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Refuge city: Creating places of welcome in the suburban U.S. South

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ABSTRACT

Clarkston, a little town in Metropolitan Atlanta, comes bearing big city nicknames. Often called the “Ellis Island of the South” and “the most diverse square mile in the U.S.,” Clarkston is just east of the city of Atlanta and has a total population of about 12,600 with an immigrant and refugee population of around 5,900 (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2012–2016). It is the primary place in the state where refugees from all over the world have been resettled since approximately 1980, and as a result, it has undergone demographic changes related to several waves of resettlement in the United States, alternating between East African, Southeast Asian, and Middle Eastern points of origin. The merging of those migration waves has created a “city of refugees,” and in 2014 marked Clarkston as Georgia’s most foreign-born city. This paper reviews the attractions of a small, southern, suburban town and explores the interactions of refugees with city leaders on issues of housing, public safety, and policing, as well as how local regulatory ordinances have immense impact on new American communities that cannot yet vote in local or federal elections.

Introduction

Traditionally, refugees have been resettled in large gateway metropolitan areas with existing immigrant residents such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Atlanta. During the rise of refugee resettlement in the 1990s, however, some small to mid-sized cities in more suburban or rural areas began growing significantly in foreign-born population. This trend continues today. In many cases, resettlement agencies can more easily locate affordable housing outside of large cities. Foreign-born populations also may grow quickly due to chain migration, where earlier arriving immigrants attract more immigrants (Charles, 2003).

Clarkston, Georgia, located in DeKalb County just east of the city of Atlanta’s perimeter, stands out as a small city that has seen significant growth of foreign-born residents due to refugee resettlement. The city has a population of around 12,600 (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2012–2016) and is home to more than 5,900 refugees and immigrants who have resettled there over the past two decades. Clarkston has one of the highest shares of foreign-born residents (47%; U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2012–2016) not only in the regional U.S. South but also in the United States, greatly exceeding the share in cities that are traditional immigrant destinations like Los Angeles (38%) and New York (37%).

Whereas larger immigrant cities like Los Angeles and New York have considerable economic power and are ensconced in comparatively immigrant-friendly states (Pastor, 2018), Clarkston is a small town that relies significantly on funding from within a state known for its conservative and often anti-immigrant agenda; even neighboring Atlanta, the economic hub of Georgia, has been reluctant to take official stances on sanctuary policies because of the state’s threats to withhold

funding. Yet, in Clarkston, where any loss of funding would have drastic impacts on the city's budget, the city council, the mayor, and the residential and refugee leadership have taken very bold stances on immigrant integration, refugee resettlement, and the city has been publicly lauded as a model city for welcoming politics in recent years. The city's welcoming spirit was codified in 2014 when, with the backing of a new mayor, Clarkston City Council members passed compassionate and welcoming city resolutions (City of Clarkston, 2014).

Over the past decade, however, city leaders in Clarkston itself have not always supported inviting policies and practices, and at times have sought to cordon future refugee residents to the outside of the city's immediate boundaries, or reduce the "flood" of refugees to a trickle. As one prior Mayor notoriously said, "You can't fix the pipes unless you turn off the water." And while the city has become a model of progressive policies particularly since 2014, city ordinance decisions remain unfortunately prejudiced, in some cases resulting in unintended negative consequences for immigrant residents in particular. Importantly, many members of the immigrant and refugee residential population in Clarkston are green card holders, or TP-1 (temporary permit) holders, who are non-citizens and cannot vote in city elections. Of the approximately 5,900 foreign-born people in the city, only 1,000 or so are naturalized citizens. The inability to vote in local elections can lead to problems of representation at the local level, specifically because immigrants and refugees compose not only a significant minority of residents, but can be considered, in fact, a majority group.

That said, tensions between both the city and state, as well as between native-born residents and foreign-born residents are very real and continue to this day. The ways in which Clarkston, Georgia, is adapting to rapid migration-related change offer lessons for how smaller U.S. cities and suburbs—especially those outside of blue states and outside of global city frameworks—can integrate and incorporate new immigrants and new Americans into civic life. This study of Clarkston, based on information analyzed from both a survey of Clarkston-area residents in late 2016 and interviews with community leaders conducted in 2016 and early 2017, serves as a guideline for how small cities can plan for and with constituents hailing from diverging backgrounds of migration, war, poverty, and citizenship status (School of City and Regional Planning, Georgia Institute of Technology. *Clarkston Speaks—The City Listens*, 2016). The study explores how everyday residents—particularly residents from immigrant/refugee backgrounds—perceive various policies or political attitudes, and how various city leaders (city managers, planners, attorneys, mayors, and council members) influence, as well as are influenced by, local immigrant leadership. The researchers specifically explored non-citizens' understanding of various local government processes, their rights as residents, and their ability to advocate for local policy change. The authors also include some emerging responses from Clarkston residents and officials to the changing federal climate as related to immigration and refugee-receiving policy. Lessons can be learned directly from refugee resident experiences in terms of how welcomed they feel in a new community, as well as their ability to shape and influence policy without traditional participation in local elections, especially during a time of immigration policy flux at the federal and state scale.

Clarkston: The Ellis Island of the South

The city of Clarkston was established in 1882 as a railroad town. Beginning in the 1970s, many residents of the predominantly White city relocated to newly established Metro Atlanta suburbs, so that by 1990, Clarkston's Black population was 55% (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). Around that time, metro area refugee resettlement agencies identified Clarkston as an ideal location for newly arrived refugees thanks to its affordable and vacant apartments, as well as its proximity to transit lines and agency services (U.S. Congress, Committee on Foreign Relations 2010).¹ Immigrants of various nationalities and ethnicities have come to live in Clarkston through multiple waves based on the timing of conflicts around the world. The 1970s through 1990s saw a rise in Vietnamese, Eritrean, Ethiopian, and Bosnian residents, and since the early 2000s, there have been increases in Burmese, Nepali, Congolese, Sudanese, Iraqi, and Syrian refugee communities.

While the foreign-born population was only 9% in 1990, that number rose to almost one third of total residents by 2000 (Altamira Design and Common Sense, Inc. & Jerry Weitz & Associates, Inc, 2005). After a slowdown in resettlement during the mid-2000s, the number of foreign-born residents doubled yet again between 2009 and 2015 (see Table 1). Although the ratio of foreign-born to non-foreign-born residents declined slightly due to recent annexations of land in 2015 and 2016, about half of the current Clarkston population was born in another country.² Today, almost two thirds of residents are Black (immigrant or native-born), almost one quarter are Asian (immigrant or native-born), and less than 13% White (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2012–2016).

