Spring 5-1-2019

Roads to Resettlement: A Global Analysis of Refugee and Migrant Integration Policies Through Education-based Non-Profits

Dina Eldawy

Roads to Resettlement:

A Global Analysis of Refugee and Migrant Integration Policies Through Education-based Non-Profits

By Dina Eldawy

Candidate for Bachelor of Arts

and Renée Crown University Honors

Spring 2019

Honors Thesis Project in Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Capstone Project Advisor: _____

Dr. Anne Mosher, Department Chair of Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Capstone Project Reader: _____

Professor Peter Wilcoxen

Honors Director: _____

Dr. Danielle Smith, Director

Abstract

This project is an international comparative study of migration patterns and integration models, spanning global case studies of refugee and migrant communities in Latin America, the United States, and the Middle East through personal research and experience. Using participant observation and interviews, I observed and worked with three different nonprofit ecosystems in Syracuse, NY; Santiago, Chile; and Tyre, Lebanon. This paper situates all three cities in the context of our globalizing world, where global conflicts or economic conditions that affect one country have an extremely crucial impact on other countries surrounding it and beyond. I observed three host countries that, due to relative stability, have become major destinations for migrants and refugees. In each case study, and at the time I was there, I also witnessed several state/ national policies adopted that restricted movement or access to services for vulnerable communities.

Each nonprofit had the same goal of utilizing English learning as a method of self-empowerment and social mobility; however, the centers all engaged in services, beyond language acquisition, that worked to understand the full needs of new communities. Through studying the civil society organizations that I worked with in each case study, I concluded that nonprofit and non-governmental spaces provided a unique, flexible, and effective outlet to push against constrictive policies by the state and pave a path to stability and inclusion of new communities. Each case study offers a different outlook into the relationship between civil society and the state, but all have one common theme regarding the meaning and impact of nonprofit spaces to the people they serve. I conclude that nonprofits serve as a conduit for change, community-building, and comprehensive models of social inclusion that, regardless of capacity, remain crucial to migrant and refugee communities.

Executive Summary

This project will be a comparative study of migration trends of three different case studies—Syracuse, NY; Santiago, Chile; and Tyre, Lebanon—and an analysis of integration policy based on personal observation and participation in nonprofits in each location. The first objective aims to contextualize how each city serves as an example of the effects of globalization, in the way they serve as host settings and receiving states of migrants and refugees fleeing from neighboring countries or across the globe. As a participant observer, I witnessed the implementation of several restrictive immigration policies that directly affected the local communities the nonprofits worked with. Therefore, the second mission of understanding integration policy goes further than just education policy and social services, but it serves as an analysis of how civil society interacts with the state and advocates for civil rights and dignity. This study centers its discussion on the role, power, and limitations of civil society organizations to respond to global issues.

This project defines integration as the process of including new people in the economic, political, and social fabric of the host country. The processes of integration are studied through the work of several nonprofits that utilize English language services and education as tools of social integration and mobility for newcomers. However, the discussion will portray that even though education and English are the stated objectives of the programs, the centers actually provide services that exceed language acquisition in order to comprehensively understand the needs of their clientele. The very term "integration" will be critiqued and expanded by these nonprofits and their own understandings of what social inclusion should encompass.

The methodology includes participant observation of the nonprofits by participating as a teacher, volunteer, or staff member. I worked as a tutor and intern for three years in Syracuse, NY; as a volunteer English teacher for four months in Santiago, Chile; and as an English teacher for six weeks in Tyre, Lebanon. The observations of the organization's functions and interviews of staff I worked with

inform my analyses and conclusions. Each chapter in this thesis begins with an introduction of the migrant communities I worked with and a section on methodology detailing the ethnographic methods utilized in each case study. Each chapter also reviews literature on integration models and civil society specific to the case and the region. It then leads into a section on research findings, in which I discuss the different migration trends and relevant information to understand the region, the state responses, and characteristics of the migrants and the issues they face.

This project offers qualitative information, in the form of personal observations, stories, and research, to paint a picture of the complexities migrants and refugees face by discussing nonprofit services. It gives valuable insight to the struggles they face that the state often overlooks, such as a need for community or mental health services. This is extremely significant considering global refugee issues and the vulnerability they face as the global community struggles to aid them. This project exemplifies how civil society organizations rise to meet these challenges and how their comprehensive services meet complicated needs. It gives a look into refugee struggles through the eyes of those tasked with helping them— which is indeed a powerful tool to analyze structural inefficiencies and grassroots potential to change the world.

Table of Contents

Introduction

In Syracuse, New York, a Syrian girl tells me excitedly how her uncle and his family are coming over from his temporary displacement in Jordan to join her family in Syracuse. A month later (January 2017), President Trump's administration issues the first Travel Ban 13769, known as the "Muslim Ban." When I arrive to tutor the following week, I learn that her family's plans to reunite are frozen—indefinitely.

In Santiago, Chile, the 2017 Presidential elections take place. The nonprofit where I work asks me to do a presentation comparing presidential candidate Sebastian Piñera to President Trump, due to their similarly restrictive immigration policies. I present to a group of Peruvian and Bolivian migrant workers, mainly women working in domestic house care, who now worry about their chances of working in the U.S. and how this will affect their own ability to continue working in Chile and provide for their families back home. A mere week after I leave Chile, President Piñera wins the second round of elections.

In Tyre, Lebanon, I meet students who dream of studying in Europe since they are stuck in a status quo of systematic barriers to their success and movement in Lebanon. Meanwhile, multiple European states adopt right-wing border policies shutting out refugees, risking their lives while over-burdening already thinly stretched Middle Eastern countries that are undergoing their own dire economic and social issues. In the camps, Palestinians from Syria (now twice-displaced) struggle to relocate and integrate in an already isolated community of Palestinians.

Between 2016 and 2019, I lived and worked in three different cities and countries while studying regional and global migration patterns. This experience revealed a conundrum about globalization. On the one hand, certain countries—like the U.S.—celebrate their heritage as long-established multicultural societies. On the other hand, this stated value does not actually translate into publicly held beliefs

toward immigrant communities and to national policies on immigration that set standards of inclusion and tolerance. Rather, we see far right movements growing in the U.S. and in other receiving states globally, and hardline policies at the national and local levels that mirror often racialized, xenophobic, and protectionist attitudes. While the hypocrisy is most clear in the US—a country founded and built by immigrants, yet manifesting a long and extremely discriminatory history of immigration policies, my field experience in Chile and Lebanon provided two more case studies where the societal values spouted about migrants in a globalizing world are out of synch with policy and its outcomes.

Globalization does not just mean business and trade affecting global markets—it also means the increased interaction and movement of peoples across the world. However, this is not just exclusive to voluntary movements. A globalized world also means globalized conflicts that result in forced migration. The reality now is that a refugee crisis in Syria and Somalia directly shapes Upstate New York's demographic, economic, and social fabric. Economic downfalls in Peru and Bolivia and natural disasters in the Caribbean now mean a rising regional economic power like Chile must face its own relatively homogenous isolation head on. A 70 year-long protracted conflict between Israel and Palestine also means civil war, invasion, and sectarian violence next door in Lebanon.

As these countries struggle to deal with the realities of this new globalized world, their governments attempt to stem the inevitable flow of people. Meanwhile, different actors from the grassroots level rise to meet the challenges of our global community. This research will examine how civil society organizations can also provide the means to react and advocate for the wellbeing of vulnerable migrant and refugee groups. This research studies how nonprofits react to national immigration policies and form their own models of integration. In many cases, this also means transforming the conversation around integration completely and bringing forward new mentalities on inclusion and recognizing mutual value.

The following chapters will review migration trends in each of the case studies and the nonprofits with which I worked in each. I specifically focus on how the local organizations I have worked with have taken up the responsibility that the global community has tried to shrug off. These organizations not only accept the reality of new mixed, heterogeneous societies, but also celebrate and empower these communities. Not only do these civil society organizations take on this challenge (in some cases an impossible burden), but they also seek to spark social change. For example, while states may still pursue goals of tolerance toward individual newcomers and their eventual cultural and economic assimilation into society as the pathway to personal success, the nonprofits I have observed in Lebanon, Chile, and Syracuse change the conversation. Their best practices focus on full family outreach and emphasize community support. They prioritize mental and emotional health as well as financial success and mobility. They create safe communal spaces and focus on empowering the communities they serve, while also advocating to the broader society and educating existing residents as a way to break down social barriers. This project focuses on the ways these nonprofits adhere to these best practices, when having to react to national policies that try to stop certain migrant and refugee flows and uphold old models of integration.

In discussing these cases, it is important to contextualize what makes each city different in terms of migration trends. New York State, perhaps more than most other states, has witnessed constant waves of immigration from the colonial period to the present and its demographics have been shaped by a cyclical federal policy pattern: a growing influx of immigration, followed by restrictive national policies, followed by grassroots organizing to reverse these actions. Contrast this to Chile, in which migration has been relatively low and mainly from European backgrounds until recently. Now, the majority of migrants come from surrounding Latin American countries with bigger indigenous and mestizo populations, or black migrants from Caribbean countries like Haiti. Despite common language or cultural similarities, these migrants face racial barriers and stigmas due to Chile's fairly homogenous

historical makeup and isolated nature. Notably, Lebanon presents an interesting middle ground between new and old immigration. For almost a century, Lebanon has been in the crosshairs through different colonial, independence, and sectarian cycles of violence that, in turn, have produced waves of refugees and migrants in and out of the region. Palestinian refugees have migrating to Lebanon since before 1948, however there have been multiple waves of refugees including those associated with the Syrian refugee crisis. Lebanon has thus instituted a series of restrictive domestic laws in response, which remain in effect today. There are two issues with this: the Palestinian "problem" has low chances of being resolved, and now new refugees find themselves locked into the same system of isolation.

Therefore, like the U.S., Lebanon and the Middle East region have had a long continuous history of migration, while Chile and other Latin American countries have seen a recent upswing. However, unlike the U.S., Lebanon's national government operates on a mentality of impermanence in which all restrictive policies are created to stop permanent integration. Therefore, the reality presents an increased flow of migration due to regional crises that will inevitably need permanent solutions to permanent issues. However, they are still met with a state structure prepared for temporary placement in Lebanese society. U.S. policies attempt more so to stem the flow because the structure for resettlement and integration is embedded in state and local infrastructures already. Chile represents a case in which the government is attempting to do the same (as in restrict movement) while the state and local structures are simultaneously creating new systems of integration.

Each chapter in this thesis begins with an introduction of the migrant communities I worked with and a section on methodology detailing the ethnographic methods utilized in each case study. Each chapter also reviews literature on integration models and civil society specific to the case and the region. For example, in the U.S., I review literature pertaining to nationally recognized best practices of refugee integration and how Upstate New York fits within this context. In Chile, the literature pertains to "interculturalism" and how it is defining Latin American civil society responses specific to Latin American

migration and integration needs. In Lebanon, the literature reviews how the trend of *NGOization* of humanitarian issues in the region has shaped the relationship between civil society and the state. The research discussion includes a synthesized overview of independent migration trends that shape each region (pulled from more extensive research done separately). However, I focus more on integration policy in relation to the state and utilize specific case studies of the nonprofit and municipal organization I worked with. The differences between state mentality, capacity, and integration practices will be further concluded after a look into the case studies. Overall, the differences will become clear in how civil society is affected by different state structures and decisions, while also paving their own way in society to care for vulnerable communities, which is a common theme.

