well. I think I feel like we're good at that sometimes. We have to work at it and you know people err on the side of too much help. You know, I have to say, 'they can't walk you know she has a baby'. Rather than the other way but if anything, we do maybe too much but we're really working on that.

There is a balance that Director 4 is striving to strike in attending to clients while also providing care that is empowering.

Shouldering their burdens.

Creating an environment of care for staff to aid them in the work they do with refugees is a concept that Director 4 embraces. She is very conscious of the way in which she and other supervisors set the tone for how things go for the staff that they support. When I asked Director 4 to talk about her understanding of how she creates an environment of care for her staff members, she immediately understood its application to the resettlement environment and could identify a number of ways that she strives to create such an environment for her staff members. She identified being attuned and present for staff, gathering staff together for mutual support, providing opportunities for relaxation, and training as ways that she provides an environment of care.

> Yeah, I understand that totally. I have a new grandson. And, that's exactly what you do when you have a baby. You just want them to feel safe and secure and you do all the stuff that you do to make them feel that way. You know making them warm or not hungry, knowing that someone is always there. Right yeah that's what I do with staff. I know that’s how I want them to feel. The work is hard so I want to feel like everything else is good.

Director 4 is particularly attuned to staff when they are working too hard or experience something very difficult and need care. She sees the care that she gives as a reflex rather than a conscious act.

> When I see that they're here late I kind of make a mental note and see what I can do to alleviate their load. So, maybe it's a reflex. I think about them at times when a lot is going on or evening work is required or weekend work is required and I then I'll talk to them too. Like my congregational resource developer, I ask ‘why are you still here’ and she says, ‘I have to go meet with the church at six thirty so I just stayed’. I tell her to take a day off or come in late tomorrow. So, maybe it is reflex.

Part of what Director 4 does for her staff that creates an environment of care is that she sees them and she is attuned to their particular needs. If they look tired then she tells them to take time off. If they need a listening ear she makes herself available no matter how busy she might be. When things are particularly challenging, they hear a disturbing story from a client, or they encounter the intense stresses of the work, Director 4 talks to the staff and attends to their concerns.

> Yeah, I talk about it with them. I stay involved in it. That's a good thing. I stay involved and I make sure they have the support they need. I mean we talk about it and I've been able to make some suggestions or connect them to people they might not have known. I think it's a big burden to carry for just my staff members and including the supervisor.

In one situation, the staff were working with a client family who were struggling, and the authorities were taking their kids away. It was very difficult for staff to tolerate, and Director 4 saw her role as helping them to shoulder the burden.

> I guess I'm saying I talk to them about it and how they feel. We discuss it. Whenever something new happens to the case we discuss it together and I don't just say find out what's going on and get back to me. I want them to talk about how they feel and make

> sure I know they understand they're doing all they can and if they can't do anything there's nothing else to be done and maybe it's the right thing.

In addition to the ways in which Director 4 closely attends to staff needs by listening and supporting, she also points to other methods of providing care. Gathering staff together inside the office and out helps to create this environment of care to which Director 4 is committed. Not only does Director 4 create the environment but the staff help to create it for each other. Just as they find team efforts helpful, they also support and share good times and difficult times with one another.

> We have a monthly staff training and they've really improved and we have fun at our staff meeting and that helps a lot. We started doing it about a year ago. Also, when people leave the agency we go out for happy hour. Or what am I saying we mix alcohol in to it. But that's helped a lot. I don't know what it is but when people leave nowadays or when interns leave different departments or the whole staff will go out after work. We never did that like years ago, so not to say that's why we're staying together now…although I think it contributes to people feeling sort of responsible for each other and work because they're friends outside of work too. Or at least they feel friendly toward each other.

Director 4 believes that taking time to meet together, learn together, and play together promotes an environment in which people take responsibility for one another, which lends itself to the environment of care she and others in the office work to create.

Other efforts that Director 4 and her supervisory team work to build into the environment of care for the staff members include ways to promote peacefulness and relaxation for staff, stress relief, time to reflect on the work, and giving people a break.

> I think a lot about finding a place of peacefulness relaxation for staff because I know in USRP the coordinator has said to me we need a monthly meeting, we meet more than that, but we have a monthly meeting too and she has said that her staff has been working with high energy for the whole year you know our arrivals were high…it's going to continue being high and instead it's stressful because we aren't going to get anyone and then we continue to get people. They didn't have a BREAK and people were sort of looking forward to maybe a month with lower arrivals where they wouldn't be feel so rushed. So, anyway I always think it would be nice if I can guarantee like your day's not going to be full. That's I think the nature of this work. You are going to have a full day you know.

Promoting a sense of calm and relaxation in the office at different intervals is something that Director4 believes is very important to creating an overall environment of care in the office. She would like to set aside predictable times for this but it can be difficult given the fast-paced environment.

> But I think about doing a retreat for them where they actually can slow down and talk to each other. Reflect on the work that you do and how meaningful it is. But not that I've had time to make that happen but it it's occurred to me that I'd like to create that space for her staff. I think the biggest thing we have done is we have a staff meeting that's outside in a park or yeah, it's so relaxing just to be there that's part of it so I think that a retreat would affect people positively.

The intentional action of slowing down and creating space for relaxation and reflection is something that Director 4 wishes she could do more. She imagines that a

retreat with her staff with a solid block of time devoted to relaxing would be a positive way for her to attend to staff care.

Training staff is another area of staff care that Director 4 identifies. Training staff is an important part of preparing them for working with refugees as well as an important tool in staff development. While Director 4 does not have a formal training structure in place at her office, she does value training and looks for opportunities to bring education on a variety of topics to staff members. Director 4 wants to create a reliable environment of care for her staff and she has made many efforts to that end; however, she is aware that it is a work in process. She sees the needs and is continually working to create a predictable environment that will facilitate the care.

Material support.

One of the pressing needs that Director 4 identified is material resources for her staff members. Sometimes it is the tangible resources that staff members require that can make all the difference in how staff persons experience support.

> And I was just thinking about my staff. We have a cargo van to move furniture and they are like, 'I am so stressed out, so and so has the van and I need it. And when am I going to get this done.' I always work hard and push to get what they need. I mean, I determine is there really a need? Is there something else we can do? We need this van and they're [national office] saying no you have to lease a van. So, I'm pushing for that because I see that it would definitely bring relief. They are thinking 'I have to know that this has to be done by 8:00 tonight when the family is to arrive but somebody else is using the van so what am I going to do?'

Other types of material resources can provide staff with the feeling that they are not alone in this work, as well as physical supports, such as a helping hand. Even actual physical space can make a difference. Staff often identify very simple items that will make them feel more comfortable and better supported in their jobs.

> So, its material things that they need but it's also help. But yeah, I just see the big thing is people know they can ask somebody else for help when they're like oh I have an arrival tonight and I had an arrival last night, can you do it tonight. We also need more space. There isn't enough for everyone and the things we want to do.

Director 4 identifies tangible resources as the type of things essential to staff feeling supported by the organization. It does not always require more sophisticated support maneuvers to care for staff.

Dreamers.

The election of Donald Trump as President of the United States was a central theme in Director 4's interviews. One of the aspects that Director 4 is most concerned about as a result of the Trump election are the "Dreamers." Director 4's office serves clients and has f members who are in the situation of potentially losing their legal status if the Trump administration follows through on its threats to overturn a policy known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). Those youth who received legal status through DACA are referred to as "Dreamers." The other area of concern for Director 4 is in relationship to the Executive Orders (EOs) signed by President Trump entitled, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the U.S." These EOs have created a shift in refugee arrivals which is impacting Director 4's office.

The idea that her staff members and the other “Dreamers” she knows might be forced to leave the only country they know is distressing for Director 4. She is passionate about their plight. Director 4 has lent her voice and support to a group in town that is engaged with all of the young people who have DACA status.

> So, we met today to form a coalition we want to work with Dreamers and so we met with people higher up in college because they have some students who are DACA students as well and that's a big concern but they're very motivated they said they are in touch all the dreamers in our town. They have a group that they put together and so they said we're really motivated. So, I just want to say we're behind you. I want to say we're going to give you time to work on this and we're going to put everything we have behind it and now we're going to work with the college. We have to let our legislators know not to let DACA go.

Their vulnerability is something particularly poignant for Director 4. Her attachment to the staff member who has DACA status heightens the situation for Director 4. Her well-being is Director 4’s main concern.

> One of my staff members is a Dreamer you know so it's very real to her. I have to let her go if that program is stopped. If there is any fear, it would be for [her]. Because she's suffered a lot…she really wears her heart on her sleeve. She didn't always talk about it. She wouldn’t talk about that but so she's been empowered. She's fearful but she's been empowered and she speaks out about it, so she knows what consequences could come of that.

The Executive Orders also created significant concerns in the resettlement community. It has generated a slowdown in arrivals and an unpredictable future for the program.

Refugees who were scheduled to arrive from overseas were stopped from coming and may never unite with their families. Domestic resettlement offices do not receive funding without refugees to resettle. Therefore, capacity in the resettlement offices has been diminished and many offices are in the process of downsizing. Staff members are worried for their jobs and for their clients' futures. Morale is low and anxiety is high. Director 4 is having to coordinate funds, raise money, and move people around to new roles.

> It's just like a puzzle you know you're always trying to figure something out. Everyone says you know, it like it keeps you busy, keeps you on your toes. I've got to pay attention to everything extra carefully now because things change quickly.

Director 4 has found that not only does she have to be nimble and focused in the changing environment, she also must employ a variety of tactics to calm the anxieties of her staff members.

Transparency.

Since the presidential election, one aspect of her role that has come into greater focus for Director 4 is how much the staff needs and respects transparency and openness. "Being really transparent about it is a big help in that they're more likely to share things with me and it calms people down." Also, demonstrating to that staff that she has things handled and that she is taking on the hard stuff are also keys to Director 4's stance.

> Well it's just that I have to manage the big picture. I mean that's one of the things I have to do. You know the buck stops with me and there are a lot of little things that could amount to something big but I feel like I better have a handle on the big picture and also, I better be transparent about everything.

Facilitating an environment that is open and managed well is the approach that Director 4 feels best supports her staff during the tumultuous times that the resettlement community is faced with and mirrors the method Director 4 strives for in general.

Open door.

Another aspect of Director 4's role that she finds to be essential for supporting staff is her "open door policy." Repeatedly, Director 4 refers to this as a significant posture for her to take, so as to give the staff her time and energy even when she is busy with the work. In the interviews, Director 4 spoke about a few of her staff members and their family matters and how they come to her for support and guidance. It is really important to her that she is available to them so that she can support them as whole persons.

> When they come in every day they pass by my door and they often feel free to stop and I think it helps a lot. I feel like we want to work with people and support them and support their families.

This openness to hearing not just about work concerns but also family concerns facilitates an environment in which the staff members feel that she as the Director cares for them as whole persons.

> So, I guess what I'm trying to say is the open-door policy is important. It's not just that I get to know people and what's going on with them but it is the way to support them in their work. We have like thirty-five people on staff now plus interns and I think that everyone here feels that they can come to me with anything and they do and it takes up my time, but I think it's important and it helps a lot to bring staff together.

The open door policy also incorporates Director 4's desire to provide the staff with the reassurance and firm foundation that they need to be sufficiently supported in their work.

> So, there's that and then there's the open-door policy. I tell people that you can always go to your supervisor you can always come to me and I try to make people feel supported. I also want them to understand that the buck stops with me and not with them.

Part of what Director 4 is attempting to accomplish with her open-door policy is the sense that people can come to her, and she will hear them out and she will take care of things. "The buck stops with her."

Much of the restructuring Director 4 has done in recent years relates to her desire to slow down enough to be present and available to her staff members. She has become intentional about actually physically altering the ways in which she is prone to rushing around the office as it was giving off the wrong message to staff and contradicting the open posture that she was trying to promote.

> Well yeah that is one thing that I did I felt like I walked around the office like I am really busy. You know I kind of tend to walk fast anyway but I'm on a mission and I do this at times when I am really stressed. And so, it doesn't do anything of course for staff to see me looking stressed, so I consciously try to change that and I mean I know how I act when I'm stressed. I'm just like in a zone and I my door is always open. If I have to get a drink or make tea or something I run up there and get back. So, I just changed that purposely and take time to talk to people like I would have normally. So, I have done that on purpose. It does make me slow down and I feel like it makes for a much nicer day all around.

Director 4’s availability and openness are the main ways in which she strives to create and facilitate an environment of care for her staff members.

Support for the supporter.

Director 4 has a small repertoire of supports that she looks to for her own care. Those supports include family, exercise, the community, and her national office supervisors. She found that she was overworking and it was impacting her health.

> Actually, that cough I've had for many years. I was going to another doctor, I kept on going to the doctor because no doctor could figure it out and I think I'm with one who was figuring it out, so I do think that's related to stress. No doctor has ever said that. What this new doctor is doing is helping. But I still think it's related to what am I doing. I don't spend as much time at the office like I don't work every night. I was working a lot. Till seven or eight. I knew that wasn't good for me so I leave earlier even though I leave a lot of e-mails in the box but I go and I don't usually do work at home. So, there's that I can’t really say that makes me feel better because it just feels like too much unfinished work.

Director 4 acknowledges that care for herself starts with her own changes to how she approached the work and what she does for herself.

With the recent Executive Orders, Director 4’s office has experienced increased support and outreach from the community. People are reaching out to her and the staff and demonstrating their support for refugee resettlement. Director 4 is finding added personal support from this source as well as others.

> Things are going so well in the community. The community is so supportive that helps me a lot…people say you're doing such a great job and I love what you're doing, thank you for what you do. So that really helps me a lot.

The additional community support has served as balm for Director 4 as she and her staff members face very difficult times in the field of resettlement. The community has taken on a role in holding the resettlement staff and clients alike in a very difficult time.

Directors are often isolated in their roles with few supports and many stressors. They need strong systems of care themselves, but it can be difficult to identify those systems. However, Director 4 has found a few that she can rely on.

> I do feel supported by [the national office]. I remember Carleen, you were a director for pretty long. There were times when we just didn't like the headquarters. I can remember those days like long ago now it's hard to think we'd ever feel that way I mean [they] do everything for us. So, that's really good I always feel supported by the community. You know and by my staff, people on staff who say things to help you keep everything together.

People supports as well as physically caring for herself make a difference for Director 4, but she has a hard time maintaining self-care. Also, placing boundaries around her work is an ongoing effort.

> So, one thing I don't do is exercise. I used to feel so good but I don't have time. And I keep saying to myself, everyone else says that it makes you feel so good it's…but I don't do that regularly any more. That's about it. I mean it was really big for me to not work like every Monday thru Thursday late every night and to just go home so it's still new to me to do. When I don't answer emails, I feel…you know you can't keep up

with that. I just can't do emails nine hours a day and do other things so when I leave the emails, I feel like something has to give if you're not going to work as many hours.

Director 4 is keenly aware of the care and time her staff needs, but caring for herself and relying on other supports is more complicated for her.

Conclusion.

Director 4 seems to struggle deeply with how she can be everything to everyone while maintaining enough distance to have perspective and be able to care for herself. She is conflicted about taking ownership of her power, successes, and leadership role, while maintaining her preferred position of helper, caregiver, and peacemaker. Her efforts to be open and transparent, supportive, and responsible are key to her stance as the available and responsive director. She promotes an environment of care for her staff by using herself as a source of good things and by facilitating a team dynamic which fosters mutual support. This theme carries through to how she encourages staff to care for clients as well. She wants people to feel resourced and cared for by her and by each other.

Director 5

Identifying information.

Director 5 is a woman in her late fifties, who has been in the field of resettlement for more than 20 years. Like many directors in the field she began her career in an unplanned way. Prior to working in resettlement, Director 5 began her professional life in the intelligence field. She left once she got married and had children. She then worked in various part-time roles including as a church secretary. International affairs became an

interest of Director 5's in her high school years as she was studying Latin and Russian. In college, she continued her studies in Russian language and literature. Director 5 developed a fascination with Russia but never visited the country. Her knowledge of the Russian language is what eventually led her to working in resettlement.

A woman from Director 5's church contacted her regarding a Russian immigrant in need of assistance. Director 5 had knowledge of Russian, so she stepped in to assist. The same woman was working to open a resettlement office with a local Episcopal priest. When the office opened, Director 5 joined the efforts by filling a role that helped to connect refugees with the faith community. She also served in other roles such as case manager. Eventually, Director 5 became the office director and continues to serve as such. In addition to her office, she also oversees a small office in another city.