Clarkston's relatively small size, high density, and history of refugee and immigrant resettlement from countries such as Vietnam, Bosnia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Nepal, Burma, and more recently, Iraq and Syria add to its enduring attractiveness: new residents are drawn to the area by established residents, and social networks are important for both emotional and economic sustainability (McMichael & Manderson, 2004; Sanders & Nee, 1996; Sanders, Nee, & Sernau., 2002).

Attitudes toward refugees in Clarkston have not always been uniformly welcoming, however. Unlike other majority-immigrant places in California or New York, the state of Georgia has markedly anti-immigrant policies, which have impacted the foreign-born residents of Clarkston over the past 2 decades. Some government leaders and residents have perceived the increasing number of resettled refugees as a burden on the city's limited resources.³ In response to shifting demographics, some local and state elected officials have taken actions outside of regularly scheduled city council working sessions to curtail the flow of immigrants into the region.⁴ In 2011, the State Refugee Coordinator in Georgia reduced the placements of refugees in Clarkston. In 2013, local elected officials again requested a reduction in the number of placements of refugees in Clarkston.⁵ Due to both statewide funding cuts for refugee services and mounting local tension between resettlement agencies and the city between 2011 and 2013, Clarkston experienced a decline in refugee resettlement placements. However, in spite of these targeted reductions of refugee placements in the city, Clarkston's foreign-born population has doubled in size between 2009 and 2015 (see Table 1).

As the number of foreign-born residents has risen in Clarkston, their lives both determine and are determined by the city's physical and civic infrastructure. In many ways, refugees and immigrants have shaped the basic infrastructure of the city so that people of many cultures and backgrounds feel at home, whether that means finding the food they like or people who speak their language. The rise of refugee populations also has resulted in a myriad of immigrant-led cultural associations, places of worship and businesses, immigrant-dominated schools and apartment complexes, and numerous immigrant-serving organizations.

This study of a small refugee-saturated town in the South provides insights into the lives of Clarkston-area residents related to housing, education, employment, poverty, public safety, and civic engagement. Survey responses, as well as information gathered during subsequent interviews, offer information beyond what is provided by the U.S. Census. City officials can use this data to paint a more complete picture of Clarkston residents, improve communication between civic

Table 1. Demographic change in Clarkston, GA (2009–2016).

Year	Total population	Foreign-born population	% Foreign-born	Foreign-born growth	Total growth
2009	7,813	2,632	34%	n/a	n/a
2010	7,555	2,986	40%	13%	–3%
2011	7,566	3,275	43%	10%	0%
2012	7,612	3,474	46%	6%	1%
2013	7,658	3,903	51%	12%	1%
2014	7,717	4,125	53%	6%	1%
2015	11,990	5,281	44%	28%	55%
2016	12,594	5,861	47%	11%	5%

leaders and the immigrant population, and implement policies and practices that best meet residents' needs.

Impact of immigration and refugee migration on small U.S. cities

A portion of foreign-born people who enter the United States are processed as refugees, who have fled their countries of origin due to persecution or fear of persecution based on reasons such as political opinion, race, religion, or nationality. After an intense period of vetting and approval, U.S. federal refugee resettlement agencies identify ideal locations to place newly arrived refugees, a process that is completed by statewide refugee resettlement agencies. The refugee migration process begins long before arrival into the United States, and many refugees arrive from locations other than their countries of origin (Somalia via Ethiopia, for example). Very often, a new family may not know their final destination country—or even continent—until shortly before the last stage of the resettlement process.

Resettlement includes an adjustment to the social, economic, and political norms of the new home country. For those who arrive in the United States, barriers to civic, social, and economic engagement in more recently formed majority-immigrant suburban and rural areas are impacted by larger regional or state-level policies toward immigrants. Clarkston is the heart of refugee resettlement in Georgia, and Metropolitan Atlanta is one of the top 10 refugee-receiving destinations in the country. However, the state of Georgia itself continues to implement restrictive laws around immigrant participation in civic, economic, and political life that apply at the local scale, which means that however welcoming a neighborhood or city's residents might be, there are real barriers to political participation and access.

Research shows that immigration to large cities since the 1970s has helped to offset population declines and has been associated with strengthening metro area economies (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2009; James, Romine, & Zwanzig, 1998; Kallick & Brick, 2015; Strauss & Qian, 2014). Nationally, immigrants make up 16% of the labor force, 18% of business owners, and 28% of Main Street⁶ business owners, the latter figure being more than 50% in high immigrant cities like Washington, DC, Miami, and Los Angeles (Kallick & Brick, 2015). A recent report of Somali, Burmese, Hmong, and Bosnian refugees finds that once they had been in the United States for 10 years, men and women from these groups either matched or surpassed labor participation rates of U.S.-born workers. Average wages also rise significantly, almost doubling for Somalis after a decade (Kallick & Mathema, 2016).

Small city governments also have begun actively requesting new refugee populations from resettlement agencies as an economic development strategy and to offset population decline occurring over the past several decades (Henderson, 2016; Singer & Wilson, 2006).⁷ For instance, refugee resettlement efforts in Akron, Ohio (population 198,000), contributed to a 31% increase in the foreign-born population (Partnership for a New American Economy & Knight Foundation, 2016). Similarly, in Rutland, Vermont (population 16,000), local institutions such as the Rutland Regional Medical Center hoped that refugees could fill open entry-level positions, and the mayor began requesting new refugees from the local resettlement agency. In 2016, the Vermont Refugee Resettlement Program recommended that 100 Syrian refugees be placed in Rutland with an expected positive economic impact (Henderson, 2016).

Refugee resettlement in small cities and towns across the United States has shifted what were once racially and ethnically homogenous populations into pockets of dense diversity. This occurred in Wausau, Wisconsin (population 39,000), when almost 2,000 Hmong refugees resettled in the area between 1983 and 2004 and changed the sociological character of the formerly almost completely White city. As of 2004, 95% of Hmong residents were employed and 60% owned homes (Singer & Wilson, 2006).