Each case study focuses on education-based nonprofits. Regardless of individual trends, capacities, and contexts, all the nonprofits I worked with operated on the shared understanding of the integral value and importance of education as a means of social mobility. However, each nonprofit also worked beyond the basic operation of providing literacy courses or tutoring services to their clients. This study more importantly analyzes how the comprehensive approach of the several organizations in the study goes beyond providing educational services and how this outreach is a direct reflection of the contexts discussed and state level policy. As portrayed in the beginning anecdotes, global trends affect national and local responses, which directly affect the wellbeing of migrant and refugee groups. This project portrays how civil society serves as this crucial link between the groups affected and those affecting them to enact positive change via integration and education grass roots work. Each case study provides a unique lesson and insight to solutions while dealing with common global themes.

Chapter 1: Syracuse, New York

A Cold Border and a Warm Welcome

Introduction

Three years ago, I stepped into North Side Learning Center (NSLC) for the first time. A flurry of activities greeted me—little girls with brightly covered head scarves and skirts ran past me up the stairs, while a line of volunteers mainly from Syracuse University and other local colleges waited to sign in. Girls from Somalia, Syria, Iraq, and multiple other countries went to public school together during the day, then came to the NSLC afterschool program for homework help, after which they went to their homes down the street. In both the schools and afterschool setting, girls who had come to the country a few years earlier helped translate for the newbies while balancing their own homework. Even girls from different countries who could not speak the same language would still find ways to communicate and joke around with each other. Some knew each other for years since they moved to Syracuse and could list each other's family members, and others came just a few months before the school year started; but they all tried to know each other. Besides, they were schoolmates and new neighbors.

Given this ever-changing community, the girls forged tight bonds and a sense of community across cultural and linguistic barriers. Essentially, the girls did what American society often struggles to do. North Side Learning Center was, as I learned through the years, an integral part of this shared identity. Its proximity to the community was not the only reason for this reputation—North Side's programs served a range of people, from preschool care to adult education. The board members are educators or community leaders who know the community like the back of their hands and the classroom teachers and staff were often students who had once gotten help in the same classrooms they taught in now. Joining this community felt like being accepted into the home they have created here.

The North Side Learning Center, founded in 2009, celebrates its tenth anniversary of operation soon. It will look back at a multitude of projects and hundreds of kids who have grown with the center. NSLC draws in college volunteers, people implementing independent projects, and gets consistent state and local grants from private foundations, which has allowed it to develop a multitude of programs in leaps and bounds. This chapter strives to compare North Side's growth and role in the community to research of immigrant integration policy in the U.S. done by the Migration Policy Institute. This will: 1) help add context to understanding best practices, 2) situate North Side within this framework, and 3) provide insight into the ways in which this nonprofit serves the community and fills needs from the Syracuse City School District (SCSD). NSLC's growing importance and function in the community exemplifies an increasingly healthy relationship with citywide systems and the collaborative potential of the nonprofit ecosystem in the U.S. However, this chapter also draws these lessons back to the framework connecting all the case studies to how Syracuse as a city responds to national policies.

Methodology

As stated previously, I have been working with NSLC for three years (2016-2019) but with two semesters abroad, totaling four semesters in total. Through my Citizenship and Civic Engagement Major I began interning with the Director of NSLC, Mark Cass, during my sophomore year and have worked closely with him on this research. At the time I began my internship, I also started tutoring high school girls through Syracuse University's Young Scholars program, which runs during NSLC program hours Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 5:30-8:30 p.m. In addition to tutoring, I attended Board of Director's meetings, individual weekly meetings with Mark Cass, and became a member of their Annual Fundraising Dinner committee. Through participant observation, I performed as an intern, tutor, and member of the community. Through my major, I engaged in interviewing Mark in identifying research and center needs for my junior-year research course and my senior-year action plan course, which culminated in meeting with the director of ESL services in the Syracuse City School District. Therefore, I

have had a range of experiences working with the students, the administration of the center, and the local education system. Those experiences allow me to paint a picture of the needs of the North Side community and to offer an overview of how nonprofits work with the local school system to help their students more effectively.

When I studied in Washington D.C. during Fall 2018, I interned for the Migration Policy Institute's National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy (NCIIP). The NCIIP specializes in national and state-level education policy and in producing work and policy briefs to aid nonprofits and other organizations working with immigrant communities. Unlike NSLC, I did not engage in participant observation or interviews. However, this research I interacted with there informs my Literature Review section as it allows me to give a brief overview of integration best practices and to suggest how this literature is molded off both grassroots tested models *and* as a reactionary policy to national initiatives to either curb immigration or impact services to immigrant communities already here. Therefore, even NCIIP can be analyzed in terms of how the national policy shapes its research and how it impacts their own clients, i.e. organizations working for immigrant communities. Once removed from the direct community engagement, NCIIP still serves as an interesting look at the multiple levels that this issue manifests itself. However, for the purposes of this research, I will be using just the basic research I have compiled from their online source to show how NSLC uses best practices to effectively address the needs of their communities.

Literature Review

MPI and NCIIP's research concerning integration methods has two themes: one in relation to the best inclusive trends studying grassroots organizations and one in relation to the U.S. national education policy, such as the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in which they analyzed all 50 state plans that will have to comply with the new changes to policy. Their analyses center around how states respond and

comply with new changes, where they are lacking, and how those gaps affect their student populations. They then provide policy briefs to nonprofits or state/ national level coalitions for how best to address these gaps themselves. It is an interesting and comprehensive view of research that not only includes the national and state infrastructures, but the civil society networks in place to help them out. This ties back to my claim that although the U.S. national policy may be xenophobic and restrictive to immigration, there is an overall structure in place to help in permanent placement, success, and mobility of the communities here.

Their policy places emphasis on how education policy is a means to address multiple complex issues concerning migrant groups through the different stages of a family unit. For example, NCIIP studies the importance of early childhood education and care (ECEC) programs, but specifically addresses the need to include trauma-informed care. The report discusses post-migration stressors that may worsen trauma experienced by the child either firsthand or secondhand through their family history.[1] Further discussing young children and ECEC, NCIIP released a report on Dual Language Learners in Minnesota and the needs of this demographic of students who speak a language and must also learn English.[2] Instead of pure assimilationist integration theory, this research creates a more understanding outlook on multicultural teaching methods and the importance of understanding the diverse backgrounds of students instead of pressuring them to forget one to learn the other. NCIIP speaks to English learning models in K-12 education as well, analyzing the efficiencies of dual language education,

[1] Park, Maki and Caitlin Katsiaficas. "Mitigating the Effects of Trauma among Young Children of Immigrants and Refugees: The Role of Early Childhood Programs." Migration Policy Institute, April 2019.

[2] Park, Maki and Caitlin Katsiaficas. "Minnesota's Superdiverse and Growing Dual Language Learner Child Population." Migration Policy Institute, November 2018.

transitional bilingual education, and English-only education models, and concludes the efficacy of any of these methods depend more on school capacity, teacher resources, trainings, and support.[3]

Not only does the literature focus on youth education, it also emphasizes a comprehensive full family focus. For example, NCIIP also released research on adult education models through an English plus integration lens.[4] This shift is important to note and will come back in the next few chapters as well. U.S. literature clearly understands that the social mobility and success of a student also depends on family success, mental and emotional wellbeing, and outreach based on language acquisition *and* integration outside of just a pure English focus. Their policies, and the way they reflect in NSLC's work, portray the balance that civil society represents between reactionary and proactive integration policy. It also provides a shift in literature that considers the full family structure of integration and a comprehensive focus on what it means to be integrated into society beyond the surface level demands of traditional assimilation in the U.S.

Research Findings and Discussion

Migration Patterns and Changes to Upstate NY

If anything were indicative of the changing migration patterns that have shaped North Side's identity it would be the mosque next door to NSLC. In 2015, the growing Muslim community acquired and converted an abandoned Roman Catholic church into a mosque. As an appreciation to its heritage, they named it Masjid Isa Ibn Maryam, the Mosque of Jesus Son of Mary. This change epitomizes the waves of majority-Muslim migrants that have moved into Syracuse's North Side community, which had once been the epicenter of Italian and German migration as well. Since 2000, over 10,000 immigrants

[3] Sugarman, Julie. "A Matter of Design: English Learner Program Models in K-12 Education." Migration Policy Institute, June 2018.

[4] McHugh, Margie and Catrina Doxsee. "English Plus Integration: Shifting the Instructional Paradigm for Immigrant Adult Learners to Support Integration Success." Migration Policy Institute, October 2018.

have immigrated and the North Side represents a blend of cultures and countries represented from Central and East Africa, to southeast Asia, and the Middle East. However, due to a series of national travel bans and multiple other factors, there has actually been a net outflow of migration in Onondaga County according to data assessing flow from 2009 to 2016:[5]

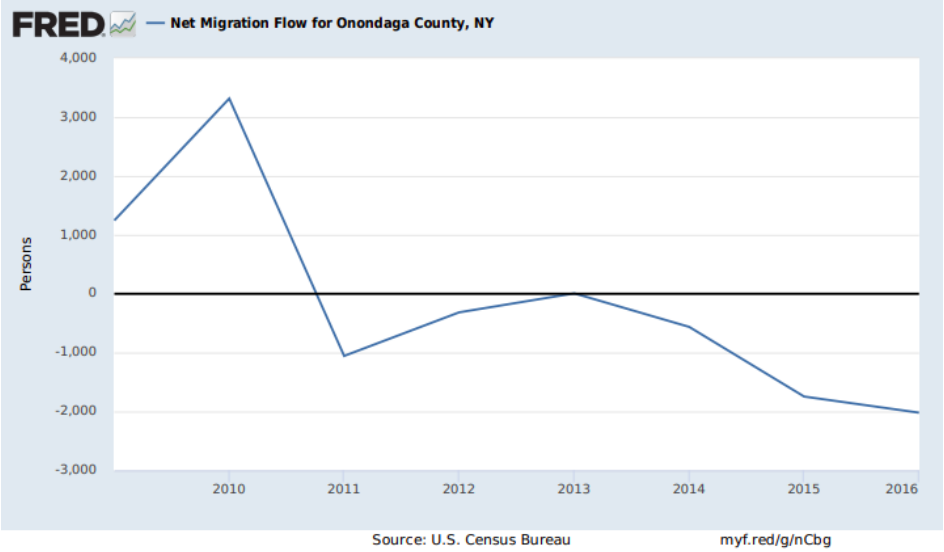

Figure 1: Net Migration Flow for Onondaga County, NY

This decrease in migration is something that will inevitably affect Syracuse's landscape and the future of Upstate New York in general. This region has felt the consequences of a previously industrialization-focused economy, and the aftermath of the abandoned rust belt. Syracuse, a previous center of salt manufacturing in the 1800's, has undergone drastic changes to its economic landscape. In addition to a demolished economy, the construction of I-81 highway that cuts through the heart of the city allowed for other destructive trends such as white flight and the decimation of the urban center of the city and the loss of income for the education system. Therefore, refugees provided a potential source of revitalization to the city, as an increased income base and diversity. However, refugees,

[5] "Net Migration Flow for Onondaga County, NY." FRED Economic Data, St. Louis, 2016.

migrants, and their children are facing many of the same consequences such as poor-quality housing and lack of quality education for their children.