Categories of meaning.

Fish out of water.

Prior to taking on the role of director of the resettlement agency, Director 5 and her husband moved around a lot and spent some time in London. She can identify with refugees in a small way due to her experience of feeling out of place and unsure of herself in a strange culture. Even though England is an English-speaking country, Director 5 found herself experiencing what she considered culture shock. This experience informs her understanding of what clients go through when they arrive and become settled in the U.S.

> It's out of your comfort zone and as much as we wanted to go to England where we were really good that was a wonderful we got there and there was definitely a feeling

> like a fish out of water. You know, round peg in a square hole, what do I do, how do I act, you know what do people do, you know when they go to the grocery store because you are obviously observant they are there it's not the same as here.

Director 5 became aware that the smallest details of how to get along in London were different from in the U.S., and she was acutely aware of her own discomfort.

Director 5 remembers reaching out to neighbors for insights on how to get along in the new environment. Things that most people take for granted in their own culture, the simplest tasks, can be overwhelmingly difficult for a newcomer.

> I had a person that I met there was just two doors down from me. She took me places and explained stuff. It’s silly but I was trying to get up on it all. So, what brands do you buy, the whole psychology, the subconscious stuff? You know just when you go to the grocery store what do you normally buy what store brand is good and what store brand isn't what should you buy generic or what not. But if you go through the entire store of stuff that you have never seen before. Well it looks like cheerios but doesn't taste like Cheerios. I think a lot of that is an unconscious shaping of trying to understand what a refugee experience is. At least in that very somewhat shallow way but on the other hand that idea of cultural immersion maybe. How do you do that when you go somewhere else? We did it when we moved to towns where other Americans didn't live both times that we lived in London.

Even though there was no language barrier, Director 5 found that the cultural misunderstandings were real and her experience gives her an empathetic understanding of how refugees experience their new culture. She tries to impart her insights to her staff.

> There are misunderstandings even with the English…There's a thread in a tapestry. Those threads all came together with those experiences even if it wasn't a refugee experience. They made it easier to think about, all right what if I went somewhere but I didn't have a home to go back to?, what if all I had was my suitcase and I was just going on vacation for a couple of weeks that was all I had to bring to a new country? There was nothing else. So, those are things that I try to tell people. Or I'll ask people, "imagine you don't have anything when you're somewhere else you don't have something to go back to?" it's just gone but that's a really hard to imagine.

It is important for Director 5 to feel as if she has an understanding of clients' experiences. It is also crucial to Director 5 that her staff members have empathy for the situation of their clients as they enter a strange new land where even the smallest differences can be significant hurdles.

Trauma.

Beyond culture shock, Director 5 identifies trauma as the most significant experience that clients face. They bring their past experience with them into their new lives in the U.S. The traumas they have faced influence much of their responses that come after as they become acclimated to their new home. Understanding the trauma that clients have faced is difficult for those who have not had the experience no matter how much they may want to comprehend it. Depending on the client, they may or may not talk about their experience but it is still there.

> So that's kind of an overlay but the deeper part that I don't think any of us understand, is the trauma is the actual problem of the experience. Being forced out of your home

> for whatever reason and we've talked especially…I started during the Bosnian crisis. So, a lot of people have now become friends and they don't talk much about it still which makes me think back to children of the Holocaust survivors saying that their parents didn't talk about it and they didn't know what their parents were feeling…like I think some stuff is just too hard. I don't know…I know people are supposed to talk about things but I think sometimes maybe that's not the best thing that's so individual is to say do you want to talk about this or not and sometimes people just can't you just can't so I'm not sure we can understand.

Director 5 underlines how painful the experiences are of the refugees who are forced from one home and have to create a new one in a foreign environment. For many the pain is so deep, there is such significant trauma and loss that they cannot speak of it. This approach has been the way that some refugees have coped.

Resilience.

Director 5 is continuously struck by the remarkable resilience of refugees and all that they have been through and yet can somehow survive and not only function, but in many circumstances, thrive.

> We can’t really understand even a little bit although we try. I think a huge piece is when someone is sitting with you and you're just talking to them or something and they start talking to you about some of the experiences. And even if you're just saying, wow I mean to myself, I can't believe this person is sitting here telling me pretty horrible stuff and they're actually able to be that. You know they are functioning.

> Some of it's just to me…I'm always amazed at the resilience as we all say about refugees and all the things they've been through.

Helping refugees to not only survive but thrive in their new circumstance is of the upmost importance to Director 5, and she sees it as her role to encourage staff in their support of refugees' resilience.

Tragedy.

A few years ago, Director 5's office experienced a great tragedy that has remained alive in the office and with her and her staff members. A new client with mental health issues murdered another refugee. The event became a national story and the office was pursued by the media for days. The staff and Director 5 were in a fragile state as they attempted to cope with the aftermath, but it was difficult to talk about and difficult for staff to separate their feelings from their work with clients.

> Well we of course had the tragedy in 2015. So, we were all affected by that a lot more than we thought we were at the time. I think sometimes you just get through something and when you're through it, I mean that's a refugee experience in a way too, when you're truly through it you are like wow, "I didn't realize how really unbalanced I was at the time or how this really affected me". I didn't think we all became at the least for that time period. We became a lot more just sensitive. You know people just kind of got upset more easily and just were just sensitive to things that they perceived as being slights and they weren't or whatever so that was something.

Director 5 in particular realized after the fact that she was in a particularly difficult state immediately after the tragedy. She was "unbalanced" and talking about the events in

the interview brought back painful memories. At one point in the interviews, she became tearful when discussing the events and quickly worked to push the feelings down. In that moment, Director 5 realized again how much the experience still resonates with her. She was not ready to unpack it more in that moment as the memories are still too raw and painful.

"I'm not in charge of the world."

When discussing her philosophy of client care, Director 5 is clear about how important it is to provide proper care to clients and allow them the freedom to be their own persons and make their own decisions. Director 5 talked about people doing too much for clients and not managing the boundaries and limits of relationships. She discussed her frustration at times with volunteers, who do more for clients than they should and in essence take away their power. Director 5 finds it difficult to manage those who insist on "doing for" clients rather than facilitating clients' own initiative and success. She struggled herself in the beginning by doing too much for clients or having to control the situation, but now she trains others on how to be with clients and how they can support the clients' own initiative.

> Right, yes there is that word control. You know you train and you talk to them in a way but I can see that because they're like me. When I was there at the very beginning, you know, I had all these people and you could, oh you can do all these things for them and if you're that kind of person anyway you just get sucked into it. We talk about not enabling. We talk about empowering.

Director 5 also spoke about the need for people who work with clients to take a balanced approach in how they relate to them and treat them fairly, not favoring one client over another. The idea to keep in mind with clients is that you should not start something with one client that you can't continue. For instance, you should not drive a client to work every day unless you plan to continue that action indefinitely. This is particularly true with regard to services that are hard to come by such as mental health care. It is important to not make offers that can't be followed through on.

> So, why are you going to ask in the first place? We caught ourselves doing that a couple of times. Because mental health care here is nonexistent. So, it's like why have you asked if they need to talk to a counselor. We don't have a counselor to talk to them. So, the fact is that we don't ask that question any more.

In the last few years Director 5 has learned some hard lessons. She recalls that her mother was a very critical person who often criticized how other people conducted their lives. Director 5 has confronted her own desire to control and is learning that others are in charge of their own lives and make their own choices. This is particularly true for clients.

> Well it's a pretty deep you know. I think this realization came to me maybe a couple of years ago. I'm not in charge to the world, which was kind of a great relief you know…So, I think, see maybe seeing people from other countries who don't do things the way we do and also the realization although we are kind of in charge of their lives in the end…all we can do is tell them choices you know say these are your choices and tell them what the consequence are that we see. If they make the choices, they have the power to do stuff. Probably realizing that everybody really is kind of free to make choices that I don't have to approve of.

This realization of not being in control of the world is freeing for Director 5 and an empathic stance for her to have in relationship to clients to support their freedom of choice. Clients' success comes in "a bunch of little moments…and they have to define it for themselves." For Director 5 it is important to remember that "not being controlling and not defining someone else's life and maybe not agreeing with it, but understanding, trying to understand where they're coming from, specifically trying to understand the culture" is essential to appropriate client care.

Dropped in the middle of the Congo.

At the time of one of the interviews, a new client group was presenting a novel set of challenges to Director 5 and the staff of her office as they learn how to best serve them. In all of the interviews, Director 5 discussed this new client group and held them up as an example of how she and the staff are continuously learning on one hand and are at times unprepared on the other hand. As the populations of refugee arrivals shift, the office methods of working with clients must also shift.

> First of all, we now we are working with Congolese. We've only had Congolese in this office since February…. You might as well have dropped us in the middle of the Congo no language and no knowledge whatsoever.

The feeling of being in the unknown and having to figure things out as one moves forward in new territory is something that Director 5 spoke of often.

There is one client couple who are particularly demanding of the staff of Director 5's office. It is a Congolese couple in a domestic violence situation, and that has presented tough choices for the staff.

> And we have a lot of women here maybe self-consciously identifying with the wife and I have found myself saying, and this is a great staff, so it's not them, but I found myself saying, he's our client too you know. We have to see what he's seeing as much as possible through his eyes. What is he bringing with him culturally that we need to understand better? Because it was very difficult and we went back several times and he paid a price for his wife. So, that means something and I don't think we can understand because our feminism gets in the way.

Director 5 is keen to be empathic and come from a place of cultural understanding. She wants to support her staff in taking a nuanced approach to caring for and understanding clients.

> That's not unusual and in his country, doing what he did in this country and it's not wrong there. So, it's like you know try to be empathetic with both sides and say there are two sides to every story no matter what and maybe she was not as innocent as she was trying to make out and actually we had a breakthrough yesterday, I kept saying stuff like that. People are looking at me like are you entirely out of your mind.

While I do not believe that Director 5 was condoning the domestic violence, she was trying to help her staff to understand the cultural dynamics of their clients and instill an appreciation for what the clients might be experiencing in adjusting to their new culture. Viewing the clients as unique and separate individuals and encouraging staff to put themselves in their clients' shoes is a method of care that Director 5 promotes.

> I said, trying to see things through his eyes or what was he seeing that perhaps is not the reality we see. Because it's his perceptions, his reality and we all got it. Because what he was being told by other people and what you are seeing means something

> entirely different and it was very upsetting to him and we didn't get it and now I think we do and we started to think about her and what does it means to her? We think that this is just new today. We think that she was very young when she got married. What she sees here is freedom and they have to separate.

This empathic approach to both understanding where clients are coming from, as well as holding them accountable for their choices, is something Director 5 is working on with staff. The cultural dynamics of this group of refugees is new to them, and they are working to navigate the clients' cultural understandings while helping clients navigate in their new culture.

Preparing to serve a new population and ongoing support in serving that population is another area that Director 5 feels is lacking from a national level. It would be very useful if there were more opportunities for mutual support with other offices and learning exchanges that are ongoing rather than just the one-off webinar or background document.

> It's such a difference for us after all these years because we've been working with people from Burma and this is really different. We say that to each other to remember we don't know exactly how to work with this group yet truthfully you know if we don't understand them.

Director 5 suspects that others may encounter similar challenges and recommends it would be useful to share information with others in the field. I suggested a process group for offices serving Congolese, and Director 5 felt that would be the kind of support that would make a useful contribution for her and the staff of her office as they struggle to provide the best care.

Shifting sand.

In recent months, Director 5 has seen a resurgence in traumatic memories coming to the surface in her staff members and particularly in those of them who are former refugees. This rise in feelings arose in anticipation of the election, in response to the election of Trump, and in the subsequent Executive Orders entitled "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the U.S." The election and Executive Orders (EOs) brought about a number of reactions in the environment in which Director 5 works, including anti-immigrant vitriol, legal action that limited the number of refugees entering the country, as well as a number of other circumstance that impact the refugee resettlement community and refugees and immigrants in general.

One of Director 5's staff members is a former refugee from Bosnia, and the election has genuinely stirred her anxieties. Refugees from countries that saw radical changes in their governance structure had to flee for their lives when their countrymen turned on them and the current political situation in the U.S. has stirred the former feelings of insecurity and fear.

> She comes into the office and asks, "What do you think is going to happen?" "Do you really think we're going to elect Trump? What's going to happen?" Most of the people who talked to me are people who are from Bosnia. There is another guy who works at the ice cream store. We were down there the other night. He likes to talk about politics and he said something like, "you know we never thought anything could happen in our country either but this reminds me of what was happening there" So you know it makes us step back, you know well. Because they are thinking about it. A lot of our

> case load doesn't speak English but I know how much the ones who do are talking to each other.

Director 5 and the staff have talked some about what the election and EOs mean for all of them but it has been hard to discuss.

Providing information to staff and clients about what to expect in the election was something that Director 5 decided to do with urging from her national resettlement agency. It was important to Director 5 to attempt to calm the fears as much as possible.

> We actually did a cultural orientation training for clients and talked about the peaceful transition of power, because we have people from Columbia or wherever where people kill each other and all kinds of things happen and so we're just saying this is what it is according to the Constitution. The way it's been there is something maybe you see in your country but not here. Here there are elections and this is what people do…

The concern is that people will fear that what happened in their countries will happen again in their new country. For Director 5 it is crucial that they are aware of the differences.

Following the election and in the aftermath of the EOs, a great deal happened in the office. The sub-office that Director 5 oversees is no longer going to resettle refugees due to the EOs impact on arrivals. Director 5 may have to reduce the staff in her office and is looking at major funding cuts and a reduction in refugee arrivals. All of the changes going on in resettlement are bringing great turmoil to Director 5 and her staff. She is trying to manage the situation without bringing too many staff into it, and she is feeling that she lacks support and guidance from others in the field.

> I was really trying not to involve any other staff other than [our finance person] obviously, who's doing the number crunching but then our case manager coordinator said that if it would mean we could if we could keep another person, she would stay at 32 hours. So, I think that's probably what's going to happen is people will offer to stay at 32 if they possibly can just to keep staff, but you know I think that's really it, I don't know if I need more guidance somewhere but there is nobody here but me sometimes you know nobody, nobody…

There is constantly changing information in the wake of the Executive Orders. Following these orders, several lawsuits ensued. This has created a rapidly changing environment in the field of resettlement. What is known one day about how to proceed with resettlement changes the next. These changes are bringing uncertainty to an already challenging environment, and there is little information that can be provided to help local office feel secure.

> I keep saying it's like kind of standing on a dune and it keeps shifting. So, you know you think you have your feet planted pretty firmly as it firmly as it ever is in this business and then something shifts you know day to day but I think it seems to be a little calmer at the moment now a little stabilized at the moment but you know that can change any second. I think we're also off balance at this point. We're becoming used to that which is bothering me. I don't want it to be used to the new normal.

Director 5 is faced with laying off staff, and these are people she cares about and considers as essential to her team. The thought of making a decision about them as persons feels too difficult. The State Refugee Coordinator suggested that Director 5 take the approach of eliminating positions not people.

> …we haven't finished our number crunching…I mean it's hard but it's like that it's kind of in my brain from what our State Refugee Coordinator said. Sometimes when you're doing anything [laying off staff] think of the position. Because, if you start thinking about the person or that there are outstanding reasons to keep every single person then that way kind of lies madness. So, you just have to decide what positions that you really need and that this person can do that look at positions and which ones can we eliminate.

These are the difficult decisions that Director 5 is faced with in light of all that is happening in the field. National agencies are closing some of their local offices, and many offices are having to dramatically reduce their staff numbers. There is uncertainty about the future of the program. Many clients are concerned about their families still overseas and whether or not they will be allowed to reunite in the United States. Resettlement staff members are concerned for their jobs and all this is happening against the backdrop of a country in turmoil with anti-refugee and pro-refugee messages all around.

When asked how she is handling all that is happening on an emotional level, Director 5 admits that she is feeling that she cannot afford to have emotions at this point because she has to be strong and maintain her composure so that others can have their feelings.

> I can't afford to be sad about it now I feel like right this minute I just have to be strong. Other people can be sad and other people can be upset. But I feel like if I kind of do that it's going to upset people even more so at this point I'm kind of trying to hold it together personally and hold it together for the for the rest of the office too. I guess I

> feel really strongly that as a leader I need to be an example and I that's how I can be right now.

As the director, Director 5 believes that she needs to stay strong and set an example as a leader. For Director 5 that example is to not break down. However, Director 5 is really feeling the effects and so are her staff members. When asked by the community or others how they are coping under the current strains, Director 5 finds it hard to communicate the reality of what they are experiencing, and there is a bit of a frustrated edge to her tone.