Refugee resettlement policies are increasingly in conflict across local, state, and federal scales; while small cities may make some welcoming efforts, federal and certain states' policy has become

more anti-immigrant, and even at the local level there remain opposing points of view among residents of all backgrounds. In Rutland, Vermont, for example, the majority of the Board of Aldermen requested that the State Department not send more refugees (Henderson, 2016). In Wausau, Wisconsin, seeds of contention between Hmong and native-born White populations were born not only from fear of living with people of different races and ethnicities but also from the strain refugees put on the city's limited resources. Schools were not prepared to absorb so many non-English speaking students and property taxes rose because many of the refugees were welfare recipients (Singer & Wilson, 2006). Further, even when cities establish welcoming policies, anti-refugee legislation at a federal level, and in states like Arizona, Indiana, North Carolina, and Tennessee can counteract local efforts of immigrant receptivity and integration (Kallick & Mathema, 2016; McDaniel, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2019). In response to both state and federal anti-immigrant rhetoric, some cities and counties across the United States have declared themselves as "sanctuary," which has varied in definition but sometimes means limiting cooperation with federal immigration enforcement. Others have done the opposite and entered into 287(g) agreements with Immigration and Customs Enforcement, which are contracts where local police officers can enforce immigration laws and aid with deportation orders (Kim, Levin, & Botchwey, 2017).

Traditional immigrant destinations in the United States, like New York or Los Angeles, historically have been home to one or more ethnic enclaves—inner-city neighborhoods that were transformed at some point, usually in the late 1800s or early 1900s, by an influx of one particular coethnic population of migrants. The immigrant growth machine (Oh & Chung, 2014) continues to drive economic redevelopment in traditional gateways like Los Angeles and is a particularly visible part of the development of urban ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles and New York (Light & Bonacich, 1991; Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002; Portes & Zhou, 1996). Indeed, this old pattern has begun to face new challenges in the form of extreme ethnic enclave density (Kim, 2012), displacement (Park & Kim, 2008; Tinoco, 2016), and tourism and gentrification (Kim, 2016; Lin, 1998). These processes of urban unaffordability and immigrant suburbanization are also closely linked together. As traditional gateways like Los Angeles and New York continue to become increasingly unaffordable (Ray, Ong, & Jimenez, 2014), new immigrant destinations like Metro Atlanta become increasingly attractive.

The concentration of recent immigrants in the suburbs of metropolitan areas has continued to increase (Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan, & Zhang, 1999; Katz, Creighton, Amsterdam, & Chowkwanyun, 2010; Lichter & Johnson, 2006). Between 2000 and 2013, suburban places have experienced the most immigrant-driven growth and population change (Wilson & Svajlenka, 2014). This reflects an ongoing national preference for suburban areas in general, even among millennials (Hudson, 2015). Many of the immigrant cities of Georgia are small, suburban, and sometimes rural places within the Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Marietta metropolitan statistical area. Immigrant suburbanization also has meant immigrant segregation, with only 5% of the state's 1 million immigrants residing in the city of Atlanta. Today's immigrant settlement patterns, particularly in the United States, are markedly suburban in their orientation and have led to demographic change on a larger, regional scale, especially in the U.S. South (McDaniel & Drever, 2009), and in particular, the Atlanta metropolitan area.

The transformation of cities due to the inflow of foreign-born residents goes beyond changing demographics. Refugees have had a noticeable effect on the economy and built environment in many small cities and suburbs around the country. In Akron, foreign-born populations contributed more than \$17 million in state and local taxes (\$3 million from refugees) in 2013. More than 1,100 local manufacturing jobs were created because of available immigrant and refugee workers (Partnership for a New American Economy & Knight Foundation, 2016). In Utica, New York, which had lost a third of its population due to industrial decline, the local government implemented an open-door policy to welcome new refugees, primarily from Bosnia and Myanmar. They now comprise at least a quarter of the city's population and have contributed to neighborhood revitalization and a strengthened local economy. New residents have helped to restore homes (Solman, 2016), transform a dilapidated church into a mosque for the growing Muslim population (Applebome, 2010), and provide jobs for local industries. Professor Ellen Kraly from

nearby Colgate University expressed, “To have an economy, you have to have workers and you have to have consumers ... the influx of refugees to Utica allowed us to retain some smaller industries that were looking for highly motivated labor” (Solman, 2016). In this way, welcoming refugees has become more than a humanitarian gesture, but a rust belt revitalization tool for many small to large post-industrial cities with downtrodden economies.

Some of these examples are part of the more than 50 cities around the United States that deem themselves “Welcoming Cities” under a federal initiative and that have drafted immigration integration policies (Kim et al., 2017). Yet, growing refugee populations in small cities do not come without backlash from local residents and politicians, and in some cases, statewide governments. Beyond welcoming efforts, the capacity of small cities to offer sufficient language, health care, and educational/training services varies widely depending on the availability of jobs, housing, and funding to provide such support. Although large metro areas offer richer diversity and denser communities, both public and private/nonprofit entities in smaller metro areas may be more likely to provide attention and resources to newly-arrived refugees. Public resources only go so far, and nonprofit community-based organizations and volunteer agencies often play an important role in filling service gaps for immigrant integration (Hum, 2010; Kondo, 2012). As small cities and suburban regions continue to build in foreign-born population, there is much work left to be done to strengthen supports for immigrants and refugees beyond “welcoming city” declarations. In one study of 10 plans in high foreign-born Metro Atlanta areas, none discussed language access issues and only four included job training possibilities (Levin, 2013). As small cities like Clarkston, Georgia, begin to incorporate immigrant integration strategies into planning, it is vital to consider the history, politics, economics, culture and most importantly, both the newly arrived and long-standing residents who make up the fabric of the community.

Methodology

This study is based on information analyzed from both a survey of Clarkston-area residents carried out in the fall of 2016 and in-depth interviews with community leaders conducted in 2016 and early 2017. The survey was a university-community collaboration between researchers at the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech), the city of Clarkston, as well as several nonprofit organizations and community leaders in Clarkston. Surveys were conducted both by community leaders of predominant foreign-born groups (Somali, Burmese, Eritrean/Ethiopian, and Bhutanese/Nepali) and by researchers using a combination of convenience sampling & street intercept method at different locations throughout Clarkston over a 6-week period in the fall of 2016.⁸ Researchers and community leaders interviewed foreign- and native-born Clarkston residents (N = 636) about aspects of local infrastructure, quality of life, access to basic city services, and level of/interest in civic engagement in order to determine planning and policy needs for refugee residents at the local level. Information collected included:

- Whether foreign-born respondents arrived in the United States as refugees, asylees, immigrants, or expats
- What respondents considered to be strengths/assets or weaknesses/challenges of Clarkston as related to healthcare, community/religious groups, jobs, transportation, proximity to family and friends, housing, safety, food access, education, recreation/leisure opportunities
- Household size, rent/homeownership status, educational attainment, employment status, and income (including public assistance) of respondents
- Factors that determined where respondents currently live
- Specific concerns about respondents’ homes, including lead contamination, mold, insect infestations, flooding, water damage, cracks, and foundational issues

- Jobs mismatch issues specifically for foreign-born respondents, in terms of educational attainment and line of work or work experience prior to immigration compared to current employment status
- Barriers to attending city-sponsored events (e.g., public meetings and comprehensive planning meetings)
- Feelings of safety and level of comfort in calling the city for help with services and engaging with city police
- Likelihood to move or not move away from the city (assessment of satisfaction)

Any resident in the 30021 zip code aged 18 or older (limited to one person per household) was eligible to take the survey.⁹ Coethnic, community-based organizations collected 45% and Georgia Tech researchers collected 55% of total 636 surveys (see Table 2 for survey demographics). Respondents came from 42 different countries (see Figure 1) and almost three quarters were foreign-born.