The SCSD is strapped in terms of capacity, and this gap is where centers like NSLC play a vital role. NSLC and the SCSD often collaborate in brainstorming ways that NSLC can help the refugee students that are in SCSD students excel in their schools, while also providing a source of input to the SCSD. Although not always a perfect relationship, nonprofits have shaped a very important role in Syracuse amid the conditions that different migrant and refugee groups face. For example, outside of English language services, NSLC also finds itself providing "community navigation" services, connecting newcomers to social services in the community.

Due to the previously mentioned Travel Ban in 2017, the numbers for resettled refugees decreased dramatically, which forced cuts to staff and services provided by resettlement agencies such as Interfaith Works or Catholic Charities. Although the resettlement agencies were heavily affected, refugee centers that focused on post-resettlement integration, such as NSLC, were not structurally affected. However, their students and families they served still had to deal with the after effects of the bans, through indirect fear of increased Islamophobia or direct ways such as increased difficulties in bringing family members to the U.S. Some parents and students were made aware of the President that hated their existence in a country they had sacrificed so much to be in, and many students spoke out about the discrimination they either had already felt or began preparing to feel. Therefore, the case study of NSLC can show the various ways that civil society interacts with larger national and local issues, while also addressing the often traumatic and overlooked social consequences felt in the community itself. Regardless the cold and thinly-veiled Islamophobia behind national border policies, NSLC shows how civil society is where home can be reconstructed.

Case Study: North Side Learning Center, Syracuse, NY

Syracuse, NY has a high school graduation rate of a dismal 51%. Half of the SCSD's students graduate high school on time, while an even lower 33.5% of English Language Learners (ELLs) graduate on time approximately. In 2016 data, ELLs make up about 16% of the student population.[6] NSLC directly works with students who generally fall into these demographics. Since its founding, NSLC has undergone a transformative transition phase regarding the life cycle of nonprofits. The life cycle flows from a startup phase, growing and mature phase (reaching sustainability), and stagnant and declining stages.[7] NSLC is transitioning from its growing phase to its maturity as an increasingly sustainable nonprofit.

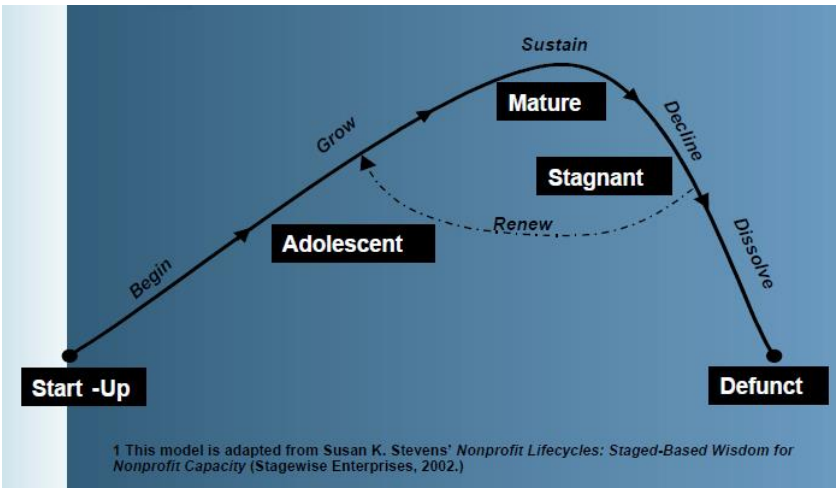

Figure 2: The Non-profit Life Cycle

In 2016, they won a key grant allowing for an official position for Executive Director of the center, apart from the duties of Board of Directors, which I had been shadowing. Mark Cass officially applied for and got this job, which essentially formalized all the work he had already been doing in running NSLC's programs and grant writing. This ushered in a period of rapid developments, in which

[6] Alicea, Jaime. "3 -Year Strategic Plan." Syracuse City School District, Office of English as a New Language and Bilingual Education. 2016.
[7] "Organizational Life Cycle Stages." NH Center for Nonprofits. https://www.nhnonprofits.org/content/organizational-life-cycle-stages

many community members, college programs and professors, and independent actors recognize NSLC as a growing influence and brought their ideas and projects to them. It was an overwhelming but exciting time to observe the center. Mark's position and the formalization of another position this past year, as an assistant director, also portrayed the institutionalization of structures that will help the center grow its capacity to serve the community.

Regarding the literature, NSLC provides a comprehensive model of services ranging from their "Little Pals" preschool program, to elementary, middle, and high school kids, and adult education. Although the teachers are volunteer teachers and generally not formal teachers, the center recently instituted a math program where the SCSD funded a math teacher to come teach extra hours at NSLC. NSLC also utilizes the resources they have in dual language learning through their bilingual students. Over the summer, NSLC and the SCSD partnered once again to pay community members and teachers to teach dual language classes in six different common languages in the community. One particularly remarkable story is that of Dawit Gebre-Michael, a high school student fluent in Tigrinya (an Eritrean language) and continues to teach both that and English. The multi-literacy program, the formal name, was a success over the summer and continued during the school year. Now the classrooms used for regular programming are used on different days for the multiliteracy program and are covered with colorful posters of pictures combining English and Somali words (in the high school girl's classroom).

Another example of community resource is the turnaround of students who have once used NSLC services who now hold leadership roles and sometimes lead their own programming. One example is of Nidaa Aljabbarin, a Syrian refugee student who had come to NSLC in 2016. She graduated as valedictorian of her high school and began attending Onondaga Community College (OCC) with her twin sister who had also graduated third in her class. Nidaa now runs the college preparation workshops, organizing days outside of center hours to help other students prepare their journeys after graduation. The teacher volunteers in the regular programming classes during the week are mostly previous

students who began working in their free time there to provide supervision over the classes, or Syracuse University students who teach the adult education classes. This emphasis on empowering the students to take leadership over their studies and contributions to NSLC has created an even stronger link to their community and a communal responsibility that transcends the individual.

NSLC is still susceptible to larger problems that still affect them as well as the rest of the nonprofit ecosystem in Syracuse, NY. For example, there is strong competition of resources for grants and funding due to an oversaturation of civil society. However, from what I have observed, the communities in each regional and demographic division of the city all collaborate with each other. Additionally, with NSLC specifically, there has been increased collaboration with the SCSD to better understand the communities they both serve instead of an expected animosity. However, there are still issues that affect all levels of education and integration such as inadequate education funding, lack of teacher capacity to address the needs of all students, and oversight of ESL programs. In NSLC, the students focus completely on homework completion and the volunteers rush to help them finish a constant barrage of worksheets for the next day. Meanwhile, some student's English comprehension does not improve regardless of the years they have spent in the country. Like the SCSD, NSLC also falls under the troubles of capacity building especially at a time of decreased value attached and resources diverted from national education and integration policies.

This last point brings the discussion back to the theme of the project—how does civil society respond to/ shaped by policies out of their control? In the case of NSLC, it acts as a way to buffer the sometimes-harsh introduction that many refugees face when they enter the cold landscape of the U.S. and upstate New York. The increased collaboration between the local system of power and policy and civil society is a good sign and gives insight into how different levels of society collaborate to transform long standing (but often inadequate) systems of integration. Referring back to the resettlement agencies, the fact that the infrastructure itself only provides services to refugees to start their whole

lives from scratch for forty days is a reflection of overall American insecurities of "free-loaders." Helping people in a sustainable way works against the myth of the "American dream" and hyper-individualism. NSLC and other civil society actors add a more humanizing layer to refugee resettlement and integration and allow them to be individuals *and* have a community to depend on at the same time. The nonprofits in Santiago find themselves at a similar crossroads: figuring out a way to create communities and establish a home away from home.

Chapter 2: Santiago, Chile

Interculturalism and Teaching Human Value

Introduction

"I feel very stable and I'm grateful to be here. But I just want to go back home," admitted a middle-aged Peruvian woman. Around 14 other women from Peru and Bolivia echoed the same message around the room—they wanted to learn and work as much as they could here in Chile so they can reunite with their children. "I am alone here," added another. These confessions further deepened my understanding of the problems faced amongst the immigrant communities I had been observing in Santiago, Chile over the course of four months.

The city of Santiago, Chile provides an interesting look into the current immigration trends in Latin America. Chile, practically isolated geographically from each side of its narrow stretch, has become a primary destination for many immigrants, mostly from other Latin American countries due to its growing economic and political power in the region. However, accompanying this recent wave of immigration is a parallel increase in discrimination and a need to restructure Chilean mentality. A country that historically has experienced a very structured euro-centric flow of immigration, the Chilean government and its citizens now face a globalized world that counteracts their otherwise isolated geography. This shift is reflected in how the government works to integrate new immigrants into the system, such as through the work force, healthcare, or education. Although there is a growing field of literature regarding migration trends and policies towards immigrant populations in Chile, less exists on the efforts and the role that local government and non-profit organizations play in the community.

Overall, this research identifies women and youth as two important groups of immigrants with which problems and solutions generally arise. Demographics show that new immigrants are skewed towards middle-aged people and younger; therefore, young children and adolescents, otherwise known

as NNA's in Spanish (meaning "niños, niñas, y adolescentes"), are a target population for outreach programs. Additionally, there is a current "feminization" trend, in which the majority of immigrants are women, making working immigrant women another important population in Chile. Immigrant children and adults face a wide range of social inclusion issues such as discrimination in the workplace, the school setting, or daily life, but one dimension of this multi-faceted issue is the importance of education, whether it is providing comprehensive education for immigrant children or helping migrant workers continue their education.

The educational programs I observed show how outreach programs for children facilitate the social inclusion process in a school setting while programs for adults help provide future possibilities of social mobility. Comprehensive educational methods through non-profit organizations and local government offices show a new and more inclusive, and perhaps more efficient, way of addressing societal issues and molding solutions.

Methodology

For this investigation, I rely primarily on participant observation in the non-profit organization Colectivo Sin Fronteras and in the Department of Interculturalism and its partner education program Alegría de Niños of La Reina Municipality in Santiago, Chile. In the Department of Interculturalism, I supplement my observations with frequent interviews with the Director of the Department, whom I worked closely with twice a week. The department already has two to three other social work student interns who come in different days a week to do their internships as well, so my presence was neither unprecedented nor abnormal to see on a regular basis. My director, Esteban Bakx, was aware of my research and reason for the internship and often gave me resources to study and took me to meetings with other governmental departments. He also speaks English fluently, which therefore helped me avoid translation errors and furthered my understanding of the office with more clarity.

Esteban helped connect me with the Director of Alegría de Niños, their partner non-profit organization that hosts English classes for children of the immigrant communities in La Reina. I went to the La Reina municipality building, which houses the Department of Interculturalism, every Monday and Friday from 9:00 am to 2:00 p.m. to work with Esteban, and every Wednesday from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. to help with English classes in Alegría de Niños. I worked in the house of the director, Señora Milagros, helping a young English teacher with a class of around 15 students originally from Peru and Bolivia and ranging from 5 years old to 15 years old. In total, I assisted with eight weekly English classes in Alegría de Niños and interned twice a week at the office over 11 weeks from September to November. Working with Esteban helped integrate me into the daily routine of the local government office and also helped me experience a range of different cases and different responsibilities of the department. Alegría de Niños gave me the experience of actually being part of the community and helping people directly, and not just as an office intern. Helping with the kids and getting to know local community members enriched my professional and personal experience in Chile.