> I don't know what they expect me to be like. We're actually all dying here but that's OK. I don't worry about it but I just, I, you know we're just carrying on what we do because that's what we do and we're just taking things day by day but you know…. We're doing OK and that's kind of maybe in some ways where we are.

The approach Director 5 takes with herself and staff members is that they have to get on with things, to carry on regardless of how hard it gets for the sake of their clients.

Primal scream.

Director 5 works to create an office in which everyone can verbally express themselves when they need to process what is going on with them and the work. One of the ways in which Director 5 communicates her own angst and stress is talking through things with certain staff members when things get tense or overwhelming in the office.

> We talk a lot so maybe that helps. We have a staff meeting once a week. We talk a lot and it is about work. And in some situations, I think that really helps and I can let it out for a while. I am famous for my primal scream. So, I go somewhere else and go OK this is my primal scream. It doesn’t happen very often.

Staff meetings are also a predictable time when Director 5 and her co-workers talk through difficult work situations and get support from one another. Director 5 suggests that there is a lot of permission in her office to express whatever is on one's mind and support one another.

Apparently, Director 5 even literally gives out a "primal scream" in the office from time to time when she is feeling particularly stressed. There is a code of sorts in the office that staff can "air" their feelings with one another. They work to support one another in a variety of ways and let things out so they don't become a problem.

> They can air their feelings, if not always to each other at least to me but there's not a lot of back biting here truthfully. So maybe that's good well I don't know but they don't tell tales and they don't. But the whole idea of our staff meeting, as I said is where people can we share about what they are doing. What we want, what we need and what is really driving us crazy.

This way of processing the difficult situations that arise in the office is not particularly formal, but it is predictable and seems to work best for them.

Know when to hold them.

Beyond creating an environment in which staff members can voice their thoughts and feelings aloud with one another, Director 5 has attempted to create an environment of care that is a safe space for not only staff but also the clients they serve.

> I think that maybe…obviously the concept is to just make a space where it's safe to talk about what is really bothering you and it's safe to say that this client is not a perfect person that just because this person is a refugee does not mean that they are

> necessarily a good person. We can say that well this guy is really in deep trouble here and he is an alcoholic and he needs help and we should be free to say those things at least within the office which I think that we do pretty much.

Working with clients can be messy and complicated. Director 5 wants the staff to have room to struggle with their concerns about clients with support from her and their colleagues, so that they can provide the best care possible to their clients.

A refugee client, who was a single father with a child, was struggling to keep things going. His child was going to school dirty and at one point had lice. The school called the resettlement office frequently about this family. The case worker needed to rally around the client, and the staff needed to rally around the case worker to provide support. The case worker experienced the support of her colleagues and it made a difference.

> The rest of us or me or the environment needs to rally around the person who's having just huge issues with a client or more than one or just when things are just getting on top of people. Interestingly, we had a conversation this morning. And she said I don't know how this came about so, I really want to thank you for giving me the space. She said, I had so much going on and you gave me space to work it out.

This philosophy of staff and client care is one that Director 5 has established in her office and attempted to maintain. “So, I guess that's the other piece is that I don't want to sound like a perfect person because I'm sure not nor is this a perfect office but in some ways, that is the philosophy.” This philosophy is foundational for the work they do. The idea that people need to be surrounded by support but not over managed is foundational to the environment of care that Director 5 has attempted to build.

> Got to know when to hold them and know when to walk away. I guess to help and let people do what they need to do and just being there again that's the holding thing like you said. So, everyone knows that there is support here if you need to come in and talk to whoever.

The concept of a “holding” staff in their work so that they can in turn “hold” their clients resonates with Director 5, and there are a variety of ways that Director 5 attempts to reinforce this experience in her office.

Open door thing.

Facilitating a supportive environment amongst her staff is important to Director 5. She also believes it is important for staff and others to know that her door is always open to them. She wants people to consider her accessible and welcoming, as well as available to express themselves in whatever manner necessary. “Accept to just say we just try to be as understanding as possible or I just feel I’ve got an open-door thing, so if someone wants to jump up and down they can do that.” Maintaining an open-door policy is one of the main tactics Director 5 takes on as a director to provide care to her staff. She wants them to know that there is nothing she does not want to hear about from them.

The open-door Director 5 offers is an opportunity for staff to freely express themselves. She is trying to allow staff the freedom to unload when they need to, rather than direct their stress in inappropriate directions such as at clients. For Director 5 this “open door” policy facilitates a judgement free zone much like how she allows herself opportunities to express her own angst and frustration through her “primal scream.”

> They just to come to my office or I go there so we just say oh OK I'm not sure what just happened, so there's a lot I think from our point of view, things that are hard to talk about, maybe from my view I think there's a lot of openness. That really mitigates any kind of tension and stress and stuff. I mean there's always stress. Stress to remember getting case notes done, getting reports done…

There are many stressors in the resettlement office but in Director 5's approach those challenges are mitigated in part by facilitating an environment in which staff can come to her with their challenges and openly discuss them. Her open door represents a holiday from judgements so that people feel free to share what they are struggling through.

We are a team.

The concept of the "team" is one that Director 5 refers to often when describing her staff and her approach to the work of resettling refugees. Director 5 views this concept of "team" as one of the strengths of her office. The idea is that when there is much to do and not enough time to do it in, the staff can rely on one another to carry the load.

> I think it's interesting we were just talking about this I think the feeling is that we often say that we're a team. That if one person just can't get something done, that needs to be done then someone else will do it. And that happens a lot maybe that's not efficient no but it really is just the feeling that everyone has everyone else's back pretty much. If it's something that absolutely has to be done, there will be somebody to do it. Just me saying you know look this the needs to be done and let me know if you can't and I'll do it.

Working together makes the load lighter and no one ends up feeling that they are in this difficult work alone, rather someone has their “back.” Part of making this team approach work is having strong communication with one another. “We're just trying to make sure that we're a communicating team.” Director 5 promotes strong communication and cross training so that everyone can help out when needed. These seem to be key components of the team method.

> We talk here a lot and I think everybody else probably does too, about being a team, and we really help each other and we work with each other and we communicate with each other.

This team approach to working sets the staff up to handle what comes their way including difficult times and change. With the challenging resettlement environment, there are always shifting dynamics and especially currently with the transforming political landscape and its impact on the field of resettlement. Every person in the office matters in getting the job done, and when one person leaves it creates an imbalance and requires a course adjustment.

> In some ways, I can see that you know you take away a person and the dynamics change. And change is hard for, I think, for everybody. If it’s good change, bad change or kind of any changes is hard. And, I just can see that things will be different. I like to have my ducks in a row and I said to somebody you know I have a lot of ducks and they're all running around but they’re sure not in a row, so I kind of like to be able to have some measure of control over some things. And, so in some ways, maybe this is a really good life lesson that no matter how much you matter, how good I am and how good the staff is and how well we do what we do, there's something that we can't

> control and in some ways, it really doesn't matter. So, you know if I think you can get to that point that helps.

The team approach provides a net of support however. Director 5 notes that even with that solid method of working together in place, the changing times and changing dynamics in the resettlement office do not always allow for a total sense of control. Control is not always possible and in many circumstances, is not even helpful and can be constraining.

Perk of the job.

Opportunities to talk and support one another and an open door to the director are just some of the approaches that Director 5 takes to support staff. Other “perk[s] of the job” include flexible time, support of staff members’ family life, gatherings with food, and moments for fun and fellowship. All of these staff perks add up to what Director 5 believes is a supportive work environment and care for the staff of her office.

> The work day that's the one thing I think is really flexible but we have we have people who've been here a while now but they have smaller children so if they wanted off for a particular thing. That was always one of the things that I felt should be a perk of the job is to be able to take off because I feel like family is extremely important and that's important to all of us here. I think so. If somebody said well you know my son's getting an award at school tomorrow, I was like OK go. Because I know they’ll do what they're supposed to do. And they do. So, I provide a hugely flexible work schedule it’s probably a really big support.

A flexible work environment is a key support for staff. Director 5 trusts that her staff members will get their work done and believes they will be more content and more able to do a good job if they have the freedom to invest in their families and their own well-being as well as their work.

Often, caring for staff can be as simple as providing pizza at a meeting or other small gestures that are comforting to staff. Laughing at the absurd or doing something fun in the office are also ways to reduce tension and provide care, "...today I said let's have pizza and everyone said yeah so we had pizza for lunch so now I do some stuff like that." Director 5 strives to include moments of laughter, fun, and food to allow people to decompress. Caring for staff and their emotional health is also something Director 5 attempts to do by facilitating a flexible and supportive work environment. She talks with staff about self-care and ideas for the staff to implement in their own lives, but she finds that people will do what they want to do. So, her method for staff care is to construct an atmosphere that allows for staff to care for themselves in informal ways. When asked what supports Director 5 uses to care for staff and their emotional well-being she responded with more questions than answers.

> I wish I knew what that could be because we've been into all the self-care stuff. Well you can talk about all that and nobody does it. If nobody is willing to do it, you can't make them. They find their own way sometimes, they go out and walk, or whatever. We're really flexible. They just say I can't come in this morning and they don't and then make up their time some other way.

Director 5 is always looking for new ideas for how to support the staff in their work, but she has not found a reliable forum for getting those ideas. Often her network will

have presentations or trainings on self-care but never training on how directors can care for their own staff members. She has created her own methods without the input of training or guidance. What she does she learned by doing.

> I don't know that it's really addressed. I think it's a lot about self-care. I don't think that there's ever been anything. I don't know if I remember anything that's ever been about staff caring, about how you as a director help your staff take care of themselves. Here's tips for you to use. I have thought about looking for what other people do to adapt here and I haven't heard it. I've never heard anybody even say that. Maybe I've been out somewhere in space but I don't know. I don't feel that's ever been brought up.
>
> At least not that I noticed.

Getting ideas from other directors on how they care for staff is something that Director 5 is hungry for. She feels there is a real dearth of information on the topic. It would be a benefit to her and other directors to have a forum for sharing ideas. "Just to be able to say to other directors, what are you doing? There's a lot of really great directors out there with all kinds of cool stuff that we may never find out about." Director 5 wants to be able to offer her staff creative and helpful supports, and currently she is offering those things that are already in her repertoire but she is open to adding other methods.

Director's playbook.

In 2007, early into her director role, Director 5 was invited to go to the headquarters of the national resettlement organization that oversees her office. During that trip, she was trained on what she should know as an office director. However, Director 5 found the training to be lacking in what she really wanted to know as a new director. She learned

about the various grants and how to do the required paperwork, etc. While that information was valuable it did not meet her need to have training on approaching the more nuanced and people-related aspects of the work.

> I think, yes it certainly was valuable but I think that's kind of not what I need in a way. I mean on how to work with people. Although, I think I have learned that now. I sure could be better and I've done some things, because there have been some seminars around like how to work with difficult people. I do those by myself and with staff or at least some of the staff we do those. There has not been one of those calls for a while. So, I don't know what kind of training I could have or could have had that would have helped.

Director 5 views herself as doing the work “by the seat of her pants” much of the time. Her days or her approach to the work can be planned out, and in an instant, that can all change. So, she has learned to be flexible like “being pretzels.” However, she has a desire for something more formal to guide and support her as she leads her office. Using the example of a client that is struggling she suggested that it has been difficult to learn the skills she has needed on her own and that she would like input and guidance.

> Still with no training you know. I have no social work background. Don’t tell anyone. I can't do this and be able to teach myself and watch and go to webinars and go to conferences and learn how to be that distancing person who still can sit here and say I really care because this happened this morning. I do really care about this person. I want his life to be the way he wants for it to be. I want him to be successful and right now he's in misery.

Often Director 5 feels she is “operating in a vacuum.” She feels that more information and idea sharing among directors would be immensely helpful. This is particularly true for when she is working to manage her office during difficult times. Director 5 states that frequently, when she does have the opportunity to listen to other directors talk about what they are doing in their offices or how they are approaching situations, she wishes she had learned some of the things they are talking about sooner as a director.

> I do because so much of the time [resettlement network meetings] I have to sit there, ally, I don't think I have an inferiority complex or anything, but there are so many times when I feel directors or even directors of something else, who talk about stuff. I think, Wow. I wish I'd learned that before, that really makes a lot of sense to me. I wish I knew that when I started.

There is no standard curriculum on how to be a resettlement director, and much of what is done in the field is learned by experience. Often offices are creating strategies on their own when another office may have already created something similar. In discussing new client groups, Director 5 and I discussed the need to share new knowledge among resettlement offices. There can be voids of information sharing that hamper the development of the field. Director 5 would like to see that rectified.

> I think that is a really super idea to be able to somehow share because there are a lot of other resettlement agencies that have been working in other ways for longer and you know here we are and we're reinventing something.

This apparent disconnect in having a mechanism for safely sharing meaningful information with colleagues in the field is something that leaves Director 5 feeling under-resourced, alone, and isolated.

Lone Ranger.

During the interviews, it became clear that Director 5 appreciated the opportunity to share her thoughts and feelings with someone who she viewed as safe and who understands the resettlement realm. Frequently, Director 5 referred to feelings of isolation and disconnection from safe supports in the work and from other directors.

> I guess I'm not really, I am not a super gregarious person, but there's no one here for me to talk to because we're the only affiliate under 20 miles away except our satellite office. So, there isn't anyone to just say, oh have you had this happen, there is nothing. So, it's kind of like we're the Lone Ranger's out here.

This feeling of isolation is particularly poignant for Director 5 in the current environment. The field of refugee resettlement is in flux, and the political atmosphere regarding refugees and immigrants is currently hostile. However, for some reason, getting together with other directors has seemed to be difficult and so that resource is not reliably available. Director 5 also acknowledges that she finds it difficult to be open to her national agency staff or to go to them for reliable support.

> We used to have a network, you know where the directors would call or like every quarter or something we call the network Advisory Council and because everybody wanted that. We kind of got together and started that and then that died out and then everybody said oh yeah let's do it again, so we started it again and it died again and so I think somehow it was very burdensome. And people started not attending which means you know they were so busy that even if they got some kind of something out of it they were too busy to try to be the one getting people together or making the

> program or whatever. I think part of it also was…there are things that you would say to each other that you definitely don't say to [your national agency].

In the course of the interviews, I told Director 5 that the national resettlement organization that I work with has been holding regular calls with their network of resettlement offices to keep them apprised of the ever-changing environment currently in response to the Trump election and subsequent Executive Orders.

> [My national office] didn't do that I mean we had a couple of network calls and that was all that. There wasn't much. It wasn't, it was just the normal reporting and it wasn't a lot. Or it wasn't set up for anybody to say anything much about how they're feeling I mean it was certainly informative but there was no, there was no exchange. So, I particularly miss that because being where we are, at least and maybe in [another town] or maybe even if people are in the same city. They don't kind of call each other up and say how are you doing? So, I guess I've always seen that too graphically. We're far away and I just feel like Pluto out in space. Just kind of circling around while trying to see what's happening far, far, away.

Director 5's feeling of aloneness in the midst of huge changes in the resettlement landscape have reinforced her feelings of being separated from others who would have an understanding of her situation as a director. Feeling like "Pluto out in space" and a distance from those who can support her seems to be a common theme. However, there are persons and resources that Director 5 relies on for personal and professional support.

Sounding boards.

Sources of care for Director 5 include her faith, her husband, and certain members of her staff, board members, the state refugee coordinator, and the priests she knows. She relies on these persons as sounding boards and supports. While they may not understand her position as a resettlement director, she can rely on their care. Regarding her faith, Director 5 has come to find that things have changed for her. Reliance on her faith has become an important source of solace for her in recent years. In addition to her faith, more broadly, the priests specifically have also offered reliable support.

> …I can't believe I'm really saying this because I see that in my life I have changed a lot. Comfort comes from my faith somehow. It comes a lot from really loving being Episcopalian. I really love the Episcopal Church. I love my church. We have a rector who is very supportive and has been an advocate for me in the past.

Church members and board members have also become supports to her in the work along with the Bishop. Her church and the liturgy also serve as a touchstone for Director 5.

> People in my church are really supportive and so I think I get a lot of support that way and also, I have a very supportive board chair and vice chair who are friends of mine from church. Anyway, I know you're not supposed to do that but they're on the board and they're also thinkers and they're very good sounding boards and so I guess all of that, all of those really are places that I can go you know.