In the survey, the researchers purposefully oversampled members of longer-term refugee resident groups since they are often rare subpopulations (Kalton, 2009) in the publicly available Census data, particularly at the city level. The U.S. Census tends to undercount minority and immigrant

Table 2. “Clarkston Speaks” survey demographics.

Nativity	
Foreign-born	74%
Native-born	26%
Sex	
Female	46%
Male	54%
Age	
18–24	24%
25–34	26%
35–44	24%
45–64	21%
65+	4%

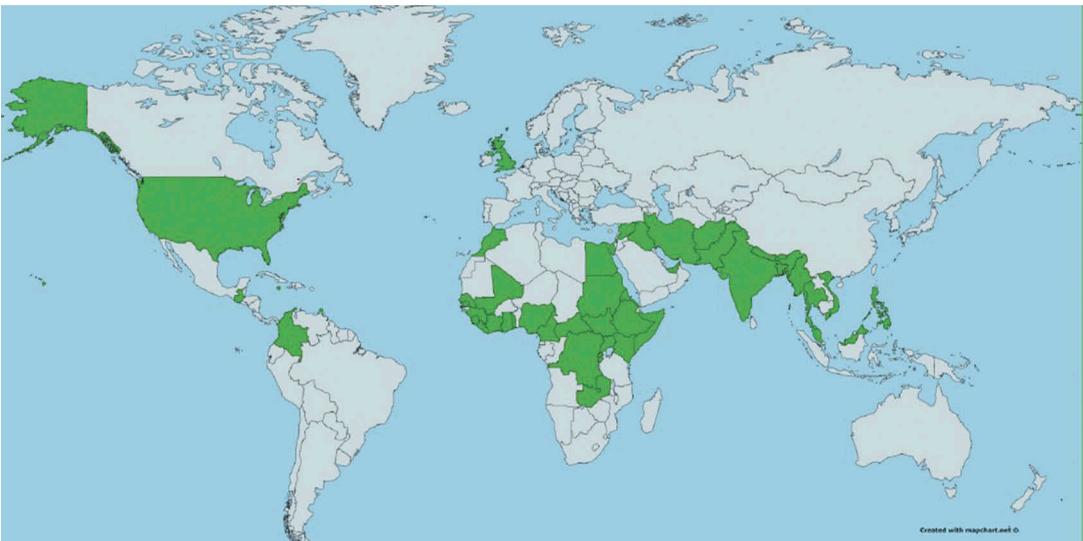


Figure 1. Countries of origin of respondents in Clarkston Speaks survey (“Clarkston Speaks” survey, 2016). Image source: Kevin Mara.

households, especially undocumented immigrants (Romero, 1992) and linguistically isolated populations (Pan, Craig, & Scollon, 2005). Romero's work (1992) in high-density immigrant neighborhoods shows that monolingual non-English speaking, as well as the concentration of apartment complexes with greater than 15 units, contributes to an undercount of certain foreign-born populations by up to 86%. Clarkston faces challenges of undercounting due in part to the large amount of multi-family housing stock and density of foreign-born residents from numerous countries speaking many different languages.

Since almost half of the surveys were conducted by members of coethnic organizations representing four of the largest refugee communities in Clarkston, the researchers ensured having enough participants from each of these important groups. Survey delivery in this way also created a mechanism through which the survey itself was delivered in-language, since the surveyors from these organizations spoke the languages of the surveyed populations. This is important since most of the Georgia Tech researchers are native English-language speakers and, more likely than not, did not speak the native languages of foreign-born respondents.

From a planning perspective, the oversampling of foreign-born immigrant populations also served another purpose. In typical long-range planning projects (where a firm is hired to help develop a comprehensive plan for a city, as was recently completed by the city of Clarkston), there is often an over-representation of White, male, middle class, older, and citizen residents who participate in traditional planning mechanisms. Clarkston city leaders felt that they had "heard" from this demographic already in various ways such as through city council meetings and elections. Given that Clarkston is a majority minority and majority foreign-born city, the oversampling method created an avenue to collect data from the subpopulation of refugee residents who live in the city. By focusing surveying methods in spaces in which ethnic minorities already participate more, the researchers were able to collect a greater number of surveys from the immigrant population, rather than just from residents who are most "publicly" present and participatory.

Soon after the survey collection period in late 2016, President Donald Trump was elected, followed almost immediately by federal changes to the refugee resettlement policy. In early 2017, the authors conducted in-depth interviews with Clarkston community leaders, including Somali, Burmese, Eritrean, Bhutanese, and Arab American immigrants, as well as native-born U.S. citizens, regarding community perceptions of what "welcoming" means in practice and politics. Interviewees represented religious organizations, schools, and nonprofits in the city that offer various forms of social service delivery.¹⁰

"Clarkston Speaks" survey results

According to the survey, approximately three quarters of respondents rent rather than own housing, notably higher than the 36% of renting households in the Metro Atlanta area (United States Census Bureau, 2014). In addition, more than 70% of respondents live in multi-family housing. Since more than 40% of immigrant respondents indicated living in households of five people or more, there are potential issues of crowding in the aging apartment units around the city.

Many foreign-born adults in Clarkston arrive with limited English proficiency and formal education. Close to half of immigrant survey respondents over the age of 24 years old do not have a high school diploma (see Figure 2) and 42% reported not speaking English well. Immigrants with little education and/or English-language skills are left with few employment opportunities. About 10% of foreign-born respondents work in poultry processing plants well north of Clarkston, forming vanpools with fellow workers to make the hour-plus one-way commute. Other immigrants and refugees settle in Clarkston with nontransferable foreign education credentials and find themselves under- or unemployed, such as a former pharmacist working as a barista or a previous government official in the Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs unemployed at the time of the survey. Indeed, close to 25% of foreign-born respondents are unemployed and looking for a job, compared to 14% of native-born respondents.