On Sundays, I went to Colectivo Sin Fronteras, another non-profit organization located in the Independencia Commune of Santiago. I solely relied on personal observations and my work interactions for this investigation. I went from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. to lead an English class for an average group of 15 middle-aged women from Peru and Bolivia. This gave me a more formal teaching experience and an opportunity to get to know a different demographic of people, regarding age and gender. In comparison to Alegría de Niños, it was a more formal and mature setting with more structured lesson plans. I had the responsibility of planning and executing the lessons, with certain social work activities from the other staff members as well. This shifted and solidified my role from being a temporary volunteer to a member of the community and the staff, along with a commitment and an expectation of coming to the center. In total, I led seven English classes in the same three-month time span.

I kept a steady log of observations in all three settings, taking notes after each encounter from September to November. Overall, the length of time and general openness of the people helped me establish a friendly and comfortable rapport with the people I worked with and those I worked for. These three locations and the deeply involved nature of my participant observation process allowed me to observe immigrant women and children from many different backgrounds and work with people who are structuring programs every day to address problems they face. I supplemented my field studies with the new branch of literature on interculturalism, immigrants, and inclusion and through sociological studies and scholarly criticisms and debates about discrimination and solutions.

Literature Review

There is a growing field of Chilean research specifically studying school systems in Santiago to understand how discrimination affects students from other countries and to develop interventions for integrating children while addressing the stereotypes in Chilean society. It fits within a broader Latin American literature that makes an important distinction between integration and inclusion, with the latter concept emphasizing the importance of engaging people in society rather than just placing them into society. Additionally, the Spanish term "*interculturalidad*" pioneers new branches of research in Latin America with respect to social inclusion of immigrant communities. The closest translation, interculturalism, specifically addresses the limits to the idea of "multiculturalism" in order to stress inclusion over tolerance and promote exchange between people rather than coexistence. For many grass roots movements, interculturalism makes cross-cultural understanding an integral part of community and public organizations.

Interculturalism is a result of addressing the inherent Anglo-conformity of assimilationist theory, originally established by American sociologist Milton Gordon.[8] Sociologist Carlos Giménez

[8] Gordon, Milton. "Assimilation in American Life: The role of race, religion and national origins." 1964.

critiques the assimilationist structure but states that we must also overcome the societal attitudes that uphold this model, calling them "homogenizing, dominating, and cultural assumptions."[9] For example, when people immigrate to Chile, they do not just have to overcome physical and geographical borders to arrive, they must face the "fronteras mentales" (mental borders) in society that demand assimilation. As a result, many immigrant communities perceive the discrimination they feel against them simply as the cost of migration. Thus, the change from "multi" to "inter"- cultural signifies a relationship of exchange between cultures, and not just the existence of multiple cultures in one space. Interculturalism implies a comprehensive and active exchange of information and culture, on the basis that each culture is mutually enriching. The objective is to recognize, share, and learn equally from different cultures, *and* to engage the citizens in a society in the process of tearing down cultural barriers.

Sylvia Schmelkes, a Mexican sociologist and director of the Mexican National Institute of Educational Evaluation, is a leading supporter of intercultural education in Mexico and Latin America. She works mostly with how indigenous peoples receive education. According to Schmelkes, the process of intercultural education is to facilitate the process of getting to know different cultures, since it is hard to ask people to respect something they do not know, and then teach respect and appreciation afterwards. She defines intercultural education as equal access to quality education for everyone. Therefore, due to the inherent discrimination in the education system, intercultural education works to improve the "quality of exchange and the symmetry in these contacts."[10] Traditionally, host countries socially construct knowledge reproduction in ways that transmit dominant ideologies, including underlying ethnocentric assumptions. Interculturalism is not just a shift in terminology, but as a cultural and ethical project, directly addresses this traditional model. It distinguishes itself from other theories

[9] Gimenez, Carlos, and Graciela Malgesini . "Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo, e interculturalidad."

[10] Schmelkes, Sylvia. *Educación Intercultural.* Secretaria de Educación Pública. p. 9.

by requiring teachers and students to enact the process. Interculturalism can thus manifest itself in education through high quality programs, activities, and curriculums that "develop a living interest in all human cultures."[11]

The Chilean Constitution, however, does not define the country as a multicultural or multilingual state. Rather, it constructs Chile as a unitary state, and therefore does not recognize indigenous peoples as a separate entity. This problem negates the struggles of different groups of people, including new immigrants from neighboring countries who face heavy discrimination in their daily lives. This leads to a lack of understanding, empathy, and tools to address rising issues— including the education system. Much like the Constitution, this system only emphasizes the Chilean identity, resulting in harmful psychosocial consequences in the population. For example, 46% of primary and middle school youth (NNA's) consider one or more nationalities inferior to the Chilean identity.[12] Ethnocentric teaching has thus created a rampant superiority complex that inherently assumes that immigration is a problem to the vision of the country. In other words, the education system "generates xenophobic and racist discourse."[13] Thus, education reinforces social barriers. However, it can also be a powerful tool to undo the barriers and spread intercultural communication within and outside the education system.

Research Findings and Discussion

Current Immigration Trends and Importance of Integrating Women and Youth

Immigration to Chile is sparking permanent demographic changes. Most of the country's post-contact history has been dominated by European migration, but as of 2014, 74.9% of immigrants came

[11] Hernandez, Veronica Hidalgo. "Cultura, Multiculturalidad, Interculturalidad, y Transculturalidad: Evolución de un Término." p. 79.

[12] UNICEF. "Convivencia, discriminación, y prejuicio en el ámbito escolar." Santiago, 2004.

[13] Carreras, J. Saez, and Garcia Martinez. *Del Racismo a la Interculturalidad, competencia de la educación.* Madrid: Nancea Ediciones, 1998.

from other Latin American countries. Additionally, the percentage of immigrants in Chile has increased from 0.7% of the total population in 1982 to 2.3% in 2014.[14] These two leading trends heighten the need for new understanding of immigration policy and inclusion.

The demographic information of this new wave of immigrants also helps identify communities most in need, or most in the spotlight of current outreach methods. For example, out of the Latin American immigrant communities, the top three include Peruvians (56.8%) in the majority since 2005, Argentinians (16.3%), and Bolivians (8.8%). There are also other growing communities from Haiti, Colombia, and Venezuela, due to natural disasters and economic crises. Most new immigrants have come to Chile in search of job opportunities in the growing Chilean economy. For example, there is a large domestic labor market in Chile and a trend of "feminization," in which over half of workers since 2005 are women, with the 2014 statistics putting them at 52.6%. Young people also dominate this labor segment, with 43.3% being between 25 and 35 years old, reflecting a younger, labor-driven characteristic of immigration.[15] Most of these migrants move to large urban centers, the biggest being the capital of Santiago, or to the northern region of the country due to its proximity to Peru and Bolivia and increased economic activity there. About 61.5% of the resident migrants in the country live in Santiago, which accounts for 3.5% of the regional population.[16] Since 2005, the Metropolitan Region has experienced a 101% increase in immigrant communities showing not only the drastic increases in immigration, but also the heavy concentration of immigrants in the capital.[17]

[14] Minister of the Interior and Public Security. *Migración en Chile 2005-2014, Anuario Estadístico Nacional.* Department of State and Migration, 2016. p. 21-22.

[15] Op. cit., Minister of the Interior and Public Security 2016. p. 23, 36-50.

[16] La Reina Municipalidad. "Datos Migración La Reina (DEM)." p. 1.

[17] Op. cit., Minister of the Interior and Public Security 2016. p. 82.

However, life is not easy for people when they arrive to Chile. People from Peru, Bolivia, and Haiti face stereotypes against their nationalities including the belief that they are stealing jobs from Chilean workers. For example, the figure below shows migrant communities in Chile and the percentage of them who perceived discrimination, ranging highly between 30-50% of people for all communities. It is also important to note that Peruvians and Bolivians make up the biggest groups of people who perceive the most discrimination.[18]

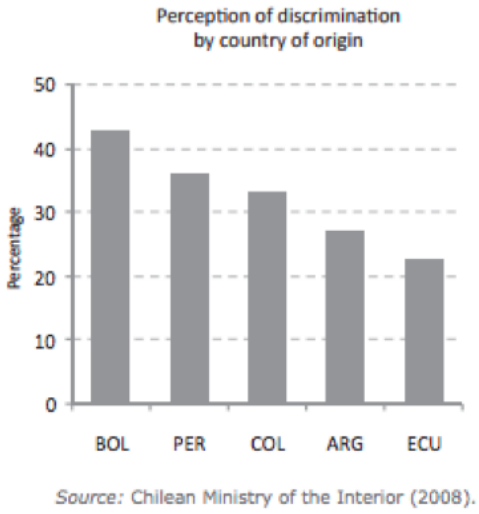

Figure 3: Perception of Discrimination against Migrant Communities in Chile

Discrimination manifests in stereotypes and translates into tangible aspects of life that are crucial for successful integration into society. Through interviewing Esteban and observing the social work sector of La Reina municipality, I learned that bias creates barriers to very crucial processes to get situated in Chile or to access necessities. For example, discrimination affects experiences such as filing residency paperwork, finding labor opportunities and safe housing, or lack of access to information on the health and education systems. These statistics are important to provide in order to understand the communities who are coming to Chile, in terms of nationality, gender, and age, along with

[18] OECD. *Chile.* Latin American Economic Outlook, 2010. p. 224.

understanding the problems they face due to discrimination. In conclusion, women and youth make up the majority of new immigrants and new immigration in Chile from neighboring countries. This research and literature also conclude that discrimination is a major part of the experiences of new immigrants that thwarts integration and social inclusion.

Case Study: Alegría de Niños, La Reina Municipality

I first became involved in the community by interning with the Department of Interculturalism, an office in La Reina's municipal government. The department was created in 2015 to standardize the processes of immigration services, design and apply a "Communal Plan" of sensitivity training for community employers and businesses and promote an inclusive and regulated local migration policy. The official theoretic purpose of the department is to create a foundation in order to "consider another person, not as their nationality or ethnicity, but rather a person entitled to certain rights based on their humanity."[19] They operate through ties with local health care centers, employers, schools, and nonprofits to achieve this mission. For example, the Department of Interculturalism funds the nonprofit Alegria de Niños, an education program for kids mainly of Peruvian, Bolivian, and indigenous backgrounds living in La Reina. The objective of its creation is to "strengthen the social inclusion of boys and girls of immigrant and non-immigrant backgrounds in La Reina commune, through the development of social and educational workshops."[20]

The center was created in 2014, before the La Reina municipality decided to fund it, and is held in the house of Señora Milagros, the director and also a Peruvian immigrant. Her house is in the back of

[19] Municipalidad de la Reina. "Programa de Interculturalidad." P. 2.

[20] Alegría de Niños. "Formulario de postulación FONDEVE y subvenciones a organizaciones comunitarias y de interés público." 2017. P. 4.

her convenience store, covered by a low awning and blending in with the rest of the colorful, low buildings in the midst of La Reina commune. Initially the class was in a crowded back room but mid-way through the semester, they moved the convenience store to the side of the house and opened a bigger space for the classes, which greatly helped make the space more official. Although it seemed like a confusing and hidden location to an outsider, the setting of Alegría de Niños was perfectly accessible to the students and families in the community and Señora Milagros chose her own house so the kids did not have to walk far at night to go home. The new classroom has a table, a white board, and stools for the kids, so it made it a more comfortable and fun space for the children to be in, although it also allowed for more play and energy rather than studies.