Others in the field also provide this type of support. The state refugee coordinator (SRC) manages the state level grant funding and has for many years provided an ongoing listening ear and advice to Director 5.

> Yeah, yeah, I think so I find a lot of support from [her] and simply because I've known her for a really long time. She's from originally from [the area] … Yes, she is really good and she's such a good listener and I think she really gets what was happening and she knows about it and so we have this advisory council meeting once a quarter now actually it's once every other month so we come and everybody talks about what they're doing and what they're not doing…

The SRC is one of the few in the field, outside of her office, that she feels she can go to for ideas and support. When I asked Director 5 about other resources of support she pointed to her husband and one of the managers in her office.

> My husband, and [A manager at her office], because we're talking we're trying to really support each other you know and actually because she gets very sympathetic or empathetic. For instance, when talking about staff, it's like oh she's the one who says so and so has a baby and so and so does this and so that makes me just say OK well one of us has to be the strong person here so we're pretty complementary we complement each other really well.

Despite these trusted resources of care, Director 5 continues to feel like a lone ranger at times. She was very happy to talk to me as the interviewer. She reported that the experience of the interviews was very helpful. She found that because I was also an experienced resettlement director I could offer her the kind of understanding and camaraderie that is hard to find from persons who have not been a director of a resettlement office, as it is a unique role.

Conclusion.

At the beginning of the interview process, I found Director 5 to be tense, as if she were holding her breath. As the interviews progressed it was as if she was slowly exhaling and beginning to trust the process and me. She seems to struggle with feeling isolated in her role and sometimes misunderstood. There was a defensiveness in some of her ways of describing her efforts as a director, as if she was afraid she would be criticized by others for how she thinks about or what she does to create an environment of care for her staff members. It appears her experience of isolation makes her feel that she and her staff are an island with few who can or have offered assistance. So, they rely on one another. This experience then informs her methods for caring for her staff. She wants them to have a different experience than she has had. She works to create an open and supportive environment in which there is flexibility and they can share one another's burdens as a team. She wants her staff to do the same for their clients by empathizing with their transition to a new culture, understanding them deeply and reinforcing their resilience and independence. Director 5 is hungry for reliable ways to garner outside understanding, information, and support, particularly during the difficult days the resettlement community is facing. These supports would then be a resource for her in her efforts to buoy her staff members.

Director 6

Identifying information.

A man in his fifties, who is a long-time minister and humanitarian, Director 6 came to the work of resettlement through his work as a missionary. He was raised in a small

farming community in the southeastern U.S. Director 6 was studying for his bachelor's degree in biology and liberal arts and was considering medical school. However, midway through his studies, he volunteered for his church. He was in his early twenties and went to volunteer in Nicaragua before the revolution.

> Being a 22, 23, 24-year-old in Nicaragua during those years it was right before the Sandinista Revolution. The country was erupting in war and that was just a huge I mean, that was worth a university education for me right there. I never thought of poverty like I saw it there, and violence.

He was devastated by the poverty and violence that he saw. He finished his university after returning from that context. Director 6 went on to study for a Master's Degree in Latin American History and was ordained in his church. He later returned to Central America, to both El Salvador and Nicaragua, to work for his church off and on for several years at a time. There he saw great suffering, war, and persecution. In recent years, Director 6 has continued to return to do mission work in Central America for shorter periods. Director 6 claims he is not a "theoretical person" and has learned more from his practical experience than from all of his academic work.

Director 6 came to the field of refugee resettlement through volunteering with Cuban refugees through his work with his church.

> So that's why as my background and as you can tell it's far less academic but it's also, rather rooted in again interest in people and caring about people and programs that will help people.

He was later hired as a case manager in a local refugee resettlement agency. He worked in that capacity for three years. However, hurricane Mitch hit Central America

and Director 6 returned to help for a year. Upon his return to the U.S. he resumed the work of resettlement as the Program Director and then Director for the office. He has continued in that role since that time. However, periodically he has taken sabbaticals to continue his mission work in Central America.

Forbearers.

Director 6 has a great deal of information about his own immigration story. Director 6's "forbearers" were from Germany, and he can trace his roots back to the 1700's. His own history informs his work in resettlement. His ancestors were refugees themselves fleeing persecution in Europe. They were "suffering for their faith." Director 6 feels a kind of "kinship" in his own history with the people he now serves. His ancestors were persons who were trying to hide and be safe as they were pushed into the dark corners.

> I work today with people who were fleeing war and violence. For whatever reason, I feel a kinship with them, because I know what it's like, not personally but in my sort of history. I understand that I also come from people who have fled because and they were pushed into corners, back into the high mountains and kind of the worst places to live because they were trying to hide and trying to be safe.

There is a book from the 1600's entitled, *The Martyr's Mirror*, that details the history of his faith and those who were persecuted for it. Director 6's grandfather left him a copy of the book, and he returns to the book as a touchstone at times. Director 6 considers his faith "precious" to him, and he admires how his ancestors stayed firm in their faith even when faced with intense discrimination. This knowledge of his own roots and his

forbearers' struggles informs his purpose as a director and his understanding of his clients.

"Contentious Objector."

Beyond his ancestry, other personal experiences inform his work. Director 6's faith is a peace tradition, which means that its members are conscientious objectors to war or armed conflict. During the Vietnam War, Director 6's brother objected and gave back to the efforts by participating in rebuilding operations in Germany related to destruction that was a result of previous wars. Director 6 admired his brother's efforts and the idea that one could help versus hurt or kill people. He thought it was "cool" that his brother was helping and serving rather than being a soldier.

> And there were these pictures of bombs dropping and so forth and destruction. And I felt that was pretty cool that there was a way that a person could help people, rather than harm people. Even though the soldiers were there to defend freedom and democracy and so forth, you know that was the rhetoric. Still, the reality of what we were doing was a lot of death and destruction in Vietnam. And I knew that. And I thought that was pretty cool that my oldest brother was helping people and serving in that way, rather than being a soldier. And so, when I came along, when I was 18, for instance, it was already the volunteer army. And so, I didn't have to serve so I waited until I was about 20 and so and that's when I went to Nicaragua. And the reason I went partly. I went because I just thought it was important to do something like that with my life.

This inspired Director 6's own efforts in Nicaragua. "I thought it was important to do something like that and carry on the value and belief that God has made us to build up rather than tear down." This ideal of service to others is rooted in his faith tradition, spirituality, and family ethos and it drives his work as a director and minister.

After graduate school, Director 6 and his wife were asked by their church to go to El Salvador to help persons who were displaced because of the conflict. They were on a short-term assignment doing work with food security and health training in refugee camps. "Being someplace where I saw on a daily basis people who had lost everything. People could not plant their corn. There were destructive effects of the war all around. Another brick in the wall." Director 6 saw a great deal of disillusionment. People who joined the Guerilla movement and people who joined the army. All were looking for a better life. He found that people either wouldn't talk about their experience or they would talk about how they were not sure "what they had gained was enough to justify all the deaths." Seeing that side of a crisis has been very valuable to Director 6 as he welcomes refugees to their new country. He understands more of what they have been through and it is his mission to help.

Categories of meaning.

Resilience.

In contrast to what he saw in Central America, Director 6 has noted an undeniable resilience in refugees coming to the U.S. through the resettlement program. They have endured unimaginable things and yet made it through an "arduous vetting process." They come to the U.S. and go to work straight away, attend school, and learn English. He has

seen some refugees become resigned or depressed, but those that make it to the U.S. are the most "resilient" and willing to do anything to make a life in their new country. What he saw in Central America was different. The psychological effects of the war on people was resignation and loss. They were "resigned to suffer." They lost love ones and years of their lives.

> A woman brought her daughter who was 6 years old to us. The army had set up by their house and the daughter's eardrums had burst from the repeated concussions. She couldn't leave her home but she needed to find safety. There was nowhere for them to go. There was such a loss of control and nothing they could do to change the situation. People had a stoic resistance and resignation.

The Central American people he saw were very poor. They had lost everything, including their hope. However, for the most part, the refugees he sees coming to the U.S. are different. The opportunity they have been given in being resettled has restored their hope. When I asked for his thoughts on why that might be, he suggested that those persons coming through the program to the United States had been through so much that he perceived them as the most resilient of people, and therefore, had a kind of disposition for hope and possibility.

Tremendous trauma.

The refugees that Director 6 currently welcomes to his town have experienced "tremendous" trauma. While he sees great resilience, the refugees that are coming to the U.S. have also experienced a great deal of suffering, and that suffering continues to impact their lives. There are many circumstances that arise that demonstrate the hardships

that refugees have gone through before and after they arrive in the U.S. Director 6's office experienced a client suicide and several domestic violence situations, as well as other client tragedies. Director 6 also notes that many of their Iraqi clients experienced unspeakable traumas prior to coming to the U.S. These traumatic experiences included kidnappings and other related horrors.

> Over the last 6 to7 years we have seen Iraqi cases with kidnapping. For one family that came to us, prior to their coming, they had their daughter kidnapped at 2 years old. The kidnappers tried to cut off her left arm but they only partially cut it off before deciding not to. She was taken to the hospital in Iraq and they did surgery but her fingers did not work. Since arriving in the U.S., she has had to have multiple surgeries but will have limited function the rest of her life.
>
> Another family had a similar situation.
>
> This is particular with Iraqis, both Kurdish and Arabic, Where, I think there was a 14-year-old son that had been kidnapped. They paid a big ransom like $40,000, I think. But they never saw him again. He just was gone. And they assume he's dead, he was killed, they assume.

In another case a woman had lost her husband to kidnapping before she came to the U.S. She is left wondering as to whether or not her husband is dead or alive. There is one Iraqi father who told Director 6 that it took him several months of putting his son on the bus before he stopped worrying that his son was not going to come home. These type of client situations can weigh heavily on the staff that provide care to them.

Psychological impact.

Director 6 noted that the staff who work with refugees at times can be impacted by those refugees they work with in personal and psychological ways. Refugee stories can stir people up. However, for Director 6 it is important for staff members to hear the stories so that they can appreciate where clients are coming from and why they behave the way they do.

> We talk about them one on one and in staff meetings. Clients can be angry at life and they feel cornered. It helps for staff to hear the stories so that they understand that the trauma is real and they can put themselves in their shoes and be more empathic.

According to Director 6, the trauma clients have experienced can be painful for staff to absorb and can be experienced as a weight.

> A lot of refugees, what I've found too is a lot of refugees don't want to share very much of what they've experienced. But the ones that do, I think that's probably the hardest thing for refugee resettlement staff. Whatever your responsibility is, is to know how to respond in a helping way when people do share. Those kinds of things are important.

Clients are often in distress and this can be hard for staff to manage. Staff are glad they are able to help people restore their safety and security and find healing in their lives. However, sometimes clients can express their trauma by acting out toward those closest including the resettlement staff.

> Maybe it's not so much that they're angry at us, but they're just angry at life because life has been really unfair to them. And so, they feel cornered and you know what we all do when we feel cornered. So, I think in that sense it can be helpful for staff to at

> least hear some of those stories. Enough so that they understand that the trauma people have is real, and they can kind of say, well, what it would be like for me if I lost a close family member like this. It helps to be a little more empathetic, I think. But it also wears people down, you know?

Hearing the trauma material from clients can be important for staff and clients alike. Clients have had few opportunities to tell their stories and have someone listen. Resettlement staff can, in turn, gain important empathic understandings of their clients. However, because staff persons are working with multiple refugees who all have stories it can become overwhelming for them.

> To hear these stories, you know, it's just this is painful for them too. To think of the. Especially of a two-year-old girl, well anybody, not just her. But you know, you know, you hear some of these brutal stories and it just weighs you down. And you think, wow. My own personal response is I'm glad that I'm able to in some way to help people bind up their wounds a little bit, and provide them some safety and security.

In Director 6's estimation, the experience staff have with clients is similar to that which mental health providers have when they hear stories of suffering from their clients. The most devastating part is knowing that people's suffering is a direct result of human intention and action. "Humans did it, not natural disasters but the human element is what makes it especially brutal for clients and staff."

Another of the significant effects he sees on staff in their relationships with refugees is the impact that male refugees can have on some of the younger female clients. He has seen certain male clients who tell female staff that they don't have to listen to them or

they accuse them of not doing enough. These types of actions can be quite undermining for these staff members and Director 6 finds himself having to intervene.

> I've had a couple staff that's happened to and it's been pretty tough and you know we've talked about it at staff meetings. I've talked with them a lot about those kinds of situations and I've interviewed two in a couple cases. One of those was kind of dramatic.

One of the main interventions that Director 6 employs to aid his staff with the psychological impact of their work with clients is to talk through issues either "one-on-one" or in staff meetings.

Staff meetings.

Staff meetings create an opportunity for Director 6 to help staff manage their reactions toward clients, as well as work through any concerns or challenges staff may being having in relationship to the work.

> Staff meetings are a time to go over issues they are facing and make suggestions.
>
> Every Friday morning, we meet and go over problem areas. It is not counseling. I am and not a counselor but the staff ask for advice and help.

Director 6 is committed to this time every week and they never cancel even if some staff are unable to attend. It is important that there is a reliable routine opportunity for staff to come together and support one another and be able to get ideas and process their week.

"No closed-door policy."

Part of the director's role, according to Director 6, is creating an environment of care for staff that is open and supportive. In his role, Director 6 believes hiring the right staff is key, and then creating regular supportive contact with staff is essential. Monthly, Director 6 also sets up one-on-one time with each staff person, so that they can work through any concerns that they might not want to share in the larger group. Director 6 does this with all staff members not just his direct reports. He is able to do this as he has a small office with under ten staff members.

> I meet monthly with staff and ask how I can help them. It is more of a one on one opportunity to touch base and offer my support. 2 years ago, one of the staff felt really overwhelmed by what she was hearing. Human Resources helped out and we connected her to a counselor. After several sessions, she felt a lot better.

In addition to one-on-one meetings Director 6 also depends on staff to come to him when they are needing assistance. He lets them know he has an open door policy and is willing to be there for them. Also, when he notices staff feeling down or acting overwhelmed or troubled Director 6 will initiate contact and approach them to offer support.

> It's part of my role. It's not everything I do but in terms of staff, yeah, absolutely, I see my role as supporting them and encouraging them. Troubleshooting with them about difficult situations they have, encouraging them, helping them make connections to other agencies or other people in the community who can support what they're doing. I definitely see that as part of my role. If I don't, I mean, one of the things I say once

in a while is that my real job is to hire creative people and staff and then turn them loose.

But it's much more than that. It's hiring capable people, but also really supporting them. And knowing that they can talk to me any time they want to. Knowing that as far as they're concerned, and I'm concerned, I don't have a closed-door policy. They can come into my office any time, and I will stop what I'm doing to listen to them.

There are several different ways in which Director 6 works to support staff. However, the support is intentional. Director 6 will initiate contact if he sees people needing support, and he will set aside what he is doing to make himself available with an open door for staff to approach him.

Staff supports.

In addition to staff meetings and one-on-one opportunities for staff processing, Director 6 also works with the staff to provide other types of supports that are more enjoyable and involve some play. “We do birthdays. Once or twice a month we celebrate staff birthdays together. We will either celebrate in the office or we will all go out to lunch.” Director 6 encourages having time in which staff can come together for celebrations and camaraderie. Additionally, Director 6 notes staff training as a support that he offers from time to time. For instance, Director 6 has provided a training on self-care previously. He also encourages staff members to take time off and use their vacations. Director 6 works to create a flexible environment in which staff feel free to come in late if they need to or flex their time when needed. “I don’t question that at all.”

The staff work long hours and overtime is not encouraged. “Salaries are not high so I find ways to honor staff.”

Another method of support that Director 6 employs is providing practical supports to the staff in order to make their work situation more comfortable and easier to accomplish.

> We upgraded all the laptops and cellphones. People had old equipment that did not work well. They needed new equipment so that they were not waiting for programs to open. We also needed better cell phones so that they can write case notes when they are out and waiting for an appointment or things like that.

The physical office was a space that Director 6 felt was not conducive to productive work. So, he worked to improve the situation.

> We moved to a new space a while back. We are in the same building just in a better space. We’ve got good parking space and more adequate space to do work. Our old space didn’t smell good. It was musty. A couple staff brought in an air exam kit to check for mold. It came out ok. When we moved we got new desks, a real conference room with tables and chairs. A real space.

These tangible types of supports are often very important to staff and set the tone for creating an environment that is responsive to their needs and allows for them to do their best work.

Making connections.