Educational Attainment of Respondents Over 24 ("Clarkston Speaks" Survey, 2016)

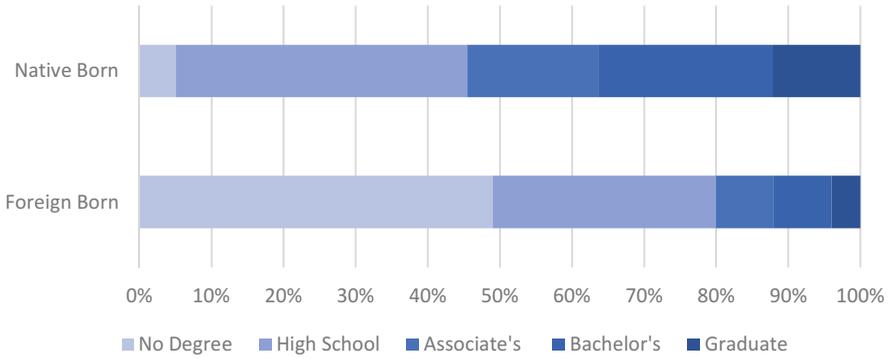


Figure 2. Educational attainment of respondents over 24 ("Clarkston Speaks" survey, 2016). Image source: Ashley Bozarth.

Obstacles to employment translate directly to household income, such that one third of foreign-born respondents reported family incomes of under \$1,200 per month, compared to 16% of native-born respondents. These disparities become even more significant when considering that immigrant wage earners are typically supporting larger households. Low wages and insufficient job opportunities for Clarkston residents have resulted in high rates of poverty, barriers to health care, and a dependency on food stamps, as well as government medical and financial assistance. More than half of all residents 18 and under live in poverty (U.S. Census, ACS, 2012–2016). According to the survey, high costs and lack of insurance create barriers to accessing health care for approximately one third of foreign-born respondents and close to one quarter of native-born respondents. More than half of all respondents or their families receive or have received food and/or medical assistance, including from the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP), Medicaid, Medicare, or Refugee Medical Assistance. Likewise, one third receive or recently received some kind of cash assistance, including TANF, SSI, or Refugee Cash Assistance. Survey findings show that native-born and foreign-born respondents are almost equally reliant on public financial resources, despite the common perception that immigrants put a disproportionate burden on such social systems.

Native-born vs. Foreign-born Interest in City Government

("Clarkston Speaks" Survey, 2016)

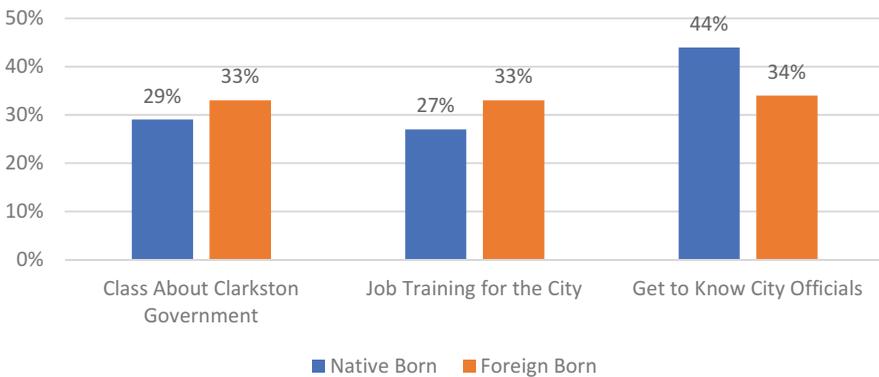


Figure 3. Native-born vs. foreign-born interest in city government ("Clarkston Speaks" survey, 2016).

Survey respondents and interviewees also answered questions related to civic engagement and safety. Foreign-born respondents are slightly more interested in learning about Clarkston’s government and receiving job training to work for the city, but less interested in engaging with city officials (see Figure 3), including city-organized commissions focused on housing, transportation, and long-term planning. About a third of all respondents indicated that work schedules and lack of knowledge prevent them from attending city events. Language barriers are an issue for a quarter of foreign-born respondents. Despite limited civic engagement through more traditional avenues, many of the foreign-born survey respondents reported high levels of activity in church, ethnic associations, ethnic businesses, school, and social or cultural organizations. This finding is contrary to perceptions by some local officials that foreign-born residents have minimal to no interest in civic engagement and local participation.

As seen in Figure 4, almost half of foreign-born, Asian respondents and a quarter of foreign-born, Black respondents do not feel comfortable calling the city for help with services (e.g., trash pick-up, sidewalk repair). More than 20% of foreign-born respondents do not feel comfortable calling the police for help, compared to 17% of native-born, Black respondents and 7% of native-born, White respondents. Discomfort engaging with city police officers contributes to diminished feelings of public safety for many survey respondents. Less than half agreed that Clarkston is a safe place to live. Interview respondents also reported gang violence and frequent instances of theft. Feelings of unease are seemingly exacerbated by citations immigrants receive from city police for minor traffic violations.

About half of respondents plan to move away from the city in the near future. Their decisions are partially due to limited homeownership opportunities. One community leader explained, “You can go to Lawrenceville and get a house twice as large for the same amount of money. Economics pushes people further from the city.”¹¹ The low-ranking Clarkston-area schools also drive some families to move if they can afford higher-priced rents or mortgages in better-performing school districts such as in the adjacent cities of Stone Mountain, Tucker, or Lawrenceville. A former Clarkston resident remarked,

I only moved to Snellville for the schools. When my daughter finishes high school next year, I want to move back to Clarkston immediately. It’s much better – closer to everything. I want to buy a house in Clarkston because I think values will go way up soon. It’s the next Decatur. I wish I had bought when the market was down. We never would have left if not for the schools.

The survey of Clarkston-area residents revealed ongoing and long-term barriers around poverty, educational attainment, higher-paying jobs, gaps between health-care needs and access to services, discomfort calling the police, and limited civic engagement. This context is needed as city officials consider refugee integration and policies that best serve all residents, including those who do not speak English proficiently or cannot yet vote. The following sections document the interaction between city leaders and newly arrived immigrants in Clarkston over time and explore the impact of recent policies in integrating and incorporating new immigrants into the city.