I learned that the kids in the community had difficulties staying caught up in class or fitting in, so they held separate supplementary English classes at Alegria de Niños. The Department of interculturalism helped pay to have a young English teacher, who the kids adored and called “tío” (uncle), from a local school to come teach. The kids ranged in attendance from five to fifteen students coming on Wednesdays, with a mix of boys and girls from as small as five years old to high school students. The children were all friends and they walked from the same neighborhood to attend the classes. The kids do not pay for the classes, but the organization receives funds to pay for a teacher from the municipality. During the classes, Señora Milagros generally sat outside with other people in the community, including some of the mothers of the children, and whenever class was canceled, she would send a group message. Overall, these dynamics portrays a tight-knit community and a safe space where families from foreign backgrounds could feel comfortable in light of the discrimination in society and in the education system. However, this sense of comfort also lacked structure and many times, the classes turned into recess time and it was very difficult to gage which students actually understood the material and which did not, especially due to the different age groups, group size, and learning speeds.

We played games and practiced vocab, while in some classes some adults would poke their heads in to learn a little English as well. The teacher recounted how the classroom spaces in the local school were not conducive to learning and how the kids were always disinterested. In Alegría de Niños, although they always wanted to play, the kids were excited about learning the language and came for that purpose. I was asked to only speak in English with the professor so the kids could hear the interaction and be inspired to keep learning. Along with their enthusiasm to learn, there was a general understanding of the importance of learning English, especially among the parents. These classes created a familiar and comfortable space where the kids and community members treated each other as family, while also helping immigrant children do well in school amidst the discrimination issues they may face. Like NSLC, Alegría de Niños offered supplementary English learning to help students excel in school and overcome barriers, while the center itself provided a crucial safe space for communities overlooked by the school system.

Case Study: Colectivo Sin Fronteras, Independencia Municipality

Like Alegría de Niños, Colectivo Sin Fronteras helped migrant workers and families start their lives in the Independencia commune of Santiago. I worked specifically with the adult women class, made up mostly of independent women who left their families back in Peru or Bolivia and sent back remittances. However, the center served a diverse group of people—some who left their families behind and some who migrated as full family units. Neither group knew for certain if they would be staying permanently or leaving after making a significant amount of money, so there was an overall attitude of uncertainty towards the future. However, in the spirit of interculturalism, the staff and center's mission focused on assuring these families that they had every right to be there regardless of the uncertainty or discrimination they may face. Created in 2003, the center, like the other nonprofits observed, also

created a safe community space for Peruvian and Bolivian migrant workers and families. It provides another example of intercultural outreach spearheaded by a non-profit, and this time without local government support like observed with Alegría de Niños.

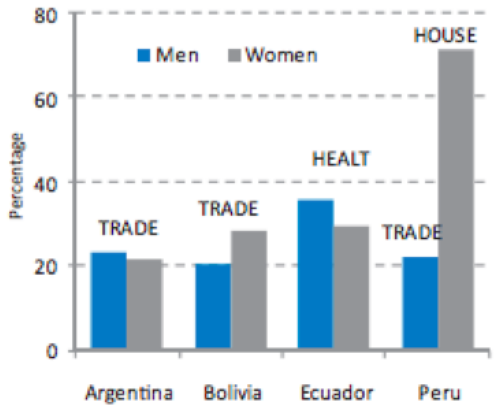

Figure 4: Percentage of Migrants in Different Trades, by Gender

Source: Encuesta Casen, (2015)

Their program for adult learners portrayed a second layer to this analysis, showing how English can also act as a tool for social mobility in addition to simple language acquisition. The women who go to the Colectivo are mainly domestic workers or caretakers for senior citizens. Figure 4 shows how women specifically from Peru dominate the domestic labor market, which also parallels the main population the Colectivo aimed to aid.[21]

According to Chilean sociologist Carolina Stefoni, domestic workers from mainly Peru and Bolivia face a whole host of discriminatory barriers in Chile, especially caused by losing citizenship and civil rights. Studies show that this new vulnerability causes a lack of access to social and legal services, while also being perceived as cheap labor.[22] Stefoni describes an appropriation process in which Peruvian

[21] Op. cit., OECD 2010, p. 223.

[22] Stefoni, Carolina. *Mujeres inmigrantes peruanas en Chile.* Vol. 33. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2002. p. 138.

women lose their independent lives and depend fully on the family they are employed by. This dominating characteristic of home labor has created an atmosphere lacking respect and understanding of rights.

The collective is in the Independencia commune of Santiago, past the skyscrapers of Providencia and across the Mapocho River where open-air markets and street vendors appear once more. The collective is a brightly colored building with paintings on its walls and posters promoting inclusion on the inside. Along with the small classrooms, the center had a larger cafeteria area with one long table where the women would drink tea before class and eat a free lunch together afterwards. On the walls of the classroom, there were posters drawn by children who came in on Saturdays with phrases against child labor and domestic violence. These posters portrayed a preoccupation with human rights that indicates a past of human rights violations and oversight of immigrant communities in Chile. The collective's goal is to raise awareness of these issues and spread information to both Chileans and immigrant communities, as was exemplified by the posters.

The women lived with the families they took care of during the week, but they had the weekends off and therefore have to pay for food; thus, the center alleviates some of those responsibilities on the weekends as well. They all were very comfortable with one another and drank tea and ate with the staff at the long table every weekend. This dynamic transforms the collective into a community center, just as Alegría de Niños operated as a safe space as well. The staff consisted of six adults from Chile, ranging from middle-aged women to university students, and two would lead one of the three workshops provided every Sunday. The workshops were split into three activities: English learning, chocolate making, and computer science, in which the latter two helped with building up marketable skills for future reference. The English classes had the objective of equipping the women with basic, conversational English skills such as how to navigate in a restaurant or airport, or to explain their jobs in English. I learned that English was an important skill to have because some women worked

for wealthy families who may travel and work outside of Chile, or they themselves may have the opportunity to work in the U.S. or other countries.

At the first staff meeting, they planned out "*charlas"* (talks), every Sunday that covered topics such as housing, health and self-care, retirement, cultural tours of Santiago, and social services. They even asked me to offer a charla about the then-upcoming Chilean elections and how the candidates' immigration policies might compare to President Donald Trump. These talks portrayed an active effort to keep up with current events, circulate information about civil rights in Chile, and include the women as active citizens in the country and not just as workers. For example, one Sunday, the women and staff took a field trip to the main square of Santiago called the Plaza de Armas and visited the Museum of Pre-Colombian Art. The purpose of the visit was to explore the idea of a common identity as pre-Colombian art is an inclusive topic. The staff planned other field trips to take the women to different natural sites or museums around the city as well, showing an active role in including them in the city.

The staff also incorporated social work activities with the classes. For example, after one English class, two co-workers gave the group of women a "tree of life" drawing and asked them to pick which stage of the tree they related to the most. Many women discussed how it was hard to arrive here and work without their families but how now they are becoming accustomed to their new lives and moving up the tree. A staff member reminded them "the hardest part has already passed," which furthered the role of the collective as being a motivating and supportive community for them. These activities promoted self-reflection and helped the women look at the bigger picture of their journey in Chile. At the last English class, the women reflected on how they trusted the Collective and the staff and the inclusivity of the setting in a new country. For example, one woman recounted how she felt alone in Chile until she met another one of the Peruvian women who told her about the Collective.

This reflection also exemplifies how outreach and information is generally circulated through other immigrant women in the community. After they finished one workshop, the staff printed the schedule of events for field trips and informational lectures to circulate amongst the women and gave them extra fliers to pass on to others. This method of community outreach is something all organizations observed shared. My co-workers also reflected on the efficiency of the organization and the outreach. They thought it was a very effective setting, mostly in creating a safe space for the community. They discussed the importance of teaching and learning English, but the overarching theme amongst both the staff and the women was the importance of having this inclusive space. In the next case study in Lebanon, the value of creating community is the most pronounced—in the case of the Palestinians, it felt more like *preserving* a community. Due to the far more imminently politicized nature of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, the next chapter will portray how when hope from the state is nonexistent, nonprofits often become the only way of providing home and services.

Chapter 3: Tyre, Lebanon

The Global Community's Overburdening of Non-state Actors

Introduction

In a tiny classroom with a solitary window looking out on the Mediterranean Sea, I gave an assignment to my class: draw what "home" is to you. Almost all of the children in one way or another incorporated a Palestinian symbol in their artwork— whether it was a dove holding a key of return, the Palestinian *kuffiyeh* (scarf), or a replica of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. I was here to teach English during their summer break, but something as simple as a student's artwork introduced me to the complicated and contradictory layers of isolation and belonging that the camp symbolized in Lebanese society. This occurred at the non-profit Beit Atfal Assumoud (BAS), also known formally as the National Institution of Social Care and Vocational Training, a national organization in Lebanon that caters to Palestinian refugees and has a center in each of the refugee camps. I worked in one of the centers in Tyre, Lebanon, situated on the coast in the middle of Rashidiyeh, the closest Palestinian refugee camp to the border of Israel.

After the classes ended, the kids left the flower covered alley of the center surrounded by brightly colored murals painted by previous volunteers, and ran into the narrow streets of the camp, wires overhead, to their homes. They would sometimes enjoy the beach on one side of the camp or walk along the farm roads on the outer edge of the camp. Every day, many Palestinians leave to work in the main city of Tyre and then return to their own cities within the city—separated by walls or fences and, of course, the obligatory checkpoint manned by Lebanese officers with guns. Often, the officers let them through after months of knowing each person and knowing they were supposed to be there. Occasionally, when the officers changed, the lines to leave would go far into the camp as each person or family waited their turn to be patted down and investigated before leaving and entering

Once, the volunteers and I visited a *sitto*, a Palestinian grandmother, to record her cooking recipes. She welcomed us to her home and told us her stories while she cooked, and we rapidly took notes. At one point, she pointed in the distance where the present-day Israeli border lies and told us, "look, I came from there." While waiting for the food to cook, we sat in her garden and snacked on figs from her fig tree. Her daughter then told us that just a few feet away, as her family ran to their underground safe house decades ago, one of her sisters was shot by an Israeli sniper and killed before she could make it. How do we sit, eat, and laugh while listening to this immense amount of generational pain and trauma? Palestinian refugees are effectively kept isolated by the larger Lebanese system under the myth that one day they can return to their homes, which for some like this family is within eyesight; however, this is an impossible hope since Palestinians cannot access their internationally-recognized right to return as other refugees can. This begs the following question: how do nonprofits and NGO's in Lebanon address this foundational understanding and shared trauma of Palestinian displacement, or do they inevitably play into the same systems that keep them displaced and impoverished?