Director 6 sees his role as multifaceted in creating an environment of care that supports his staff members’ efforts to do their jobs successfully. He gets involved when needed to help staff work through external challenges. “Part of my role is supporting and

encourages, trouble shooting, making connections to other agencies that can support their efforts." There are resources that staff need to do their jobs, such as strong linkages to systems that allow for them to accomplish the services they provide to clients. For instance, refugees need to have a health screening within 30 days of arrival. Sometimes the Health Department gets behind, and Director 6 has to intervene to get them to get back on track with appointments.

> You know, I don't think it's fair for me just to say, you need to go, you need to do this, you need to find another way to do this. Well, I think part of my job is to accompany them. Not do it completely for them, but to accompany them and make connections and help think about how this process might work going forward.

He sees this as a way he cares for staff. He will often go to other provider appointments, if needed, as he does not see it as fair that he sends them out on their own. "Accompanying them is a way of showing support." Making connections that go more smoothly if he is involved is something that Director 6 feels he can do. It is a simple gesture but has a big impact on staff.

"This is how it is."

Working in a resettlement office can be rigorous regardless of the role one plays. Director 6 finds that case managers often have more consistent challenges than other staff positions. However, despite the difficulty of the case manager role, all the staff roles deserve as much support as possible.

> Clients that are sometimes less than gracious. Sometimes a lot less than gracious. That's probably the more difficult role to play in this office. And of course, it's the

> least paid and all that. It's usually an entry level kind of thing. So, supporting those people, I think, is really crucial. And it takes a different kind of support, maybe. The job developers tend to be more straightforward with employers looking for new employers. And you look more focused, whereas the caseworker, case manager, is just really doing all these different things and these kinds of scattered things.

According to Director 6, the Reception and Placement Coordinator in his office, who oversees the case-managers, tries to support people but her approach can be brusque. She is a former refugee and English is her second language. According to Director 6 her technical skills are excellent.

> She's very good at the technical details of what a case file should have in it and what the core purposes are. So, she knows that backwards and forwards. But she can be kind of, her language can have an edge on it and I think it's partly who she is but it's partly because English is not her first language. So, she doesn't know how to nuance things sometimes. So, I work with her sometimes and suggest language that she can use when she's speaking with case workers about their work.

Director 6 finds that staff that are former refugees or asylees tend to be a bit more realistic or have a “stiff upper lip.” They take the approach of “get up and move on.” Often case-managers who are from the U.S. take a more “guilty” approach to clients. They don’t have the same experiences that refugees have had. According to Director 6, U.S. born staff can become “paralyzed by client suffering.” They can feel reluctant to push clients or lay out the real situation for them. Those staff that have had similar experiences feel more freedom to say, “This is how it is.” Director 6 believes he has a

responsibility to be sure that staff members are working well in their roles and managing the challenges with the appropriate supports.

Training aids.

Training for resettlement staff is important to making sure that refugees get the best care possible. Director 6 believes that training is crucial; however, he thinks there are deficits in what is currently provided by the field to resettlement workers. Whether the training is for directors or for staff, there needs to be a more robust training regimen at all levels. Director 6 would like a standard training "tool kit" that he could use to provide training to his staff.

> I would like a tool kit that has a list of exercises that we could use from getting to know one another, to topics like how to deal with difficult clients, to how to deal with your own stress, or how my personality helps me in my job or gets in the way. It would be great if the tool kit had exercises or guidance that was from a half hour to 2 hours. We could take the exercises out of the tool kit once a month at staff meetings. Something like that would be really helpful.

Director 6 is very practical and wants practical training options. He expressed his displeasure in the lack of available training resources for resettlement office context. If they do not organize or create the training for themselves there are few ongoing opportunities for the local offices. The national agency he works with provides webinars and the staff participate in those, but he wants more in his office. He does bring in speakers from time to time on various topics.

A formal training program that a number of his staff members have taken part in at a local university is a week-long program on trauma and working with traumatized persons. Director 6 has not done the training himself, but he recognizes the value that it has been for his staff members. “They are putting the training into practice in their roles. Everyone has had some sort of trauma.” Training for directors is also not as robust as Director 6 believes it should be. He has a list of trainings that he believes should be covered for all directors when they start their work in the field as well as other ongoing trainings. He recalls that he did not get the training he would have liked, and he still would like more after being in the director role for several years. “We should have more trainings on budgets. I do 7 or 8 budgets and I am not an accountant. I would also like more training on how to support staff better.” Director 6 felt somewhat underprepared for all the tasks that directors must handle on a daily basis. He received some training on forms and resettlement rules, etc., but not as much regarding the skills that provide directors with the aids they need to provide excellent care for staff and clients alike. There continue to be trainings that Director 6 would find useful in his work that represent a range of topics.

> Also, an annual training on how to talk with the media and how to represent the office would be very helpful. How to stay on topic and know what to say. Having 2 to 3 points to keep going back to. This is particularly true right now as there are lot of invitations to speak right now. Most reporters are supportive but we need to know how to make more efficient use of the time.

In addition to more training on how to deal with the public and the media, as well as how to better tell the resettlement story, Director 6 also would like to receive training on various human resource topics.

Election impact.

The election of Trump and subsequent Executive Orders has had an impact on Director 6 and his staff members. However, Director 6 was reticent to discuss his concerns. What he did discuss was the impact on staffing. The office has been faced with the threat of reducing staff. However, thus far, they have avoided this by not replacing staff who have left the agency. The time is coming when they may have to take more extreme measures.

> And we made the decision back in, it would be in October. I had a staff that resigned in early September or late yeah early September. And we started the process of hiring her replacement but as we got into October we discussed the possible outcome of the Presidential election and we as a staff decided that we would not hire her replacement because we were afraid that come November if Trump won that by January there would be this big slow-down in arrivals and that we would have to start laying off people. But at the same time, it was a time of high arrivals, staff preferred to not hire people and have a little more job security, and work hard, than to hire another person, and then be laid off. So, that was actually a good decision overall, I think in terms of overall staffing. We've not had to lay off anybody yet. I'm not sure how long that will last. We're looking at that again this month. But then it's just, you know, you're working later hours and more hours.

Director 6 is aware of the changes that have come to the program due to the election and Eos, but he is waiting to see the long-term challenges that will result.

Conclusion.

Director 6 presented as low-key and soft-spoken interviewee. His presentation of thoughts was concise, and he did not elaborate much on the topics discussed. His style did not come across as withholding but rather demonstrated a more personal style of being a man who chooses his words carefully. The central themes of the interviews were underlined by Director 6's deep faith and understanding of his role as being one in which he lives out that faith by caring for the most vulnerable. Creating an environment of care for his staff is an extension of his ministry of caring for refugees. He has seen many horrendous situations in his life and the worst of what humanity can do to one another. However, these experiences leave him especially able to support his staff as they encounter the stories and struggles of the refugees they work alongside. A consistent approach Director 6 takes to provide care to his staff is his accessibility and willingness to support staff in whatever ways they need him to, whether it is an open door, a birthday celebration, or a more conducive office space. The resource that Director 6 finds lacking in his role is training on particular topics that would allow him to be better at his job as a public representative of his office as well as in his role to provide more targeted care of his staff.

Chapter V

Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

This study focused on how directors of refugee resettlement agencies create an environment of care for their staff. The overarching research questions was, “How do Directors of Refugee Resettlement agencies understand their efforts to provide a psychological environment of care for their staff who work with traumatized refugees?” The participants were given an opportunity to discuss their work as directors and to describe their understanding of their efforts to facilitate an environment in which their staff members are provided the support necessary to conduct their work with refugee clients. Participants were asked scripted questions, as well as offered the opportunity to freely describe their thoughts and feelings on the topic. As interviews unfolded, new questions arose in a spontaneous manner and participants were invited to respond.

The participant interviews revealed rich information that can be used to develop a nascent theory for how directors facilitate and provide for an environment of care in which their staff are psychologically supported, so that they can, in turn, support their refugee clients. There were powerful common themes found in multiple participant interviews and in some cases all six participant interviews. In addition, there were notable differences in the interview themes that demonstrate the unique ideas held by each director.

The process of cross-case analysis captures the themes found in each individual participant's interviews and examines them alongside the themes that arise in other participant interviews. Similar and divergent refrains are then noted and coded with a name that generally describes the overarching theme or concept found across participants. The coding titles are drawn from the idiosyncratic data.

Cross-Case Analysis

The themes that arose from the data gathered across all 6 participant interviews are rich in meaning and depth. Twelve common themes were noted among all of the interviews. Together these themes form a powerful narrative of how directors view their own initiative in facilitating an environment of care for their staff members.

Common Themes

Table II

Common Themes

Common Themes	Director 1	Director 2	Director 3	Director 4	Director 5	Director 6
Circuitous Route	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Trauma	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Impact on Staff	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Resilience & Empowerment	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Perspective	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	
The Team	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Multi-faceted Staff Support	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Open Door Policy	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Social Responsibility	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Current Political Environment	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Absence of Training	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*
Hunger for Support	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*X*	

Circuitous route.

The first common theme noted in all six participant interviews is that each director took a circuitous and serendipitous route to working in the field of refugee resettlement. None of the directors intentionally or formally trained for the role. While several had interests in international relations, diversity, or working with foreign-born persons, none of the directors specifically set out to work with refugees. In fact, several of the directors accidently stumbled upon the work of refugee resettlement. For example, Director 2 was selling cars and needed a part-time job so a friend suggested the work. Director 1 was looking for a job after graduation and came across an advertisement for a position with the agency. Director 6 was a missionary who first volunteered and then took a temporary job resettlement. While some of the directors had experience with refugees and had participated in either oversees work or had an interest in international affairs, none of the directors chose the field initially as a career. This is important to note as it speaks to their preparation for the role and their lack of initial education in the field of resettlement, refugee trauma, and staff care.

In addition to taking a circuitous route to resettlement, all of the directors started their work in the field in a direct services role. Several of the directors began the work in resettlement as case managers and others worked with volunteers and the faith community. In most cases, the directors took on several roles in their agencies eventually working their way up to the director position. Once the directors started their work in resettlement, they all became committed to the field and have remained in it for numerous years. All of the participants became professionals in their field through hands-

on learning. While some had education in peripheral fields of study, such as international relations and psychology, none of them had formal education in working with refugees and none of them are social workers.

This organic approach to developing staff into directors seems to be a common occurrence in the field of resettlement. As the field matures, more staff may come into the work in an intentional way. There is currently no formal training program for working in domestic refugee resettlement; however, there are a growing number of programs in refugee and migration studies. The field of social work as well as a number of other disciplines are also beginning to include refugee studies in their curriculums.

Trauma.

The second common theme across all participants is the acknowledgement that refugee trauma and tragedy plays a focal role in the resettlement process. Each director spoke about the tragedies that refugees have experienced, as well as the ways in which refugees bring their experience of trauma with them into their resettlement journey. There are a number of stories detailed by the directors of the various hardships and atrocities experienced by refugees before and after arriving in the U.S. These stories include experiences of gender-based violence, kidnappings, witnessing violence against others, losing family members to murder or war, separation from loved ones, health emergencies, significant losses, and other challenges of adjustment to their new lives. Refugees have been exposed to the worst experiences that humans can inflict on one another, and resettlement workers are in a position to bear witness to their traumatic stories.

Each of the directors recounted several of the tragedies that stuck out in their minds. Director 1 spoke of how she caught herself considering something horrifying, such as the rape of a refugee girl, and her subsequent pregnancy as part of the "normal" course of things. Director 6 outlined a number of client situations that his clients have experienced, such as kidnappings, dismemberment, and suicide. Director 5 is still dealing with the after effects in her office following an event two years ago in which a mentally ill client murdered another refugee. Director 4 spoke of a family struggling to care for their children, which precipitated involvement from Child Protective Services. Director 2 shared stories of refugees braving the sea crammed into small boats and witnessing murders as they escaped through the jungle. Director 3 was frustrated that refugees who had lost everything came to the U.S. only to battle housing issues and not get the secure homes they deserve. All of these accounts of the circumstances that refugees experience either prior to coming to the U.S. or after, have a significant influence on them and those who work with them.

Impact on staff.

Resettlement staff members are directly impacted by their relationships with the refugees they work alongside. They hear their stories. They sit with them when they are struggling with making their way in a new country. They experience the pushes and pulls of the relationship. As refugees transition to life in the U.S., while continuing to grapple with their past, resettlement workers are presented with many opportunities to find themselves up close to the refugees' highly-charged and complex experiences. According to each of the directors, the traumatic experiences that refugees have faced in the past, as

well as their continued struggles, can weigh heavily on the staff members who provide care.

This proximity to the tensions inherent in the work with refugees, creates situations in which resettlement staff may find themselves experiencing their own complex feelings in relationship to their role. All six of the directors noted a number of ways in which they see their staff members psychologically impacted by their experience of working closely with refugee clients. Director 1 acknowledged that she sees her staff members struggling with the work and at times and stressed, which is why having structures in place to allow for staff self-care is so important to her. Director 5 shared an example of the kind of situations that the staff members face. She talked about a client domestic violence situation that is creating tensions in the staff as they grapple with how to provide culturally appropriate care to both partners. Director 3 found his staff suffering along with their clients when they are unable to provide the essential resources to them. This created the “ultimate bind” in which the staff felt as if they could not perform their most important duty as resettlement workers. Director 6 underlined the importance of staff members listening to refugees’ stories, so that they will more deeply understand where the clients are coming from.

The impact on staff members’ psychological self and on their well-being, varies. Resettlement staff are in a privileged position. They are entrusted with their clients’ stories and in a position to see and respond to their vulnerabilities. This privileged position allows staff members to empathize with their clients and understand them more fully, and therefore, be in a better place to provide care. In addition, when staff members are in a position to emotionally connect in a healthy manner with clients, it facilitates

trust and allows for more to be accomplished. The impact can become more of a strain when staff members are not prepared well or do not practice their own self-care. They can become overburdened by the work which can lead to burnout in their jobs. The experience of carrying too much can also cause staff members to experience their own traumatic reactions such as compassion fatigue, secondary trauma, or even vicarious traumatization. When staff members do not set appropriate boundaries or limits around the work or around their relationships with clients, they can become overinvolved and do harm to self or others. However, the stresses of not having adequate resources to aid clients or the necessary training to know how to serve them appropriately can create their own psychological impact on staff persons.

Much of the directors' efforts to support their staff members psychologically relate to the ways in which their staff members are both impacted by client experiences and impacted by the challenges of working in an under-resourced and highly stressful environment. The work can be burdensome and can impact their effectiveness and ability to provide appropriate care to clients.

Resilience and empowerment.

In contrast to client struggles, all participants raised the theme of client resilience and the idea that the roles of the resettlement staff are to empower clients and promote their agency and self-determination. Refugees are persons who have survived the worst that humanity levels on them and somehow continue on with at least a small measure of hope as Director 6 noted. All the directors are clear that they hold a philosophy of staff care that promotes the concept that refugees are resilient persons, who must be afforded the

respect they deserve and treated as capable persons with their own initiatives and desires. Rather than providing services or care that infantilizes or creates dependencies that can result in crippling clients, they train and encourage their staff to promote client empowerment in their new lives. Directors care for their staff members' well-being by promoting the empowerment stance in relationship to clients.

There is a balance that needs to be struck between providing appropriate care and responsive services to refugee clients and empowering clients to take charge of their own lives. It is crucial that resettlement staff assist refugee newcomers in navigating the transition to life in the U.S. and the challenges that they face in a new land. However, it is equally important that resettlement staff persons stay away from "doing for" refugees, thereby taking away their power and fostering dependence. Rather, resettlement staff are in a position to partner with refugee clients and assist them in regaining their power and dignity while interrupting the cycle of oppression and disempowerment.

Directors gave specific examples of the ways in which they struggle themselves with how to provide appropriate and empowering services. One director spoke of how she metaphorically encourages staff to not give clients rides when it is raining but to give them umbrellas. However, she wants the staff to be able to problem-solve and know when to give a pregnant client a ride in the rain. Another director talked of how clients need staff to help them sort through their choices and discuss the consequences but not make their choices for them.

Training resettlement staff to provide empowering care for clients is also a way in which directors provide empowered care for their staff. Falling into the trap of doing too much for clients or not maintaining healthy boundaries around the work, can lead to staff

burn out or compassion fatigue and can also lead to client harm in a variety of different ways. Facilitating the empowerment of clients and helping them to draw from their strengths and resilience are good client care and good staff care.

Perspective.