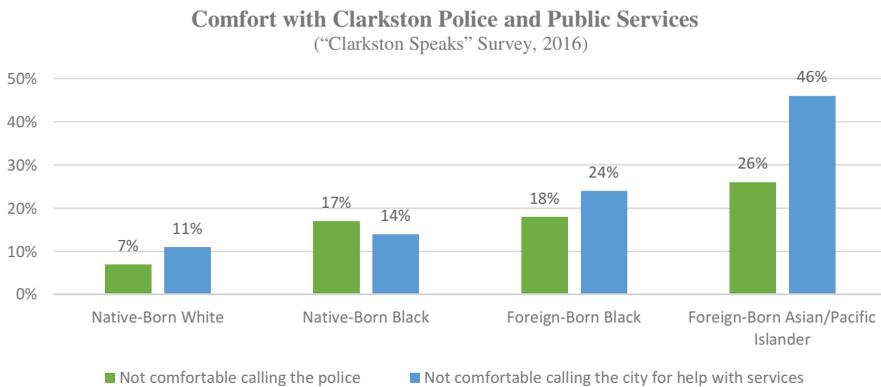


Figure 4. Comfort with Clarkston police and public services ("Clarkston Speaks" survey, 2016).

The model for progressive policymaking in an immigrant city

In addition to the compassionate and welcoming city resolutions passed in 2014 (City of Clarkston, 2014b), Clarkston elected officials have adopted numerous policies to support the needs of residents that have marked the city as a model for progressive policymaking in the region. In July 2016 for instance, Clarkston became the first city in Georgia to require a living wage (\$15 per hour) for city employees and to regulate the fine for possession of one ounce or less of marijuana to \$75 without jail time (City of Clarkston, Council Minutes, 2016a; City of Clarkston, Ordinance No. 397, 2016b). Councilman Mario Williams, who wrote the legislation for the marijuana ordinance, sought advice from activist groups and asserted that the information gathered “led [city officials] to believe there is [disparate] impact not just across racial lines but across socio-economic lines about who is actually affected the most by being arrested and jailed for an ounce or less of marijuana ... people are being marginalized” (Hammel, 2016).

Other progressive policies adopted through city council include a resolution allowing Clarkston employees to take 8 weeks of partial paid leave and an ordinance removing a criminal history inquiry from employment applications, another policy intended to decrease marginalization (City of Clarkston, Council Minutes, 2016c; City of Clarkston, Ordinance 16-401, 2016e). In the same November 2016 meeting, the city council passed a bill to regulate pawnbrokers due to Mayor Ted Terry’s and certain council members’ concern about predatory lending targeting low-income and/or immigrant residents of Clarkston (City of Clarkston, Ordinance No. 399, 2016d).

The degree to which these policies impact city residents varies on a case-by-case basis. For instance, since Clarkston is prohibited by Georgia state law from expanding the living wage ordinance to private-sector workers, the mandate affected only three hourly employees at the time of the bill’s passage (Chapman, 2016). Georgia law also gives police officers discretionary power to arrest an individual in possession of marijuana, so that the city ordinance can only “encourage” but not require officers to fine rather than arrest people caught with the drug (City of Clarkston, Council Minutes, 2016a). At the same time, however, Clarkston’s policies have been used as a model for similar policies in larger cities. For instance, the city of Atlanta recently proposed and passed an ordinance similar to the marijuana ordinance in Clarkston with a \$75 maximum fine (City of Atlanta, Ordinance No. 17-0-1152, 2017). While the city’s small geographical area and superseding state law limit the immediate impact of those policies, the ordinances set a precedent for other municipalities around the state of Georgia to follow.

Political boundaries of progressive policies

The reach of small city and suburban responses to immigrant and refugee integration may be limited by its political borders. Part of Clarkston’s appeal as a place of federal refugee resettlement is the age, structure, and availability of multi-family housing complexes—primarily apartments but also privately owned condominiums—inside and outside of city boundaries (see Figure 5). These multi-family complexes house large numbers of refugees from around the world, as well as other low-income individuals. Growing housing unaffordability in the region means that low-income and refugee groups will continue to grow, not just in Clarkston, but throughout unincorporated DeKalb County. Previous moratoriums on new refugee placements in Clarkston (with the exception of non-family unification cases) also resulted in placements a block or two outside of town boundaries, sometimes in housing conditions that were drastically worse and less regulated than apartment complexes within city limits.¹²

Survey and interview respondents noted that it sometimes feels as if city officials and police officers ignore or do not sufficiently address instances of crime and gang violence that occur just outside of the city. Beyond city boundaries, safety concerns of Luma Mufleh’s students are exacerbated by the reality that Clarkston’s “progressive policies” do not apply. Pastor DeLoach recalls:

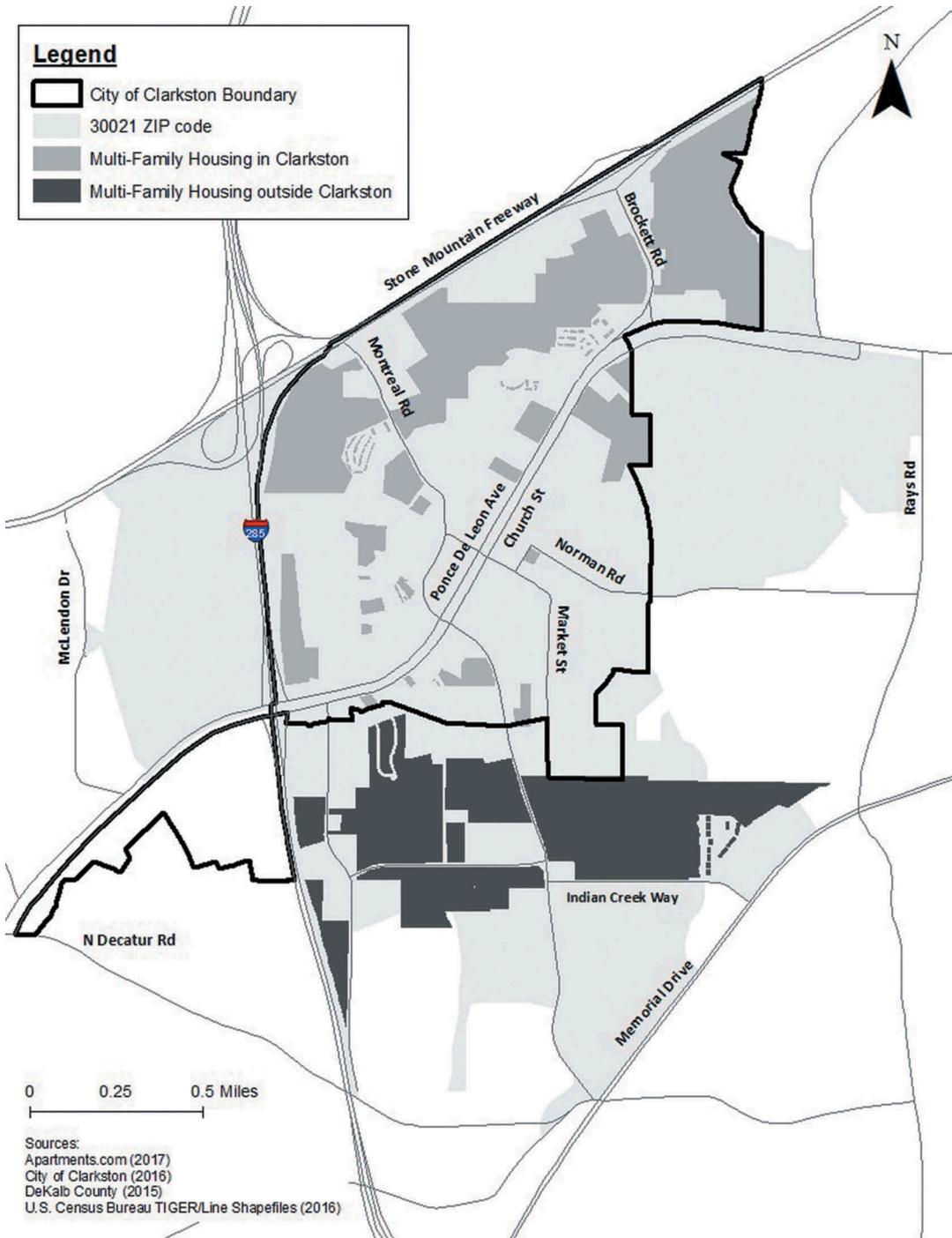


Figure 5. The light-gray areas are multi-family residential zoned areas (MR-1 or MR-2) within Clarkston boundaries; the dark areas are MR-1 or MR-2 parcels located just outside the city border in unincorporated DeKalb County.¹³

The other thing I have seen [Mayor] Ted [Terry] mention: 65 percent of crime in Clarkston is people coming from outside of Clarkston ... to prey on vulnerable communities. If we could find way to keep bad people out, it would go a long way to keeping Clarkston safe. If refugees are a vulnerable population, as a pastor, I am

asking myself, “What does it look like to do more neighborhood watch, and to make sure refugees know how to report a crime, who do you call”¹⁴

While municipal boundaries determine the tax revenue base and distribution area of city services, for residents and nonresidents alike, official boundaries make little difference in residents’ feelings of safety, comfort, and community.

The nuanced perception of progressive policies

Clarkston serves as a model of a forward-looking Welcoming City in many ways, but positive sentiments about Clarkston are not shared by everyone living or working in the city. Some community leaders expressed frustration with Clarkston’s progressive image in the media as a welcoming city, characterizing it as “overplayed.” Like any other city, progressive politics do not guarantee trust and strong relationships between residents and elected officials. As Yonas Abraha, a member of the Eritrean-American Community Association of Georgia explains:

Right now, it’s politics—it’s like you go, you take a picture, and then you say we have a relationship with that community. A relationship to me is if I know [that] a mayor knows I’m a community leader. Does he know how many children I have? Does he know my wife? Do I know his wife? Do we have any kind of trust that [we’ve built]?¹⁵

According to some residents, presenting Clarkston to the world as a success story of diversity triumphing over hate shifts the city’s responsibility away from addressing serious concerns around poverty and safety. Mufleh asserts,

I don’t think [Clarkston’s] ever been welcoming. I think there’s certain taglines that the media likes, I think our new mayor is more media savvy than the previous politicians here, but in terms of: have you created a welcoming community? No. Like, why is it that people feel isolated? Why do they feel scared to leave their apartment complexes at night? And that’s not necessarily because of a hostile, anti-refugee climate. There’s gang violence, it’s poverty, and they don’t want to talk about it. And they engage the community when it’s politically convenient, or when the cameras are around.¹⁶

The perception that Clarkston remains a place of contradiction is perhaps warranted. On the one hand, the city has passed several resolutions to establish a place of welcome for newly arriving Americans, as well as a place of safety for all residents. Beyond the more visible welcoming presence of the city mayor, refugee-serving settlement agencies offer various afterschool programs, health services, and mentorships to immigrants in Clarkston. There are also numerous nonprofits, faith-based organizations, and other volunteer groups who work tirelessly to improve living and working conditions for refugee residents.

At the same time, Clarkston’s welcoming and progressive policies are limited by seeds of distrust planted in the community due to past and ongoing interactions between the Clarkston city officials, some police officers, and residents. For instance, the public efforts to curtail the pace of refugee resettlement within city boundaries remain a part of the city’s recent past, and various community members indicated that those unwelcoming actions are not soon to be forgotten. While both the welcoming and compassionate city resolutions from 2014 have reduced some of the distrust created by those anti-settlement efforts, the resolutions did not clearly explain or define what it means to be more compassionate or more welcoming in concrete terms. Several community leaders remarked that the benefits of an official welcoming status may not trickle down to individual residents, particularly when those residents come from more than 40 countries and speak even more languages.

In addition, the seeming abundance of refugee services has been a source of conflict, specifically for some long-term native-born African American residents, who feel that native-born American residents do not have equal access to much needed social services. Common questions included: why do refugees “get” a soccer field and we don’t? Why do refugees receive job placement assistance, and we do not (through community-serving organizations)? Although most of the refugee-serving

programs are not provided by the city of Clarkston itself, some residents have accused the city of over-prioritizing the needs of refugee residents.

Without tangible steps explaining how the Clarkston government will give substance to such welcoming resolutions and progressively minded policies for all residents, there are some vocal leaders who believe that such declarations remain symbolic gestures with no real, regulatory implications.

Cities evolve: Local government responses to refugees can and do change over time

Local and regional activists in the greater Atlanta metropolitan area have developed a critique of the welcoming policy and the sanctuary city movements, and seek to expand the definition of “welcome” beyond focusing exclusively on immigrant protections. In particular, activists note that African Americans continue to be one of the most targeted and discriminated against groups across all cities nationally, and in the Metro Atlanta region. Many local police departments struggle to respond proactively to the genuine fear and distrust that community members within the native-born African American community, as well as the immigrant and refugee community, have of police officers. There are both historical and situational reasons for tense relationships between vulnerable communities and police, particularly in a city that is primarily foreign-born, and subject to discretionary targeting by immigration enforcement officials. Residents want a safer community and one in which they feel less targeted by police officials or by immigration enforcement agencies.

This study of Clarkston differentiates between the experiences of those who are low-income African Americans and African refugee or immigrant, an important dis-aggregation that is not available at all Census geographies. Many residents in Clarkston are both Black and immigrant—two groups that have been historically hyper-policed and discriminated against. Recent Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids targeting Somalis living in the Clarkston area (2016f) illustrate the risks of being a member of two overlapping, vulnerable groups.