The case of Palestinian refugees in the Middle East exemplifies the case of generational trauma. When home is discussed, most of the kids I interacted with could trace their lines to their ancestral villages in Palestine. They all know how to draw Masjid Al-Aqsa from memory, and without thinking twice. They are constantly reminded of their inferiority as second-class citizens in Lebanon, doubled with their inaccessibility to land they see miles away and the horrific stories of loss and refuge that accompany that land. This chapter discusses how the nonprofit ecosystem in question helped in maintaining this collective identity, while taking into account the mental and emotional toll by providing comprehensive mental health and disability services. However, regardless of the well-rounded understanding and inclusive nature of BAS, nonprofits are inevitably dependent on international funding sources and unable to make significant top-level changes. In the case of Palestinians specifically, the lack

of a political solution to their double suffering—being loss of home and prevention of permanency in Lebanon—is another layer of frustration for nonprofits and those they serve.

Methodology

During the Summer of 2018, I worked with the Learning for the Empowerment and Advancement of Palestinians (LEAP) Program. LEAP is a nonprofit founded in the U.S. in 2009 but draws volunteers internationally. In partnership with BAS, which has a center in each Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon, the program brought international volunteers to teach extra English classes over the summers for six weeks. The volunteers themselves are also required to attend refugee awareness workshops to learn about Palestinian refugee realities and workshop a community project in the camps as well. When they leave the camps after the six weeks, the volunteers are expected to continue advocacy work and raise awareness of the realities of refugees in Lebanon. This continued action component is a core part of LEAP's purpose to connect international communities to the lived realities in Lebanon. Over time, LEAP's capacity to work in different camps has varied depending on security concerns. For example, due to the Gaza protests in 2014, the program had to withdraw their volunteers. Additionally, the program had been able to send volunteers to both Tyre and the camps in or around Beirut. However, the past few years have seen a concentrated effort solely in Tyre solely. When I joined the program this past summer, the volunteers were divided between the Rashidiyeh and Burj Al Shamale camps in Tyre, Lebanon.

Via participant observation and through the relationships we forged with the staff, parents, or members of Rashidiyeh camp, I was able to observe the role of the BAS center in empowering its community regardless of the physical walls or systematic barriers they face. We lived in apartments outside of the camps and hired a family of brothers, who the founder of LEAP had known for years, to drive the volunteers to Rashidiyeh (farther away than Burj Al Shamale) and back every day. We had a

week of teacher training and began teaching classes. Each volunteer taught a class from 9 am-11 am, and then an extracurricular activity for an hour afterwards until noon. I personally taught a pre-beginner English class of about 11-15 students on average, then an art class as my activity to around 25-30 students. In the afternoons, the volunteers would alternate refugee awareness workshops, planning, or community projects where we designed and painted the playground walls of the BAS center and visited grandmothers in the camp to collect recipes and stories. Each classroom had a volunteer as a head teacher, accompanied by a Palestinian co-teacher who usually was a teenage student who had gone through LEAP summer programming a few summers before.

Based on the information we received from the refugee awareness workshops about life in Lebanon, I embarked on formal research on the topic and published a 3,000-word piece online through my internship at the Migration Policy Institute. This research details the dire situation of the Lebanese economy, the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis, and the connection with the Palestinian position in Lebanon. Excerpts of this piece will be taken in the discussion section, specifically on the background of Palestinian migration and disenfranchisement in Lebanon. Then my discussion will use my nonprofit case study to portray how civil society provides life-saving resources along with international actors such as the UN. However, this case also provides a critique of the other extreme among all three cases in this project, in which civil society has too much of the burden and must operate in an extremely unstable and unsustainable manner.

Literature Review

There is substantial literature on the economic stagnation in Lebanon and the long history of sectarian violence, which has shaped both society and the government system (which allocates certain positions and parliamentary seats per religious/ political faction). Additionally, many political groups carve out regions of influence and act as the providers of state services as well as representatives in the

government. Many people depend on these providers for humanitarian services and basic needs. An infamous example is Hezbollah, which acts as a "state within a state," in which the group often carries out their own domestic and international relations. The dissolution of a state structure allows for factions to take over many of the functions of a state, which may provide short-term stability but also contribute to long-term sustainability issues. Refugees are often caught in the middle. For example, during the Lebanese Civil War from 1975-1990, Palestinians joined existing factions or formed their own, and suffered from infighting and massacres. Therefore, the presence of refugees in the country (although treated as temporary), is very much impactful on Lebanon's past and future stability.

In addition to these state level issues, Lebanon is currently going through host country "fatigue," especially being the country with the most refugees per capita in the world. Due to the stoppage of Syrian migrant flow to other countries, many are stuck in refugee camps and are considered temporarily displaced, not refugees, by the state.[23] The U.S. has only allocated 38% of its requested funding to UNHCR aid to Syrian refugees. On top of that, thousands of Syrians have begun to return to Syria but the UN has stated it is not prepared to facilitate large-scale return migration due to the country's unresolved civil war.[24] Meanwhile, the plight of Palestinian refugees is also in a gray area of inaction due to unresolved regional issues and the inability of the international community to implement its ideas. Regarding Palestinians, the UN has multiple resolutions restating the right of return for Palestinians to Israel and occupied territories; however, Israel has not complied. Therefore, Lebanon finds itself in a double bind: the state is simultaneously over-dependent on international funding, while international actors have no sustainable means to resolve regional issues.

[23] Geha, Carmen. "The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Lebanon's Endemic Deadlocks: Trading Reform for Resilience." Middle East Institute, March 17, 2016.
[24] "Addressing the Humanitarian Situation in Lebanon." International Peace Institute, October 11, 2018.

This situation brings to light over-dependencies on civil society and the NGOization trend in Lebanon. Especially in Lebanon, the responsibility of refugee resettlement and resilience falls mainly onto the UN and other international humanitarian aid organizations, and civil society/ grassroots organizations to undo harmful state policies.[25] Due to the diminishing state apparatus to aid refugee resettlement, there is a push for localization for services to strengthen grassroots capacities. Aid literature calls for strengthened connections with local authority and a collaborative push for sustainable development.[26] A way for this localization can be seen through the NGOization of refugee aid and resettlement, in which local organizations act as the main conduits of resistance. How NGOs can be positive mechanisms of social change or be remnants of state systems that repress the individuals affected. Sangeeta Kamat synthesizes the complex and sometimes contradictory relationship of NGOs to society as: "NGOs belong neither to state nor to civil society but are contested sites in the struggle between the interests of capital and people's aspirations for a just and humane world."[27] The critics of NGOization specifically refer to how NGOs create change but within a neoliberal worldview, without legitimately addressing aspects such as inequality or poverty and in which the mission eventually distances itself away from the people originally impacted.

Research Findings and Discussion

Palestinians in Lebanon: Migration and Settlement [28]

Palestinian refugees have been a core part of Lebanese politics and society since the 1948 occupation of Palestine and the ensuing arrivals of those who fled the northern regions of what is now

[25] Op. Cit., Geha.
[26] Samad, Ziad Abdel and Bihter Moschini. "Humanitarian Assistance in Lebanon Overview, Challenges and Recommendations." Lebanon Support. Beirut, October 2016.
[27] Klimczuk, Andrzej. Book Review of "NGOization: Complicity, Contradictions and Prospects." Journal for the Study of Radicalism, Vol. 9, No.1 (Spring 2015), p. 174.
[28] The following background section comes directly from a research piece I published for the Migration Policy Institute. You can access the article here: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/syrian-refugee-swell-push-lebanon-over-edge

Israel. Considering their existence in Lebanon for 70 years, one could assume that integration of Palestinians into Lebanese society occurred long ago. However, the reality is that Palestinian communities have effectively been kept isolated in refugee camps and legally barred from participating fully in the Lebanese economy and society.

Figure 5: Map of Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon

They are confined to 12 camps, overcrowded and poorly built, and live in 42 "gatherings," described as urban ghettos. They face many systemic barriers to property ownership, employment, and travel, relying on the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for basic services such as education and health care. UNRWA, which was created in 1949 to provide aid to Palestinians, estimates around 450,000 Palestinian refugees registered with the agency as of 2014, although this number would not account for unregistered, or "non-ID," Palestinians, estimated to be between 3,000 and 5,000. Other sources have much lower numbers, with UNHCR estimating between 260,000 and 280,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon as of 2017, suggesting that many have left the country. The discrepancy in these estimates underscores the marginalized existence of this population: with no official estimate of how many Palestinians live in Lebanon, it is unlikely that Lebanese officials prioritize their integration.

Despite their long years of residence, Palestinians are still treated as foreigners and cannot access the same civil rights awarded to native Lebanese communities, while they are also stopped from fully accessing their internationally recognized right to return to their homeland. Living with limited rights and restricted movement, they are entirely dependent on UNRWA and NGO services, and face "acute socioeconomic deprivation," according to UNHCR. Because of these circumstances, Palestinian refugees are generally low-skilled, have low education rates, and mostly occupy informal jobs in commerce and construction. An estimated 85 percent of those in the labor force are in the informal sector, compared to half of their Lebanese counterparts. Because of the informal employment, high unemployment, and limited rights, Palestinian communities are therefore more vulnerable and have increased rates of exploitation. The Syrian crisis introduced new arrivals willing to work for less and tolerate more exploitative conditions, exacerbating difficulties for existing communities of Palestinians. Unemployment among Palestinian refugees rose from 8 percent in 2011, when the Syrian Civil War began, to 23 percent in 2015.

Palestinians face obstacles within the formal sector as well, since it is difficult to obtain a work permit and they are prohibited from employment in the public sector and 36 other specified professions (such as medicine, law, or engineering). After relying on UNRWA-led primary and secondary education, Palestinians are legally allowed to attend Lebanese universities, but higher education is almost futile considering the lack of employment opportunities following graduation. The situation of Palestinian refugees may become even bleaker, with UNRWA education and health services under threat. In August 2018, the Trump Administration announced it would discontinue funding for UNRWA; the United States had funded about one-third of the agency's $1.1 billion budget in 2017. Even though Canada and European Union countries stepped in to partially fill the gap, this development increased concerns over UNRWA dependence by Palestinian communities.

New Waves: Palestinians from Syria

Around 50,000 of the 1 million Syrian refugees are Palestinians who had originally sought refuge in Syria after the 1948 Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and their descendants. This often-overlooked demographic will be increasingly important to consider. Palestinians from Syria face the same system of legal and social discrimination and obstacles that earlier-arriving Palestinians have faced for decades. Additionally, many of these newcomers are funneled into existing Palestinian refugee camps, meaning they are physically isolated and constrained, while also dependent on the same limited humanitarian resources on which Palestinians depend. Overall, the integration needs of Palestinian-Syrian refugees connote more competition for the same resources that Palestinian camps are already lacking, potentially leading to more camp-based violence.

Palestinian-Syrians are an extremely vulnerable community as their lack of legal status can lead to fines and deportation (as is also happening to Syrians currently); they also have lost many of the civil rights they had in Syria. While other refugees can integrate physically in different parts of Lebanon and have access to other sources of humanitarian aid, Palestinian-Syrians must solely rely on aid from UNRWA. As a result, 90 percent of new Palestinians from Syria live below the poverty line, compared to 68 percent of pre-existing Palestinians. Additionally, 6 percent of Palestinian refugees from Syria live in extreme poverty.