Holding staff to high standards of maintaining perspective, boundaries, and an appropriate stance vis-a-vis their work with refugee clients is another frequently articulated theme. While one director refers to it as maintaining "perspective" and another calls it operating by the same "playbook," all are describing a similar attitude toward clients and the work that is respectful and limited in a defined manner. This type of "perspective" is distinctive. The directors suggest that the way to provide the most appropriate care to refugee clients is to honor their dignity, respect their initiative, maintain appropriate boundaries and limits in the relationship, and follow the tenets of good practice.

The concept of "perspective" is something Director 1 speaks to. She encourages a stance for herself and her staff members that maintains a therapeutic distance from the work and one's personal motivations. This distance is established to allow for healthy boundary management and appropriate care for clients that reinforces the clients' dignity. Director 2 encourages staff to follow a work ethic of excellence and adopt a stance of respect for clients. Director 3 helps his staff refocus when they get off track and return to the "playbook," a metaphorical set of guidelines for how to attend to the most critical aspects of the work. Director 5 encourages boundaries in the work that facilitate client agency but also place limits around staff over-involvement. Director 4 subscribes to a

philosophy that staff provide the best care to clients when they are resourcing them appropriately rather than underdoing or overdoing for them. She also promotes an ethos in the office of not over-working but maintaining a work/life balance.

The concept of perspective is not just about the ways in which directors and staff members act in relationship to clients, but also the attitudes they foster. Maintaining perspective is to have the ability to stand apart from the work, disengage from one's own desires and ego, all the while maintaining an engagement with the client that is beneficial. This allows staff members to see the work and their refugee clients as separate from them with their own centers of initiative and agency while supporting them on their challenging resettlement process. This stance facilitates an empathic viewpoint that leads to more responsive care.

The team.

Team support is another strong theme that was articulated throughout all of the director interviews. There is a common method of promoting the team as the primary support for staff members in times of stress, high arrivals, challenges, and tragedy. Directors understand one of their primary roles as facilitating a functional, healthy, and supportive team environment. The team in the resettlement office context is made up of a multi-disciplinary group with a mix of former refugees and U.S.-born persons. While they each perform different roles, their responsibilities fit together to make the operations work. When there are every day events occurring in the office or difficult circumstances of one sort or the other, it is crucial that the team members function well and relate to one another in a supportive fashion. All directors spoke of the multiple ways in which they

facilitate a strong team in order to manage the stresses and strains of the work, to accomplish and move the work forward, to create an atmosphere of mutuality, and to uphold the morale.

Each of the six directors spoke at length about the importance of the team. Director 1 outlined the crucial nature of the team and the value of team members having others to "fall back on." She noted how critical it is for resettlement workers to know that they have others to console them and prop them up when "they get the door slammed in their faces." Director 3 learned the importance of the team when he played organized sports as a young person. From his point of view, the team provides a guiding force that helps resettlement workers perform their roles. When staff members need assistance, rather than the director stepping in, the team can intervene and provide what is needed. Beyond emotional support and tangible assistance, teams also serve the function of facilitating camaraderie, stress relief, and elevating morale. Director 4, as well as other directors talked about the ways in which spending time together as a team to play and celebrate, as well as get to know one another in a more casual setting, provide an opportunity for bonding and trust-building that helps to shore up individuals and the whole.

When they are working well, resettlement teams can do amazing work with few resources. They are generally made up of passionate and committed groups of people who will do whatever it takes to get the work done and be present for their colleagues and clients alike. The team is foundational in navigating the challenging context of resettlement. Without the team model, little would get accomplished and ultimately the staff and clients alike would suffer. When the team is not in sync or not functioning smoothly, there is a negative impact on individual staff members and on the clients they

serve. There is always too much to be done in the resettlement office and no one person can accomplish their role without assistance from others on the team. Teams create both a practical and emotional net that holds resettlement workers and their refugee clients.

Multi-faceted staff support.

Employing a multi-faceted approach to staff support and care is a quest for all six directors. Each of them describe the multiple ways in which they seek to create a culture, as Director 1 says, “Where good things happen.” The list of tactics that directors employ for this purpose is varied and includes regular staff meetings where people can process their challenges and receive advice, training opportunities, providing important material supports that make the job easier, events and occasions for “fun” and bonding, celebrations of important moments, providing food or treats as a surprise periodically and reinforcing the team approach. These approaches provide reliable and structured opportunities for staff care. In addition, there are more serendipitous opportunities for staff care that provide an element of enjoyment. The directors each had similar lists and came to use these strategies by following their instincts and learning from experience and from others.

Providing material supports was a notable approach to staff care. Director 3 verbalized his struggles with how to provide the resources his staff members need, while managing a very tight budget. Some of his staff were uncomfortable using the office vehicle so he was working on getting one that was easier for the “girls” to operate. He also bemoaned the cramped and old office space they are using while also grousing about how the other agency in town had a fancier space of which his staff are envious. He wanted his staff to

feel appreciated. Therefore, he encouraged the church to provide a party and gifts to the staff. Director 4 also spoke of wanting to make her staff members' jobs less challenging by providing what materials supports that she is able. She spoke of procuring an additional van for staff to use to make their load easier. Director 6 moved his office to a better space recently as the staff complained about the musty smell and the tight quarters. He found that the new office is much more conducive to staff comfort and morale. Tangible supports that relieve staff burdens and make the arduous work more comfortable are important to staff, and directors do whatever they can to provide them.

The idea of play came up in various forms in the directors' comments on staff support. Being together for enjoyable times in which staff members can relax and laugh, share themselves with one another in fuller ways, and move out of their usual ways of relating is noted as a significant help to staff morale and stress relief. Directors spoke of having parties for holidays, celebrating birthdays and significant events in staff members lives or in the life of the agency. Sharing food and drink in a relaxed environment lifts the spirits of all. Ultimately, this spirit of play encourages openness and creativity and connects the staff with one another and with the director in a significant way.

Regular structured staff meetings are another method of supporting staff. These meetings provide an opportunity for staff to discuss challenges they are facing, to process cases, to share ideas and solutions, and to provide a forum for training staff on various topics. Staff meetings also provide a forum for directors to provide counsel, program updates, and address staff concerns and questions. This regular staff meeting serves the function of providing reliable structure for containment, counsel, and amity.

Employing a variety of methods for staff support and care is an approach that each director embraced. All these efforts, regardless of how big or small the action, make a difference in creating an environment in which staff members feel appreciated, affirmed, and have their needs attended to.

Open door policy.

Maintaining an open-door policy is also a common theme across participants. All directors articulated their belief that providing an open door to their staff was a crucial way in which they create a continual environment of care. The directors keep this forum for staff to seek out their counsel or solace whenever they need it and for whatever reason. The directors' availability in this particular way is very important to each. Creating an environment in which their staff members are able to access them at will is important to directors' belief that they are providing individualized care to each of their staff members. This ever-present, open, and accessible stance is something that every director espoused as one of the most significant and reliable ways in which they continually support their staff members.

The directors want their staff to view them as approachable and available. Director 4 has struggled with how busy and fast-paced she can be. So, she restructured her way of conducting business in order to have time to engage with staff. She wants them to feel free to come to her about anything, professional or personal. Director 6 talked about how he too wants the staff to come through his open door and know that he will stop whatever he is doing to listen to them. Director 2 has high standards for his staff members, but he believes he balances this with his accessibility and engagement with them.

The open door is a metaphor for director care. The directors' belief that they can use their own selves as a conduit for the provision of staff attention and nurturing is a continual refrain. Directors understand their actions of inviting staff members to use them in this way as a primary mode of caring for staff psychologically. It is the directors' method for holding individual staff members and being a ready presence and source of attunement in a challenging environment

Social responsibility.

The ideal of having a responsibility to the greater good and to social justice is an underlying tenet expressed by each director. While the directors do not explicitly say it, there is a sense that they all see their role as more of a calling or vocation than a career. For some participants such as Director 5 and 6, the principles that drive their work originate from their spirituality. Other directors, such as Directors 1 and 4, believe that humankind is responsible for one another and those with privilege have an even greater obligation. Director 3's ideals stem from his value for diversity and justice. Director 2's sense of calling stems from his own experience as an immigrant, his gratefulness for what he has received and his desire to do what is right by those who come after him. The directors' passion and the strong convictions that propel them forward are foundational to how they continuously meet the challenges inherent in resettlement and are a resource in their care of the staff and clients they serve.

Current political environment.

The election of Donald Trump and the subsequent Executive Orders entitled, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry" (a first order and then a second revised order), played a prominent role in the interviews with each participant. In the first interviews, participants were fretting about the recent election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States. The anti-immigrant/refugee rhetoric that led up to the election was troubling for all of the directors and their staff members. The subsequent election of Trump to the office of president created intense uncertainty and fear for the future of the program and for the well-being of immigrants and refugees. During his campaign for president, Trump ran on an anti-refugee, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim platform that called into question his commitment to the refugee resettlement program, as well as his interest in the U.S.'s role in intervening in the global refugee crisis.

While all the directors had reactions to the election of Trump, they each expressed their feelings in unique ways. Director 3 verbalized his anger and frustration and seemed to feel the weight of the entire social movement, as he sought to do his job in his little corner of the world. Director 5 talked about feeling alone with the impact on her office and isolated from knowing about the impact on other offices. She also has the feeling she is standing on shifting sand without a clear view of where things will end up. A couple of other directors were trying to roll with the challenges and not give into their concerns and fears. Director 1 spoke of how she generally conceptualizes the ups and downs of resettlement as "riding the waves," but now she is unsure of what the new normal will be. She said that instead of "riding the waves" she needs to face her demons and focus. Director 2 was very concerned for the clients' well-being as they hear the hateful rhetoric

and fear for their safety. He was also concerned for those families who will not be reunited because of the new policies. Each of the directors know that they are watching a program that they have dedicated their professional lives to change dramatically. They are all concerned for the future of refugees as the world faces the largest refugee crisis of our time.

All six of the directors spoke about the ways that they are trying to calm the fears of their staff members and reassure them about the future of the program. They are attempting to balance the need for transparency with the desire to not unduly burden or scare their staff. A few of the directors discussed their concerns regarding how staff are managing their fears in this uncertain political and resettlement environment, while others are not sure what their staff are feeling as they have not inquired. A couple of the directors are being straightforward with staff about the current state of affairs. Director 2 feels it is very important to be transparent with staff. He does not want to create anxiety but feels that staff have a right to know what information is available. The program is in the news, so staff will be drawing their own conclusions if he does not keep them informed. Director 5 is concerned about saying too much to staff as she feels they already have too much to worry about, and she does not want to add to their concerns. Regardless of the director's approach, they are all acutely aware of the impact that the situation is having on them and realize that their staff members must be similarly impacted.

In the second and third interviews with the directors, it became clearer that the resettlement program had entered a new era with significant and possibly devastating changes on the horizon. The Trump Executive Orders regarding the entrance of refugees into the U.S. have a significant effect on the potential of the long-term sustainability of

the program. The EOs created a situation in which the number of refugees entering the U.S. was reduced both in the total projection of arrivals as well as by refugees' countries of origin. This shift in policy has created a situation in which offices are receiving fewer refugees to welcome than planned, and families in the U.S. are potentially separated from their loved ones, who might no longer be able to come through the refugee program. In addition, refugees who were prepared to board planes bound for the U.S. to be resettled were turned away. Subsequently, there have been a number of court rulings that have intervened in the full implementation of the Eos; however, refugee arrivals continue to be limited. Major shifts in program funding and program priorities are taking place and local resettlement offices are facing dramatic changes.

The signing of the two Trump EOs was met with mixed reactions in the U.S. An outpouring of support for refugees and immigrants including protests and marches took place across the country. However, support for the EOs has encouraged and emboldened the Trump supporter base to express their animus toward immigrants, refugees, Muslims, and those who are considered "other" in increasingly vile ways. This charged environment is the backdrop against which local offices are welcoming refugees and attempting to support their staff members in their work. This new "normal" and the uncertainty for the future of the program are deeply concerning to all of the directors. Directors are afraid and are doing what they can help their staff to metabolize the evocative emotional environment.

Absence of training.

An absence or dearth of preparation and training for the role of director as well as for the role of resettlement worker was also a notable theme that could be traced across most participant responses. There is little formal training offered to directors and staff besides the one-off webinars or workshop topics. Resettlement offices do have training plans that cover various important topics and they engage in assorted workshops and webinars offered by the national resettlement agencies with whom they are affiliated. They may bring their own community experts in to train from time to time, and they may even provide various modules of training that they create themselves. However, there is no known common training curriculum for resettlement workers in general or directors in particular that sets the standards for how to perform the roles in the profession.

Most of the directors talked of their wish for better preparation for their role as director, as well as more structured and available training options for their staff. Directors also noted that they would like to have training on how to provide care for their staff. They identified that they have received information on self-care but not staff-care. Director 1 noted that providing self-care training to staff, while not providing the organizational structure that facilitates that self-care is irresponsible. Director 1is the least tenured of the directors but her degree in psychology provides her with a measure of theoretical knowledge that underpins her understanding of her methods. She had a vision for what she thinks should be in place systemically to support her staff, but she still feels that there is a vacuum in education and support that she has experienced as a director and she desires for more.

All six directors suggested that they are forced to create their own strategies for caring for staff without the input from training sources. Most of the time directors create strategies for staff care through trial and error. Director 4 and Director 2 said that they learned how to care for staff by doing the opposite of what their former directors did. All the directors indicated that having outside resources for staff care would be very useful as they have limited funds and limited time, and they are not always sure they are getting things right. Director 6 recalls receiving training regarding how to fill out forms and other such compliance information but no education on topics, such as how to relate to staff or the public or how to talk to the media, etc. Regarding training, directors felt that whether it was on staff care or other practical topics there is little reliable education available. However, all of the directors articulated a strong desire and need for more reliable in-depth education on how to be a director and how to provide for appropriate care of resettlement staff.

Hunger for support.

One theme that was articulated in various ways and woven throughout most of the interviews, relates to the directors' hunger for support and someone that they can receive encouragement from as well as "bounce ideas off of." The directors spoke of their appreciation for having the opportunity to talk openly with another experienced director in a "safe" setting. The interview process provided a forum for sharing themselves, their ideas, concerns, and frustrations as well their fears. Notably, the directors expressed that they experience a need for a support system for themselves in their role as director. They feel that only those who are or have been directors themselves can fully grasp the unique

challenges of the role. As the interviewer, I felt that I was afforded a credibility and trust from the directors because I am one of them and had been in the trenches as a director. The directors are seeking the open door for themselves that they provide for their staff members.

Repeatedly, most of the directors expressed their appreciation for the opportunity to speak to me and reflect on the work in new ways as well as to share their understandings of their efforts to create a responsive environment of care for their staff and clients alike. They also each spoke of their desire to refine their efforts and receive more knowledge about the best practices that they could incorporate themselves. All but one of the directors asked if they could read the study when it was complete. They each expressed eagerness to learn from the study and are hopeful training opportunities might come from it.

Divergent themes.

While the directors articulated very similar understandings of the challenges they face and the ways in which they seek to create an environment of care for their staff members, they express their understandings in varied ways. These variations demonstrate differences in personality, experience, and education. There were, however, several divergent themes that stand out and are important to note.

Table 3

Divergent Themes

Director	Director 1	Director 2	Director 3	Director 4	Director 5	Director 6
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Female	Female	Male
Immigrant		X				
Seamless Self		X				
Anger and the Social Context			X			
Other Divergent Themes: Different Cities, Different Client Populations, Different Access to Resources etc.	X	X	X	X	X	X

Gender.

Six directors participated in the study, three are male and three are female. The directors demonstrated a different style of expression along gender lines. The male participants tended to provide a straightforward and linear approach to expressing their understanding of how they attend to their staff psychologically. While they earnestly want to support their staff members in whatever ways they possibly can, they had not reflected on their understanding prior to the interviews. The female directors, on the other hand, were in a continual process of seeking to explore better ways to provide support

and facilitate an environment of care for their staff members. The common themes across all directors were consistent; however, the male directors' language to explain their understandings of their efforts is different from that of the female directors. While the female directors tended to use nurturing language, such as "shouldering others' burdens" and "creating a family atmosphere," their male counterparts used action language, such as "tough love" and sports metaphors like "sticking to the playbook." There were also differences in how the male and female directors conceptualized their roles. Male directors discussed their understanding of their role in terms of problem-solving and providing clear guidelines and expectations for staff to follow. Their method of care for staff involved providing structure such as a "playbook" for staff to follow. In contrast, female directors conceptualized their role more often by using terms that outlined the nurturing role of the director, such as attending to needs and bringing people together for support. Both structuring and nurturance are important aspects to the holding environment created by the director.

Immigrant.

There was only one director who had immigrated to the U.S. All the other directors were born in the U.S. The firsthand experience of being an immigrant and seeing his own parents struggle to integrate into their new community provided Director 2 with a nuanced understanding of his clients' needs. While the other directors noted the importance of an empathic approach to understanding clients, Director 2 was in a position to actually speak to the clients' experience. He was vehement that the staff put themselves in the shoes of the client and afford them the understanding that they deserve.

Director 2 was also in a unique position for training his staff members on the lived experience of many of the clients they serve. Thus, he was able to influence their methods and approach to assisting newcomers in a more nuanced manner. His empathic attunement with clients' experience was at a different level than the other directors'.

Seamless self.

In addition to being an immigrant himself, Director 2 also shared that his sexual orientation provides another window into understanding his clients' experience of marginalization. Director 2 works in a community where there are many immigrants and refugees representing the LGBTQI (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender, Questioning/Queer, Intersex) community. His office provides programming and outreach to those populations, and his own sexual orientation provides a lived experience and credibility that informs the services his office provides. His own experience also provides him with the knowledge to educate his staff on LGBTQI clients' needs. While Director 2 spoke of his experience as a gay immigrant, it is just a part of his identity. Importantly, he spoke to the need for himself and others to represent themselves "seamlessly" in both personal and professional contexts. This integrity of personhood is foundational to his understanding and expression of himself as a person and a director.

Anger and the social context.

While all six of the directors expressed some level of frustration regarding the lack of resources and the current political environment that is causing upheaval to the program, Director 3 expressed a more defining anger at the systems that he views as unsupportive

to him and those in the resettlement field. Director 3 is a long-term resettlement professional who believes in the value of welcoming refugees to communities and the mutual benefit that resettlement provides. However, he is caught between his ideals and a growing untenable situation in which he believes there are no longer the resources needed to do the job properly, and there are multiple system failures. Whether the failure is the city and its lack of affordable housing options, the Trump administration and its anti-refugee policies, or the national resettlement agency's lack of attunement and support, Director 3 feels his back is up against the wall, and he is unable to do the work the way it should be done. This has his "blood boiling" and is causing him to feel a level of anger and frustration that infects his work. While he would like to protect the staff and clients from the failures of the program and his own jadedness, he has a growing concern that the lack of support for the program and the refugees they serve is reaching a critical point of no return. This divergent theme also raises another difference that should be noted. Each of the directors are embedded in their own context. They are each in different cities, some serve different client populations than others and they have differing access to resources. These contextual variances can have a significant impact on the directors' experience of their roles.

Implications

Several implications are noted from the study's findings. These implications can be categorized broadly as theoretical implications for the field of refugee resettlement and implications for training, policy and future study.

Theoretical implications.

While none of the six directors are psychoanalytically trained social workers, their understandings of how they create environments of care for their staff members, in some key respects, intuitively follows the theoretical underpinnings of that field of study. The directors all have an understanding of the necessity of using the relationship with their staff members as the primary medium for providing care. They each describe ways in which they understand how they use the self to provide nurture and attunement to the other. Providing forums for the team to shoulder burdens, offering material supports, feeding the staff, promoting play and maintaining an open door of availability, all point to the directors' efforts to create in essence what D.W. Winnicott (1960) termed "the holding environment" which is further explored in the literature review.

Winnicott's "holding environment" speaks not only to the psychological space created by caregiver for the infant but also the physical space. This environment of care then facilitates the development of the infant and the metabolizing and management of experiences that are a part of the process. As directors create a "holding environment" for their staff members, they too function in the role of caregiver and facilitate the management of the complex emotions and experiences that they face as they work with refugees and develop as professionals. The directors, both male and female employ a wide range of methods to attend to the needs of their staff members. While Winnicott spoke to the maternal nurturing role of the caregiver, the creation of a "holding environment" not only requires caregivers to employ maternal efforts but also paternal. In the therapeutic and social work realm, the clinician too employs the nurturing and soothing role associated with that of the maternal figure but also the role of encouraging

autonomy, self- agency, and initiative that is most often associated with the paternal figure. The directors described their efforts to create an environment of care in similar and divergent ways that demonstrate their personal understandings as well as gendered nuances to their activities. The male and female directors both demonstrated that the holding environment is broader than an environment of care of nurturing. While the activities most often represented by the maternal role that Winnicott speaks to, such as attention, nurturance, and soothing are understood to be a part of their director role, the paternal roles of providing direction, expectations, and facilitating development in staff serve a necessary structuring function. Bollas writes of how in various psychoanalytic theories, in the analytic endeavor, the role of the maternal figure is privileged over that of the paternal figure or vice versa (Bollas, 1996 p. 6). However, he argues for a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the functions of the analyst in relationship to the patient. “The associative place would be operating within the maternal order, the interpretive within the paternal order and the patient’s participation in both worlds – indeed the patient’s need for both positions – would constitute a structural use of the parental couple” (Bollas, 1996). This idea also seems to bear out in the role as the resettlement director in relationship to their staff members. One role cannot be privileged over the other. The staff members need to be able to use the director’s maternal and paternal type functions to be supported in their complex and challenging work with clients.

A theoretical stance that the directors all espoused was that of clients’ right to self-determination and a respect for their individual agency. While this is a social work ethical principle, it is also at its foundation a concept embedded in object relations theory.

In discussing his ideas on the “holding environment,” Winnicott explains that this environment of care and the actual holding of the child is intended to facilitate the development of the child in such a way that a separate solid sense of self is fostered (Winnicott, 1960). In a similar vein, directors are promoting the strengthening of agency and a sense of self in their staff and clients when they create a holding environment that is responsive, attuned, and promotes the agency and initiative of the other.

Another theoretical implication raised in the study is that of the value of relational boundaries and limits in providing services to refugee clients. The directors have a crucial role in imparting this relational approach to their staff members. They are also in the position to create boundaries and limits for their staff members in such a way that they promote containment and anxiety reduction in the work environment. As discussed in the literature review, directors’ efforts can alleviate toxic anxiety and promote a greater sense of security amongst their staff members and, in turn, the clients. The idea of containment in the organizational environment speaks to the director’s role in creating healthy boundaries in the organization that prevent individuals from becoming overwhelmed or passing on their strain to others (James & Huffington, 2004).

Finally, the concept of the “good enough mother” discussed by Winnicott (1960) can illuminate a discussion on the way the directors engage in the role of supporting and caring for their staff members and the clients they serve. While they did not articulate an understanding of their function as the “good enough mother.” they did describe a variety of tasks that relate to the theoretical construct. The maternal figure holds the infant physically and psychically. She creates an environment with the infant that is reliable and protects the child from outside insult. She feeds and responds to the child with nurturance

and love. Through these efforts she facilitates the child's management of complex emotions and experiences and aids the child in his development (Winnicott, 1960). In addition, Winnicott's "good enough mother" must have the capacity to survive the child's aggression or "ruthless" self. According to Winnicott, "The normal child enjoys a ruthless relation to his mother, mostly showing in play, and he needs his mother because only she can be expected to tolerate his ruthless relation to her…" (Winnicott, 1945 p.142). This "good enough" mothering represents the optimal care needed to provide for a healthy environment for the child to become themselves.

The "good enough" resettlement director performs similar maternal tasks. However, in addition to the maternal tasks, the "good enough" parent also performs those associated with the paternal figure just as required in the creation of the holding environment. It is important to not reduce the role of the "good enough" caregiver to that of soothing and nurturance alone. Rather, it is crucial that the role include a more holistic view of caregiving that includes the roles of the paternal figure, who facilitates the development of self-agency and initiative in the social realm. The director metaphorically holds their staff members in such a way that they can perform their own roles with their clients.

The director provides reliable nurturance and aids the staff members in metabolizing the challenging experiences they are faced with, as well as the charged traumatic material to which they are exposed. In addition, staff members are in a position in which they must tolerate and manage their clients' complex and highly charged feeling states including aggression, which may get directed at the staff member. In turn, the staff members may need to direct their own complex feelings toward the director including their "ruthlessness," aggression, frustration, and exposure to traumatic material with the

hope that the director will help them to manage and metabolize those complex states. The “good enough” director then facilitates a secure, reliable and attuned environment in which their staff and clients can express and manage their feelings and experiences and develop their own initiative and agency as individuals.

Implications for training, policy and future study.

The field of refugee resettlement has evolved into a profession over the last three decades. Its roots are in the efforts undertaken by local faith communities, who sponsored refugees through their congregations and helped refugee families settle in to their new communities. In the 1980’s, the field began to evolve into a professional discipline with nonprofit agencies forming to take on the work of resettlement. As the profession evolved so too has the requirements of how agencies are to use the funds provided by the federal government as well as the requirements of the services to be delivered. Technical assistance from federal grantees has also expanded to include information and training on various topics such as refugee mental health, refugee trauma, refugee workforce development, intensive case management, and much more. The national resettlement agencies, who are affiliated with the local offices, have also developed and improved their technical assistance and training offerings to the field. However, this study identifies some important training and curriculum gaps.

This study finds that most of the training provided to these directors was geared toward program requirement topics rather than addressing the ways in which directors perform the more nuanced relational tasks in their roles. In addition, the trainings that do address relational topics are generally one time, short workshop topics or webinars.

Neither the directors nor I are aware of any curriculum that systematically addresses the training needs of resettlement directors, and there is no know formal training curriculum that outlines the best practices for creating an environment of care for resettlement staff who work with refugees who have experienced trauma. All six directors interviewed for this study expressed a desire to receive more consistent education on relational topics such as how they can better support and care for their staff members' well-being. The study also highlights a gap in directors' theoretical understanding of why they do what they do vis`-a-vis` their staff. There is opportunity to develop a curriculum that is based in theory and covers important topics. Such topics include, how directors can create an environment of care for their staff, how refugee trauma impacts resettlement staff, and how directors can employ resources to mitigate that impact, and methods for directors to resource themselves in the challenging and under-resourced resettlement environment, as well as other topics. Such a curriculum could be offered to all nine of the national resettlement agencies to use in training their directors.

The study also raised implications for policy. Policies for the field regarding training and supervision of directors, as well as human resource policies that address staff workloads and exposure to a difficult work context, would be areas for consideration. Currently, the State Department requires that national resettlement agencies monitor offices where there are new directors within the first year of their directorship. This is done to check compliance with the cooperative agreement. This agreement is between the agencies and the State Department's Office for Populations, Refugees and Migration (PRM). There are currently no policies governing the standards for the training new directors receive or policies regarding ongoing training topics for directors except for the

requirement to cover the cooperative agreement. Most national resettlement agencies provide introductory training to their new directors, and generally these workshops take place over the course of a few days. However, beyond the cooperative agreement the agencies determine their own topics to cover. Providing new directors with seasoned director "buddies" might be a support that would be useful. Also, several of the directors who were interviewed remarked that they valued the opportunity to talk with other directors. Facilitating regular opportunities for directors to gather for frank discussions, to share ideas, and to provide general support is a practice that could prove fruitful.

The gap in policies and procedures that addresses staff care in local offices is another area for consideration. While labor laws provide certain protections, resettlement workers are working in highly charged situations with very vulnerable populations. Standard labor laws do not address staff exposure to trauma or the emotional toll the work can take on the staff person. As Director 1 indicated, it is difficult to teach staff members about self-care if there are no policies in place that allow for them to implement that self-care.

There is no refugee resettlement code of ethics. All agencies funded by PRM are required to adhere to the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's *Policy on Protection in Humanitarian Action,* which addresses sexual misconduct and abuse of power with affected populations. Many agencies adopt codes used in other disciplines, but there is no standard practice or ungirding code that guides the field of refugee resettlement. A profession has a responsibility to articulate a set of values, ethical principles, and standards that guide the professionals who work in it (NASW, 1996). Without a common set of values, ethical principles, and standards, workers in the field run the risk of providing inadequate care or even causing harm to clients and staff alike. Adopting the

social work code of ethics as a policy and providing training to the code across the field of refugee resettlement is a recommendation.

This study used a small-scale approach and in-depth interviews with directors to provide an opportunity to understand their lived experience in their roles. The study demonstrates that directors care deeply about the work and those they support. They come into the work as advocates in a grassroots manner and evolve in an organic progression into their roles. The value of a study such as this is that it allows for an intimate window into how directors understand and feel about the work. A larger quantitative study would not provide the same level of intimacy or level of depth following of participants' own thoughts and feelings about the work they do or the ways in which they understand themselves in relation to staff. Spending time in close discussion with each director with a psychoanalytically-informed interview process allowed for understandings to come forth that would not otherwise. This type of research is crucial to the field of clinical social work and psychoanalytic inquiry as it provides an entry into the participants' own understandings. It is a relational role that requires a relational approach to understanding it. Using the participants' own words and perspectives in a close and co-constructed manner, this study allows for interpretations to lead to nuanced considerations for how directors can better be supported in their relationship to their work and in their care of staff members.

Areas for future examination may include a larger study to look at how directors understand their own efforts to create an environment of care for their staff who work with traumatized refugees. A larger cohort of directors may lead to an even richer data set that points to more conclusive best practices. In addition, a study that examines staff

members' understanding of what directors do that they experience as helpful care could also prove to be useful.

Summary

This study examines how directors of local refugee resettlement agencies understand their efforts to create an environment of care for their staff members who work with traumatized refugees. Six case studies of participant resettlement directors were produced. The six case studies detail the distinctive understandings that each director held of their efforts. A cross-case analysis was also conducted to highlight the common themes and understandings amongst directors as well as the divergent themes.

The study reveals that the directors share many common understandings. They all share the belief that it is a part of their role to make efforts to create an environment of care for their staff members. The directors each took a circuitous route into the profession, and each come from different disciplines. Once in the field they all served in direct service roles before becoming directors. This knowledge of multiple roles affords them a certain level of empathic attunement toward their staff who perform roles that they once did. The directors believe that the trauma refugees have experienced accompanies them throughout their journeys, and the stories of tragedy and horror are alive in the resettlement experience. Refugee trauma and consequent coping skills impact staff members, who are in service relationships with refugees. This impact can be deep and far reaching to staff and include psychological and physical effects. The directors all endorse the philosophy that refugees are resilient, and resettlement professionals are in a position to support their individual initiative and empowerment as well as to respect their

dignity. Directors also subscribe to the importance of transmitting to staff the value of maintaining perspective in the work and creating healthy boundaries and limits in their relationships with clients. All the directors believe that facilitating a strong supportive team is a key element in creating an environment of care for their staff. In addition, providing staff with a diverse repertoire of reliable necessities including regular meetings, material resources, opportunities for fun and affirmation, etc. all build staff morale and provide a foundation of support that allows for a healthy work environment. Maintaining an open door of access to them is a key contribution that all directors believe is essential to staff care. Each of the directors places a value on social responsibility, and it is what brings purpose and passion to their role. The current political climate, the election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States, and the subsequent executive orders signed by president Trump, are impinging on the resettlement program and figure prominently in the directors' reflections on how they must now care for staff considering the changing social environment. The participants articulate their disappointment in the lack of training available for their role as directors and their desire for reliable in-depth training to be provided on a regular basis. Finally, the directors indicate that they are hungry for more support in their roles and would welcome opportunities to share challenges and ideas with other directors in a safe, productive environment.

Directors did diverge from one another in several ways. Gender dynamics play a part in how directors perceive and articulate their role. Directors' own idiosyncratic, lived experience influences the ways in which they perform their role and value aspects of it. The context or environment that directors work in vary and impact their expression of their role in relation to their staff. Client populations differ and the cities in which

resettlement is conducted present unique challenges. The directors' personal reactions to external factors also represented divergent themes. Some directors expressed the impact of the current political situation as a change to adapt to, while other directors expressed frustration or fear.

Refugee resettlement is a humanitarian and human service field that is laden with challenges and opportunities. Every day across the United States in towns and cities alike, refugees are welcomed by passionate and committed professionals and their community partners. Directors of resettlement agencies work tirelessly to ensure that refugees are offered the support and services they need and afforded the dignity they deserve. Directors do this while also providing a responsive environment of care for their dedicated staff members, who are confronted daily with the challenges of managing complex relationships, lack of resources, and an ever-changing program and social context. These directors are in a position to make a substantial impact on resettlement staff, refugees, and ultimately communities. In order for them to fulfill their mission, they must have the resources, training, and support they so justly deserve.