A series of prohibitive laws from 2013-14 specifically targeted Palestinians from Syria and made entry visa requirements extremely hard to fulfill, pushing many to undertake illegal border crossings. In 2013, Lebanon allowed Palestinian refugees to obtain residency permits valid for three months, renewable at no cost for 12 months. However, after this period, the process to renew the visa and legal residency is relatively expensive. Even though only 3 percent of Palestinians cross illegally, nearly 50 percent lacked a valid visa in 2014. Refugees with and without documents face housing insecurity,

increased chances of students dropping out of UNRWA schools and joining internal militias, and factional security threats within the established Palestinian refugee camps.

It is important to specify the most vulnerable populations within these different refugee groups. Of all Syrian arrivals, including Palestinians, 78 percent are women and children. Palestinians from Syria and Syrian students face difficulties in schools since most class instruction in Syria was held in Arabic, while UNRWA and Lebanese schools teach mathematics and science in English or French. Additionally, many Palestinian students may be considered illegal and do not have access to UNRWA services due to difficulties with visa renewals. Overall, Palestinians from Syria join an already disenfranchised group of Palestinians with a lack of legal rights and opportunities for integration that Syrian refugees technically have.

Case Study: Beit Atfal Assumoud- Rashidiyeh Camp, Tyre, Lebanon

Working at BAS through LEAP provided a ringside seat to the above migration trends and systematic barriers people faced as a "temporarily displaced" person 70 years after displacement. At the camp, I met students from families who came in 1948 and years after. Even the newer Palestinians from Syria had been incorporated into the classrooms. In my classes, I could not tell the difference but other classes in Burj Al Shamale camp noted forms of bullying from some of the kids towards the new arrivals from Syria. Even though I did not personally see those tensions, I met older people who were also Palestinians from Syria who began working at BAS. One woman, only a few years older than me, recounted how growing up in Syria she did not have to choose between being a Palestinian or Syrian. She remembered her ability to move or access all levels of education and the workforce without difficulty. She graduated from a Syrian university with a degree in comparative English literature. Years later, she works at BAS with her family scattered across the Middle East and Europe with no outlook for

the future. Her college degree and her memories of Syria sit uselessly in her mind as she adjusts to a new life as a second-class citizen.

The refugee awareness workshops brought more stories like hers. We heard from two women who went through UNRWA primary and secondary education systems, then graduated from a Lebanese university (which Palestinians have access too still). However, due to the barriers to the workforce, they returned from their universities with degrees in translation services and worked in tutoring younger kids in the camps. Many of these young men and women came for the summer to volunteer with LEAP's programming like the high schoolers who worked as co-teachers in the classrooms to keep the kids quiet. Many adults also worked through UNRWA schools or other services and dedicated their off time to raising awareness of the refugee reality. It was interesting to hear their criticisms of UNRWA while also realizing it was their only means of receiving services and later gaining employment. It was an endless cycle of dependence.

This observation refers to the literature on NGOization. As Arundhati Roy describes: "NGOs give the impression that they are filling the vacuum created by a retreating state. And they are, but their real contribution is that they defuse political anger and dole out as aid or benevolence what people ought to have by right. They alter the public psyche."[29] We can see a variant on this "retreating state" idea at the BAS center, where other states (e.g. Japan and Norway) have filled in the voids by each taking responsibility for funding the operation of an entire floor. Roy prefaces by saying that not all states and NGOs do such obvious gap-filling work, but in the global context, the growth of NGOs often occurred after the public spending cuts to government (she specifically studies India) coincided with the growth and patronage of neoliberal and western entities/ sources of funding. She mentions trends that NGOs partake in such as employing locals, reversing traditional cultures of self-reliance, and either intentionally or unintentionally depoliticizing resistance. Therefore, how much can an NGO foster resistance, which has become, in many ways, a central

[29] Roy, Arundhati. "The NGO-ization of Resistance." Pambazuka News. September 23, 2014.

identity for Palestinian refugees? UNRWA funding ensures a means for locals to get educated and then get employed to provide the services themselves. However, UNRWA does not provide any sustainable or long-term answer to Palestinian demands, such as right of return or equal rights in Lebanon. In fact, UNRWA's origin as an entity different to the UNHCR for all refugees served as a political compromise. Many of those I spoke to told me his narrative, that UNRWA provided aid and advocacy specific to Palestinians, which is much needed, but also distances them from refugee status and the rights afforded to them.

BAS is an NGO that sees many of these issues as well, but I believe it acts as a better entity for resistance. From the physical appearance, BAS has endless murals filled with reminders of Palestinian heritage and symbols of resistance. Every morning before the LEAP classes began, the kids lined up in front of each teacher and sang a Palestinian national anthem called "Fida'i," which translates as "warrior" and reminds the kids of their homeland and the struggle for Palestine. The fences around the camps had plastered posters of faces of martyrs and it seemed that everyone knew of every single important figure or causality whether in Gaza or the West Bank. The children put on music shows with traditional Palestinian folk songs, learned how to *dabke* (traditional dance), and wore *tatreez* (traditional stitched clothing) for their performance. On the walls of the playground we painted, one wall had animals, one had the earth, and the central wall had a painting of Jerusalem painted as if the kids could see the Al-Aqsa mosque through the cracks of the wall (picture below). If there is any indication of BAS' purpose, it is the name itself. The Arabic words "Beit Atfal Assumoud" translates as "the home of the perseverant children."

Figure 6: Wall of Rashidiyeh Refugee Camp, Picture taken by author

Like North Side Learning Center in Syracuse, NY, BAS also formed their programming on a very comprehensive outlook on integration. Other than summer programming—they offer tutoring throughout the school year as well—BAS is mainly a center for social work. On a field trip, we went to a different camp to talk to their BAS center about mental health initiatives. Their programs worked on reducing stigma around mental health and having culturally sensitive workshops to allow people to identify trauma and get counseling. They taught us about generational and everyday trauma that most Palestinian refugee children have also internalized and how crucial their services were to the wellbeing of the community. They also provided special needs services and vocational training, along with their "Family Happiness Project."[30] Their emphasis on psychosocial needs provides a more well rounded assessment of the needs of the community beyond than educational services.

In the context of the NGO landscape in Lebanon, the BAS centers inevitably play into the fact that civil society must take the responsibility abrogated by the state. However, it is also important to note that Lebanon as a state does not have the capacity to integrate refugees fully like other western

[30] "Beit Atfal Assumoud." Website Homepage: Our Services.

receiving states do. This calls for an even larger criticism on the global community and how the burden cannot lie on the backs of nonprofits solely, or even on the Lebanon's national structure. When European states and the U.S. begin to stop the flow of refugees, they force politically unstable and economically weak regional states like Lebanon to take an even bigger share of the burden of responsibility to resettle millions of people. Thus, the conversation addresses multiple levels of the refugee resettlement and integration crisis:

a. the civil society level in which some forms of local organizing also inevitably avoid the political needs of refugees and contributes to larger neoliberal failings;
b. the level of the Lebanese state which has defined itself as a temporary location in order to shirk off a larger discussion of refugee care, and as a symptom of its own internal issues;
c. the global level in which states push back against the globalized nature of forced migration, while international humanitarian aid or governance mechanisms like the UN funnel funds for immediate aid and fail to push for any political resolution to end the crises themselves.

Unlike Chile and the United States, Lebanon is not a booming regional power. The main pull factor is that there is currently no civil war and proximity to states with ongoing or past conflicts like Israel-Palestine or Syria currently. Like Chile, the proximity to economically disadvantaged states is a common and important characteristic, but Chile has had the choice of closing its doors on migrants while Lebanon does not. Lebanon's case study, more so than the previous two, serves as a cautionary tale of how the global community's abandonment of its global citizens (specifically by Western countries) has extremely prolonged and traumatic consequences on those caught in the middle.

Chapter 4:

Conclusions and Comparisons

The three case studies highlighted in this research project help put together a picture of how globalized conflicts trigger national, state, and local state and civil society attempts to either stall the effects of forced migration or rise up to meet the challenges posed to changing societies. Regarding the protectionist trends observed in each region, I argue that the responsibility has largely fallen on the shoulders of civil society to first 1) respond to the needs of new communities, and 2) put pressure or extend help to larger infrastructure systems to accommodate the needs they identify and advocate for. Each case study provides a different view in civil society-state structure relationships and the study of the nonprofits also provide unique lessons on integration to be learned and applied in NGOs or nonprofit ecosystems.

	Comparison of Case Studies		
	New York NSLC	**Santiago** Alegría de Niños Colectivo Sin Fronteras	**Lebanon** BAS Center
NON-PROFIT LIFE CYCLE	Mature	Start-up	Stagnant
TEMPORALITY OF MIGRANT PRESENCE	Permanent	Uncertain, not sure if permanent or temporary	Permanently displaced
MODELS OF INCLUSION	Community empowerment and self- sufficiency	Mutual value (Interculturalism)	Maintaining identity and dignity
PATHWAYS TO A FUTURE	Yes, long term College prep, community navigation	Know your rights whether you stay or not	No, made almost impossible by the state
RELATIONS TO STATE*	Mix of local and government support	Growing local government support	No government, outside state actors
ROLE OF COMMUNITY*	All three had the same community led approach. Needs were recognized by nonprofits first, then appealed to outside sources/ entities for support or funds.		

Referring back to the nonprofit life cycle, I concluded in the first chapter that I have witnessed NSLC undergo its adolescent phase and build up sustainability, which makes it a maturing organization. In comparison, Santiago showed me the beginning stages of startup nonprofits. On the other hand, Lebanon exemplified the opposite case of a decades-old NGO system in Lebanon that, due to its age and the constricted manner they can operate within Lebanon, is either stagnant or defunct. One factor that contributes to this stagnation is the fact that Lebanon considers Palestinians temporarily displaced, and not in need of permanent integration regardless of the reality of their permanence. In comparison, the migrants in Chile are unsure of whether they can stay, but the nonprofits have risen to these new challenges and have taken a proactive stance on inclusion and civil rights. They are prepared for permanent integration needs, like NSLC and New York's nonprofit ecosystem. The last few characteristics will be further elaborated in the following sections.

1) Conclusions on State-Civil Society Relationships regarding Migration

Viewing the three countries temporally in terms of engagement with migration and resettlement provides interesting conclusions. In Chile's case, as was stated, the country is witnessing unprecedented levels of immigration and draws on its longstanding racialized and Eurocentric outlooks toward neighboring countries. Because systems of integration were set up in the last two decades to deal with migrant flows and resettlement, there is more control for nonprofits and local municipalities to create a comprehensive framework from its inception. Additionally, they build upon an already established literature on interculturalism from which most of the literature found came from Mexico's education system. That system deals with education and cross-cultural understandings of its diverse indigenous peoples and regional migration flows. Like Mexico, Chile also has indigenous peoples mostly in the south (the Mapuches); however, unlike Mexico's intercultural focus, Chile still sidelines the group

from the narrative on a national level. Perhaps the recent flows of migrants and the need to integrate them has reopened the topic of Mapuche disenfranchisement and discrimination.

La Reina commune served as an interesting look into creating new systems of integration. I joined the Department of Interculturalism only two years after its creation. La Reina municipality seemed extremely proactive and the different social work departments worked closely with the department of interculturalism. The municipality constantly supports the department's cultural fests, information sessions, and programming. The relationship Esteban built with local hospital and education systems, along with employers, showed the potential of centering interculturalism in the mission of integration and the changing conversation of inclusion and active outreach towards the newcomers. I did not observe the intricacies of local government interaction in the Independencia commune, but the Colectivo showed the strength of local mobilization without local government support like in La Reina. Both Alegría de Niños (with local municipality support) and Colectivo Sin Fronteras (without top-down support) showed the fortitude of community support and the resulting active engagement with people and the issues they faced.

New York non-profit ecosystems have deeper roots than both other case studies and represent the trend of grassroots mobilizing to undo harmful national policy and rhetoric against immigration and immigrants. North Side does not have a direct link to national level advocacy, although their students are directly affected by travel bans. However, NSLC ties into a broader nonprofit ecosystem that collaborates on the issues that arise from limited resettlement policy and infrastructure. Communities naturally change to accommodate the changing demographics, as seen with the changes in the North Side community that mirror the largely Muslim populations moving in. However, this competition for resources also hinders their ability to do more than provide serious services and put all energy towards sustainability. Unlike the nonprofits I observed in Chile, which took an active role in discussing national policies and unlearning racist attitudes, NSLC is unable to restructure its mission due to capacity. Even

though NSLC also has strengthened its ties to the SCSD, both are still strapped for funds and capacity to institute structural changes to meet the full needs of their students.

Lebanon also shows a sharper divide between state and local missions of resettlement and integration. Like the issues discussed about NGOs and their inevitable role in upholding state and national neoliberal interests, BAS also falls into this framework of depending on foreign funding and lack of true social change capacity. However, unlike other NGOs, BAS does a commendable job in institutionalizing the values of resistance and change in its mission and structure. Unlike UNRWA, BAS is explicit in their identity and demands but similarly constricted on what actual change they can achieve. BAS empowers the children within the physical barriers of the camp; however, outside they are subjected to continued systematic discrimination that has remained unchanged for decades. In that sense, they remain just as locked into the status quo as UNRWA. Because NGOs depend on funding, and foreign funding with little to no state contribution in Lebanon's case with the Palestinians, then the main goal focuses on survival and sustainability like NSLC. Additionally, the main barrier is common among all three—capacity. In Lebanon's case, capacity is shaped by the purposeful state structure and mentality in treating refugees as temporarily displaced, not in need for long-term sustained means of success, mobility, and integration.

2) Lessons on Education and Integration Policy

Each case portrays a different relationship with the state and temporal relationship with migration history, which allows for interesting comparisons. However, all cases have certain common themes when it comes to the case studies and nonprofit integration models. The characteristics I observed on the ground provide beautiful and profound lessons that can be used for future research on comprehensive refugee and migrant integration policy. For example, one common theme that I found in

each case was the reality that the nonprofit space was much more than the services they provided. The nonprofits offered English services and tutoring, but they symbolized community and safety. It was a place to feel at home, generating an inclusive atmosphere and family structure that I often found others pulling me into as well. For example, NSLC has transformed into a cornerstone of the refugee communities in the North Side of Syracuse, NY, offering a safe space a street away for many old and new families. In Santiago, the nonprofits served as a place to socialize and come together to enjoy a *cafecito* after the English classes at Colectivo Sin Fronteras, or for parents to chat together while their kids ran around the street. BAS knew each child, their siblings, and families and opened the center for performances, workshops, and essentially anything their community needed.

I attribute this sense of community first and foremost to location. Each case study portrayed the intimate closeness of the nonprofit, often in the "heart" of the community. This means that accessibility became a major characteristic, and one I observed most prominently. Other than location, the extremely strong trust and relationships the families had with the staff and authorities was a sharp contrast to relations with other authority figures. The children in Santiago referred to Senora Milagros as their aunt, while the workers in BAS were refugees coming from the same camp and same circumstances as their clients. The families in NSLC know Mark Cass by name and have no issue walking straight to his door for one-on-one help and assistance. From the other direction, the staff generally knew the families, their home situations, and had more insight into their lives. I felt and observed the trust and comfort that shaped their relationships, which allowed the leadership and staff to draw their authority from a place of care and love, not reprimand or fear. It seemed as if each nonprofit's mission centered on providing the *care* the communities deserved, not just services, to counteract the rather cold and discriminatory trends globally.

Another factor they all have in common is the fact that services are based on a more well-rounded view on how the context and overall environment of the receiving country shapes the refugee

experience post-resettlement. For example, Chilean nonprofits that I observed employed interculturalism based on the knowledge of the discrimination and racialized foundation of the Chilean mentality towards new immigrants. They therefore molded their missions with the purpose of ensuring migrants felt respected, valued, and included while also pushing those they interacted with tin the host society to do the same. The two-way process was best exemplified in La Reina municipality's Department of Interculturalism and how the local government itself was also engaging in dismantling national views and social/ economic barriers. In Lebanon, the BAS center prioritized mental health and therapy to aid families in understanding the generational trauma inherited and the daily traumas of living in a refugee camp and in a host society that explicitly isolates them. NSLC focuses on engaging families from their babies, their children in all levels of education, and their parents. By allowing each level of the family structure to have a space and ownership of their educational attainment, they allow families integrate in a more supportive way that picks up where resettlement agencies drop them off.

These characteristics culminate in a final common theme—the missions of the nonprofits themselves. The BAS centers in Lebanon provide social work consultations, education services, and mental health interventions. However, they foster Palestinian identity, strength, and resistance first and foremost. When the global community reminds Palestinians that they are problems that cannot be solved, BAS ensures their students know and value their identity as a form of perseverance. In Chile, the nonprofit and municipality relationship in La Reina centered on proactiveness of engaging the host community and encouraging hospitals, government employees, employers, and educators to value their new community members and learn and respect. Therefore, there was an institutional push as well as grassroots organizing. The Colectivo more so ensured that the women could claim Chile as their own home rather than deal passively with the hardships they faced. NSLC's mission includes the terms: self-actualization and self-sufficiency. Their inclusion of independent projects that allowed for the girls to express themselves and advocate for the issues they face in their classrooms exemplifies the

transitionary phase in NSLC in which their mission is beginning to take more flexible forms outside of regular programming.

This research project used ethnographic methods to make conclusions on how location, authority figures, comprehensive family models, and the advocacy missions of each case achieved this. The extent to which they were able to institute change, however, varies and could not be effectively quantified in this project. Therefore, the next steps would be to address the limitations to my study and design another project that focuses on outcomes and a way to quantitatively measure them over time. For example, this could focus on literacy/ graduation/ employment rates, retention and attendance, and level of family engagement in the nonprofit. This would be crucial in measuring tangible ways in which civil society contribute to the communities they serve. Additionally, I worked under and interviewed staff and leadership of the nonprofits, which makes this project limited in providing detailed input from the cliental of the organization. I wrote what I observed as a teacher with students, but a next step would be conducting research focus on those receiving the services and understanding benefits and limitations they experience first-hand.

Based on my research, the overarching conclusion of this project portrays how civil society constitutes much more than service providers—the organizations were communities and homes away from home, which fostered an environment for change and hope to flourish. Nonprofits epitomize the ideal values of our growing global community, that every human being has the right to live wherever they are and they do not have to give up their identities and values to do so. Not only are they allowed to exist, they must be celebrated and uplifted as valued citizens. Nonprofits continue to uphold these moral and ethical obligations to those most vulnerable. This project shows that effectiveness can be seen in ways other than numbers—the homes I have been welcomed into and the hope they have spread to me are all the proof I needed.

Works Cited

”Addressing the Humanitarian Situation in Lebanon.” International Peace Institute, October 11, 2018. https://www.ipinst.org/2018/10/lazzarini-humanitarian-situation-lebanon#1

Alegría de Niños. "Formulario de postulación FONDEVE y subvenciones a organizaciones comunitarias y de interés público." 2017.

Alicea, Jaime. “3 -Year Strategic Plan.” Syracuse City School District, Office of English as a New Language and Bilingual Education. 2016. http://www.syracusecityschools.com/tfiles/folder557/ENL%203-Year%20Strategic%20Plan.pdf

”Beit Atfal Assumoud.” Website Homepage: Our Services. https://www.socialcare.org/portal/home/1/

Carreras, J. Saez, and Garcia Martinez. *Del Racismo a la Interculturalidad, competencia de la educación.* Madrid: Nancea Ediciones, 1998.

Geha, Carmen. ”The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Lebanon’s Endemic Deadlocks: Trading Reform for Resilience.” Middle East Institute, March 17, 2016. https://www.mei.edu/publications/syrian-refugee-crisis-and-lebanons-endemic-deadlocks-trading-reform-resilience

Gimenez, Carlos, and Graciela Malgesini . "Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo, e interculturalidad."

Gordon, Milton. "Assimilation in American Life: The role of race, religion and national origins." 1964.

Hernandez, Veronica Hidalgo. "Cultura, Multiculturalidad, Interculturalidad, y Transculturalidad: Evolución de un Término."

Klimczuk, Andrzej. Book Review of “NGOization: Complicity, Contradictions and Prospects.“ Journal for the Study of Radicalism, Vol. 9, No.1, Spring 2015.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.14321/jstudradi.9.1.0173.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A5844864a00d364f70de139db30fdbd13

La Reina Municipalidad. "Datos Migración La Reina (DEM)." p. 1.

McHugh, Margie and Catrina Doxsee. "English Plus Integration: Shifting the Instructional Paradigm for Immigrant Adult Learners to Support Integration Success." Migration Policy Institute, October 2018. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/english-plus-integration-instructional-paradigm-immigrant-adult-learners

Minister of the Interior and Public Security. *Migración en Chile 2005-2014, Anuario Estadístico Nacional.* Department of State and Migration, 2016.

Municipalidad de la Reina. "Programa de Interculturalidad."

"Net Migration Flow for Onondaga County, NY." FRED Economic Data, St. Louis, 2016. https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/NETMIGNACS036067

OECD. *Chile.* Latin American Economic Outlook, 2010. P. 221-224.

"Organizational Life Cycle Stages." NH Center for Nonprofits. https://www.nhnonprofits.org/content/organizational-life-cycle-stages

Park, Maki and Caitlin Katsiaficas. "Minnesota's Superdiverse and Growing Dual Language Learner Child Population." Migration Policy Institute, November 2018. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/minnesota-superdiverse-dual-language-learners

Park, Maki and Caitlin Katsiaficas. "Mitigating the Effects of Trauma among Young Children of Immigrants and Refugees: The Role of Early Childhood Programs." Migration Policy Institute,

April 2019. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/mitigating-effects-trauma-young-children-immigrants-refugees

Roy, Arundhati. ”The NGO-ization of Resistance.” Pambazuka News. September 23, 2014. https://www.pambazuka.org/governance/ngo-ization-resistance

Samad, Ziad Abdel and Bihter Moschini. “Humanitarian Assistance in Lebanon Overview, Challenges and Recommendations.“ Lebanon Support. Beirut, October 2016. https://civilsociety-centre.org/sites/default/files/resources/humanitarianassistancelebanon-overviewchallengesrecommendations-ls2016.pdf

Schmelkes, Sylvia. *Educación Intercultural.* Secretaria de Educación Pública.

Stefoni, Carolina. *Mujeres inmigrantes peruanas en Chile.* Vol. 33. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2002.

Sugarman, Julie. “A Matter of Design: English Learner Program Models in K-12 Education.” Migration Policy Institute, June 2018. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/english-learner-program-models-k-12-education

UNICEF. "Convivencia, discriminación, y prejuicio en el ámbito escolar." Santiago, 2004.