Appendix A

Cover Letter to Participants

Appendix A

THE INSTITUTE FOR
Clinical Social Work

Research Project for Refugee Resettlement Directors

Dear Colleagues,

I am a former Executive Director of a refugee resettlement agency and currently the Senior Director of Operations at Church World Service. I am working on my dissertation for a PhD in clinical social work at the Institute for Clinical Social Work.

I am conducting a research project looking at the experiences of refugee resettlement agency directors. Particularly, I am interested in what you as a director understand about your own actions to create environments for your staff that may promote an ongoing sense of psychological support and well-being.

I will be asking a variety of questions to better understand your thoughts on the subject, but mostly I will be looking for your reflections and ask you to share as freely as you are able. I am also interested in hearing about what aspects of this experience you as a director feel is important to you, even if what you feel important is not necessarily something that I have thought of or asked about directly.

This study will include three one-hour interviews with each director, so that I can get a thorough understanding of each director's experiences.

This study will include three one-hour interviews with each director, so that I can get a thorough understanding of each director's experiences.

You must be: **at least 21 years of age**, an **Executive Director** or Program Director of a refugee resettlement agency **for more than 2 years** (the program must resettle more than **150 refugees each year**), and willing to participate in **3 one-hour long interviews**.

Participants will *receive $25 for each completed hour of interviews*. Interviews will take place in your office or a private location at your convenience. If you are interested in participating, please contact me at miller_carleen@yahoo.com or 317.345.7524.

Carleen Miller
miller_carleen@yahoo.com
Phone: +1.317.345.7524

Appendix B

Research Guide – Possible Questions to Guide Interviews

Appendix B

Research Guide – Possible Questions to Guide Interviews

1. What is your professional background?
2. In what discipline is your degree?
3. How long have you been involved in the work of refugee resettlement?
4. What brought you to the work of refugee resettlement?
5. What is your current role in resettlement?
6. How long have you been in your current role?
7. Were you a refugee?
8. If so, what are the circumstances of your refugee story?
9. In what ways does your personal experience impact and inform your role as the director of a resettlement program?
10. What are the psychological effects of the refugee experience in the refugee clients with whom you work?
11. In what ways do you feel the staff of the resettlement agency are psychologically affected by their work with refugees?
12. What types of support do you employ to help your staff members manage the psychological impact of their work with refugees?
13. What supports seem to help your staff the most?
14. Do you provide education on trauma to your staff members? If so, what type of information is provided?
15. Do you provide education on self-care to your staff members? If so, what type of information is provided?
16. Are you familiar with the psychological concept of "holding environment" which was first discussed by D.W. Winnicott? The concept of holding environment suggests that in a person's early life their care giver creates an environment of care and support or "holding environment" that helps the child manage complex feelings.
17. What are the ways that you create an environment of care for your staff members who work with refugees?
18. Are there certain staff roles that require more care from you as the director? If so why do you think that is? What types of additional care do those staff members require? And, what methods do you use to provide that environment of care?
19. Is there knowledge or training that you wish you had received as a director to help you in your support of staff members?
20. Are there any questions I haven't asked that I should have or any information you would like to share?

References

Akhtar, S. (1995). A third individuation: Immigration, identity, and the psychoanalytic process. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, *43*(4), 1051-84. doi:10.1177/000306519504300406

Akhtar, S. (1999). *Immigration and identity: Turmoil, treatment and transformation*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Akhtar, S. (2009). Friendship, socialization and the immigrant experience. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, *14*(3), 253–272.

Allcorn, S. (2003). *The dynamic workplace: Present structure and future redesign*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Anderson, D. K., & White, J. D. (2002). Psychoanalytic organizational theory: Comparative perspectives. *Free Associations*, *9*(4), 500-525.

Bacal, H. A., & Newman, K. M. (1990). *Theories of object relations: Bridges to self-psychology*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Balgopal, P. R. (Ed.). (2000). *Social work practice with immigrants and refugees*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Barkdull, C., Weber, B., & Phillips, A. (2012). The changing context of refugee resettlement policy and programs in the United States. *Journal of International Social Issues*, *1*(1), 107-119.

Bell, H., Kulkarni, S. & Dalton, L. (2003) Organizational Prevention of Vicarious Trauma. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services: 2003, Vol. 84, No. 4, pp. 463-470. doi. 10.1606/1044-3894.131

Blum, H. P. (2003). Psychic Trauma and Traumatic Object Loss. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 51:415-431.

Bober, T., Regehr, C., Yanqiu, R. Z. (2006). Development of the coping strategies inventory for trauma counselors. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, *11*(1), 71–83.

Bollas, C. (1993). An interview with Christopher Bollas. *Psychoanalytic. Dialogue*, *3*(3), 401-430. doi.org/10.1080/10481889309538985

Bollas, C. (1996). Figures and their functions: On the oedipal structure of a psychoanalysis. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, *65*(1), 1-20.

Bolognini, S. (2009). The complex nature of psychoanalytic empathy: A theoretical and clinical exploration. *Fort Da*, *15*(1), 35-56.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cresswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dalenberg, C. J. (2000). *Countertransference and the treatment of trauma.* Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y. (2003) (eds). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. Second Edition. London: Sage.

Deutsch, H., & Roazen, P. (1989). Technique: The therapeutic alliance. *The International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, *16*, 427-431.

Diamond, M. A. (2003). Organizational immersion and diagnosis: The work of Harry Levinson. *Organizational & Social Dynamics*, *3*(1), 1-18.

Diamond, M., & Allcorn, S. (2003). The cornerstone of psychoanalytic organizational analysis: Psychological reality, transference and countertransference in the workplace. *Human Relations, 56*. doi:10.1177/0018726703056004005

Eagle, M. N. (1984). *Recent developments in psychoanalysis: A critical evaluation.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Eisenberger, R., Huntington, R., Hutchison, S., & Sowa, D. (1986). Perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *71*(3), 500-507.

Figley, C. R. (1995). *Compassion fatigue: Coping with secondary traumatic stress disorder in those who treat the traumatized*. New York, NY: Brunner Mazel.

Figley, C. R. (1999). Compassion fatigue: Toward a new understanding of the costs of caring (2nd ed.). In B. H. Stamm (Ed.), *Secondary traumatic stress: Self-care issues for clinicians, researchers and educators* (pp. 3-28). Lutherville, MD: Sidra Press.

Figley, C. R. (2002). Compassion fatigue: Psychotherapists' chronic lack of self-care. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *58*(11), 1434-1441. doi:10.1002/jclp.10090

Flescher, J. (1953). On different types of countertransference. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, *3*(4), 357-372. doi.org/10.1080/00207284.1953.11507962

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *12*(2), 219-245.

Freud, S. (1953). Five lectures on psycho-analysis, Leonardo da Vinci and other works. In J. Strachey & A. Freud (Eds.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud.* London, UK: The Hogarth Press. (Original work published in 1910)

Freud, S. (1963). Introductory lectures on psycho-analysis. In J. Strachey & A. Freud (Eds.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol 16). London, UK: The Hogarth Press.

Freud, S. (2001). Recommendations to physicians practising psycho-analysis. In J. Strachey & A. Freud (Eds.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 12) (pp. 109-120). London, UK: Vintage Press.

George, M. (2012). Migration traumatic experience and refugee stress: Implications for social work practice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, *40*, 429-437. doi:10.1007/s10615-012-0397-y

Grinberg, L., & Grinberg, R. (1984). A psychoanalytic study of migration: Its normal and pathological aspects. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, *32*(1), 13-38. doi:10.1177/000306518403200103

Grotstein, J. S. (1982). Newer perspectives in object relations theory. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, *18*(1), 43-91. doi.org/10.1080/00107530.1982.10745677

Haynal, A. (1999). The countertransference in the work of Ferenczi. *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *59*(4), 315-331.

Heimann, P. (1950). On countertransference. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *31*, 81-84.

Herman, J. (1997). *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath from violence—from domestic violence to political terror*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Hmung, A. M. T. (2008). *The Karen Revolution in Burma: Diverse voices, uncertain ends*. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center.

Hoffman, I. Z., (2009). Experience Doublethinking Our Way to "Scientific" Legitimacy: the Desiccation of Human. *Journal American Psychoanalytic Association* 57; 1043. DOI: 10.1177/0003065109343925

Horner, A., (1984), *Object Relations and the developing ego in therapy*, Lanham, Maryland, Rowman and Little Publishers, Inc.

Inglesby, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Forced migration and mental health: Rethinking the care of refugees and displaced persons*. New York: Springer Science and Business Media, Inc.

Jacobs, T. (1999). Countertransference past and present: A review of the concept. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *80*(3), 575-594. doi.org/10.1516/0020757991598783

James, K. & Huffington, C. (2004). Containment of Anxiety in Organizational Change: A Case Example of Changing Organizational Boundaries. *Organisational and Social Dynamics*, 4(2):212-233

Kinsella, Elizabeth Anne (2006). Hermeneutics and Critical Hermeneutics: Exploring Possibilities within the Art of. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(3), Art. 19

Kohut, H. (1959). Introspection, empathy and psychoanalysis – An examination of the relationship between mode of observation and theory. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, *7*(3) 459-483. doi:10.1177/000306515900700304

Lijtmaer, R. M. (2001). Splitting and nostalgia in recent immigrants: Psycho-dynamic considerations. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, *29*(3), 427439. doi.org/10.1521/jaap.29.3.427.17301

McCann, I. L., & Pearlman, L. A. (1990a). Vicarious traumatization: A framework the psychological effects of working with victims. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *3*(1), 131-149. doi:10.1002/jts.2490030110

McCann, I. L., & Pearlman, L. A. (1990b). *Psychological trauma and the adult survivor: Theory, therapy, and transformation*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

McDonald, N. M., & Messenger, D. S. (2011). The development of empathy: How, when, and why. In A. Acerbi, J. A. Lombo, & J. J. Sanguineti (Eds.), *Free will, emotions, and moral actions: Philosophy and neuroscience in dialogue.* 1-3. Rome: Pontificia Università de la Santa Croce.

Mersky, R. R. (2008). Lost in translation: The use of role objects in today's postmodern organizations. *Organisational and Social Dynamics*, *8*(1), 97-112.

Miller, K. E., & Rasco, L. M. (Eds.). (2004). *The mental health of refugees: Ecological approaches to healing and adaptation*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Mitchell, S. A. (1981). The origin and nature of the "object" in the theories of Klein and Fairbairn. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, *17*, 374-398. doi.org/10.1080/00107530.1981.10745670

Mollica, R. F. (2006). *Healing invisible wounds: Paths to hope and recovery in a violent world*. New York, NY: Harcourt Inc.

Ogren, M., Boetius, S. B., & Benyamin, U. O. (2008). Organizational framework supporting psychotherapy supervision in psychotherapy training programmes in Sweden. *Organizational and Social Dynamics*, *8*, 255-277.

Olden, C. (1953). On Adult Empathy with Children. *Psychoanalytic Study of Children* an annual. 8:111-126.

Ostrander, J., Melville, A., & Berthold, A. (2017). Working with refugees in the U.S.: Trauma-informed and structurally competent social work approaches. *Advances in Social Work, 18*(1), 66-79. doi:10.18060/21282

Pearlman, L. A., & Saakvitne, K. W. (1995). *Trauma and the therapist: Countertransference and vicarious traumatization in psychotherapy with incest survivors*. New York, NY: Norton.

Pollock, G. H. (1989). On migration-voluntary and coerced. *Annual of Psychoanalysis, 17*, 145-159.

Potocky-Tripodi, M. (2002). *Best practice for social work with refugees and immigrants*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Pross, C. (2006). Burnout vicarious traumatization and its prevention. *Torture, 16*(1), 1-9.

Racker, H. (1957). The Meanings and Uses of Countertransference. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 26:303- 357

Refugee Council USA. (2017). Retrieved from http://www.rcusa.org

Refugees International. (2008). Retrieved from www.refugeesinternational.org/

Renik, O. (2004). Intersubjectivity in psychoanalysis. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *85*(5), 1053-1066.

Richard, A. C. (2014 Dec. 9). U.S. plans to lead in resettling Syrian refugees. *U.S. Department of State.* Retrieved December 12, 2017 from https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/prm/releases/remarks/2014/234855.htm

Rogers, B. (2004). *A land without evil: Stopping the genocide of Burma's Karen People*. Oxford, UK: Monarch Books.

Runyon, W. M. (1982). *In defense of the case study method.* Washington, D. C.: American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc.

Runyan, W. M. (1984). *Life histories and psychobiography.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Saene, V., & Rosenbaum, B. (2003). Extreme traumatization: Strategies for mental

Sandler, J. (1976). Countertransference and role-responsiveness. *Int. Rev. Psycho-Anal, 3*, 43-47.

Segal, U. A., & Mayadas, N. S. (2005). Assessment of issues facing immigrant and refugee families. *Child Welfare*, *84*(5), 563-583.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, *22*(2), 63–75.

Shore, L. M., & Wayne, S. J. (1993). Commitment and employee behavior: Comparison of affective commitment and continuance commitment with perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*(5), 774-780. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.78.5.774

Simon, M. (2011). The role of the researcher. Retrieved from http://dissertationrecipes.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Role-of-the-Researcher.pdf

Stamm, B.H., (1995). *Secondary traumatic stress: Self-care issues for clinicians, researchers, and educators*. Lutherville, MD: Sidran.

Summers, F. (1993). Implications of object relations theories for the psychoanalytic process. *Annual of Psychoanalysis, 21*, 225-242.

Sutherland, J. D. (1980). The British object relations theorists: Bálint, Winnicott, Fairbairn, Guntrip. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 28*(4), 829-860. doi:10.1177/000306518002800404

Tolleson, J. (1996). *The transformative power of violence: The psychological role of gang life in relation to chronic traumatic childhood stress in the lives of urban adolescent males* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, MA.

UNHCR. (1951). Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.pdf

UNHCR. (2003). *Framework for durable solutions for refugees and persons of concern, core group on durable solutions*. Geneva, United Nations. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/briefingpapers/refugees/overviewofforceddisplacement.html

UNHCR. (2011). *UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/46f7c0ee2.pdf

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. 101(a) (42) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Retrieved from https://www.uscis.gov/ilink/docView/SLB/HTML/SLB/0-0-0-1/0-0-0-29/0-0-0-101/0-0-0-195.html

U.S. Department of State. *Bureau for Populations Refugees and Migration*. Retrieved from https://www.state.gov/j/prm/

Van der Kolk, B., McFarlane, A., & Weisaeth, L. (Eds.). (2007). *Traumatic stress: The effects of overwhelming experience on mind, body, and society*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.

Ward, C., & Styles, I. (2007). Evidence for the ecological self: English-speaking migrants' residual links to their homeland. *International Journal for Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, *4*, 319–332. doi:10.1002/aps.10

Weine, S., Kulauzovic, Y., Klebic, A., Besic, S., Mujagic, A., Muzurovic, J., Spahovic, D. (2008). Evaluating a multiple-family group process intervention for refugees with PTSD. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 34*(2), 149-164. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2008.00061.x

White, S. (2013). *An introduction to the psychodynamics of workplace bullying*. London, UK: Karmac Books.

Wilcke, M. M. (2002). Hermeneutic phenomenology as a research method in social work. *Currents: New Scholarship in the Human Services*, *1*(1). Retrieved from http://www.ucalgary.ca/currents/files/currents/v1n1_wilcke.pdf

Williams, C. L., & Westermeyer, J. (Eds.). (1986). *Refugee mental health in resettlement countries*. New York, NY: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Wilson, J. P., & Drozdek, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Broken spirits: The treatment of traumatized asylum seekers, refugees, war and torture victims.* New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge.

Wilson, J. P., & Lindy, J. D. (Eds.). (1994) *Countertransference in the treatment of PTSD.* New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Wilson, J. P, & So-Kum Tang, C. C. (Eds.). (2007). Cross cultural assessment of psychological trauma and PTSD. New York, NY: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-0-387-70990-1

Winnicott, D. W. (1945). Primitive emotional development. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, *26*, 137-143.

Winnicott, D. W. (1960). The theory of the parent-infant relationship. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, *41*, 585-595.

Winnicott, D. W. (1969). The use of an object. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, *50*, 711-716.

Winnicott, D. W. (1971). *Playing and reality*. London, UK: Tavistock Publications.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Zosky, D. L. (1999). The application of object relations theory to domestic violence. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, *27*(1), 55-69. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1022861331105