In April 2017, the city council held an emergency meeting, led by Vice Mayor Dean Moore, to address the detention of the eight Somali American Clarkston residents who had been taken from their homes by ICE officials without warning. Advocates from Asian Americans Advancing Justice Atlanta, Black Lives Matter, New American Pathways, Project South, Women Watch Afrika, and other refugee and immigrant-serving organizations called upon the city to put more meaning behind the concept of a “welcoming city,” and reflect on what it means to make a city a safe haven for immigrants. The demands were very close to those in many cities and localities across the country: to create “sanctuary” spaces for immigrants and refugees.¹⁷

Since the 2017 federal administration’s travel ban, sanctuary city movements have gotten more media coverage as local immigrant advocates and lawyers call for some response to uncertain federal legislation regarding even legal residents’ immigration statuses.¹⁸ In Georgia, the movement for sanctuary declaration thus far has focused on two welcoming cities: Atlanta and Clarkston. A state law passed in 2009, however, preemptively banned the concept of the sanctuary city. At the time, and since, no sanctuary cities have ever existed in the state. Like President Trump’s proposed ban on sanctuary cities that threatens to eliminate federal funding in cities with sanctuary policies, Georgia’s state legislation also removes local funding support from such cities. In 2016, the state law was amended to require that cities furnish certification that they are actively in compliance with non-sanctuary policies toward immigrants living in their cities (Georgia General Assembly, Senate, 2016).

According to the memo from the Clarkston City Attorney, as read aloud by Vice Mayor Dean Moore on April 27, 2017,

The Georgia legislature enacted a law in 2009 that prohibits local governments from adopting sanctuary policies. However, OCGA sections 36A-23A60 defines sanctuary policies somewhat narrowly as a policy which prohibits and restricts local officials and employees from communicating or cooperating with ICE in regards to reporting immigration status information. If any local government adopts a sanctuary policy the fine

by state law is severe: with the state responding that “all state funding and state administered federal funding will be withheld from the local government.”

At the April 2017 meeting, Clarkston council members voted to adopt a resolution of an ICE non-detainer policy, in response to the many complaints and testimonies heard in the public emergency council meeting. Testimonies that evening included the partners, children, and friends of eight Somali American detainees. One woman stood in front of the council to ask:

My husband was detained by ICE last week. If there’s any way you can help, because as you can see we have families in here that are suffering. Mothers, wives, husbands. I have a 14-month-old at home and she continuously says “baba baba baba” all the time. So, what happened to the land of opportunity? What happened to the American dream?¹⁹

While the city, according to city officials and employees, is required to “communicate and cooperate” with ICE regarding specific requests for immigration status information, the adopted resolution clearly states three important components of the public resolution (City of Clarkston, 2017):

- (1) The city of Clarkston shall not detain or extend the detention on any request by ICE unless ICE first presents the city of Clarkston with a judicially issued warrant authorizing such detention.
- (2) City law enforcement officials shall not arrest, detain, or extend the detention of, transfer the custody of solely on the basis of an ICE detainer request or an administrative immigration warrant including an administrative immigration warrant from the national crime information center.
- (3) At no time will the city of Clarkston detain an individual for additional time beyond when the criminal matter allows release solely to facilitate transfer to ICE.

A few counties in the Atlanta metropolitan area have non-detainer policies regarding ICE requests, including Fulton County, which overlaps with most of the city of Atlanta. The Atlanta Detention Center—until its closure in 2019—was a first stop for many locally detained immigrants on their way to one of the largest detention centers in the South (located in rural Georgia). Clarkston became the first city in Georgia to adopt a non-detainer policy, and its majority foreign-born population gives the policy particular significance.

While “voting” may not be how majority refugee or immigrant cities make change or influence policy, there are other ways in which refugee residents in Clarkston have come together to advocate for their communities and to ask the city (and important allies) for better protections. Beyond the actual process of resettlement (receiving refugees into a town or city) is the feeling of welcome that can and should translate into real policy that impacts everyday residents. The former civic engagement manager at New American Pathways responds:

I think a great example is what happened [with residents’ feelings of agency] earlier this spring with the non-detainment, and that was something that wasn’t necessarily a great big conversation in some of the nonprofit communities here and the refugee-serving communities until it was really led by Somali and African diaspora communities here. They reached out to us and said, “Are you going to stand up with us for this?” And we were like, “Absolutely.” If that’s what the community wants and it’s driven by community members, that is exactly the change that we want to be a part of.²⁰

While planners and politicians and community organizations look for traditional forms of civic engagement as a reflection of integration into the larger community, there are also important ways in which nonvoting, non-citizen residents ask for and can both receive and help create a more welcoming city.

Conclusion

Increasingly, refugee resettlement at the intra-state level is occurring in suburban and rural areas, concentrating rapid growth of immigrant populations outside of the urban core. Clarkston, Georgia, is an example of one small city that has experienced waves of resettlement from many different countries in a short amount of time, and subsequent demographic change from majority non-foreign born to majority foreign-born.

The lessons learned from Clarkston, Georgia, are transferable to larger, refugee-receiving cities such as Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; Charlotte and Raleigh, North Carolina; and Boston, Massachusetts, as well as smaller towns and suburbs. Unlike other new migration destinations, Clarkston's refugees and immigrants are not just a significant minority group, but also a significant majority of the city's population. Given the lengthy process of acquiring citizenship in the United States, many members of the town's majority cannot vote in local elections or on local laws that have a direct impact on them or their neighborhoods. In one typical municipal election (2015) there were only 382 voters who went to the polls.

As we approach the 2020 elections, many nonprofit organizations are strategically organizing to respond to issues of voter disenfranchisement and voter suppression. The leaders interviewed herein who represent Atlanta-area community organizations are responding to issues of registered voter removal from polls, shuttering of voting locations in low-income and majority people of color areas in the South, ongoing language access problems, and uneven identification requirements. At the same time, local leaders are working to create more accessible, welcoming, and responsive governments. Clarkston's ability to respond to non-citizen residents is an important example of how an immigrant-friendly city in a hostile state and federal climate has made moves to become more accessible to those communities with the least voting power.

The residential makeup of Clarkston, the heart of the city's ecology, has changed dramatically in racial and ethnic makeup in the past 20 years, due in large part to the number of immigrants and refugees settling in the city. From an outside perspective, the unceasing flow of migrants into the Clarkston area may represent what has become a media-touted phrase "refugee crisis." A crisis, however, implies a peak or break in the status quo. For a city that has experienced substantial demographic shifts for more than 20 years, at what point does a crisis cease to be a crisis and become the norm? Ultimately, for the residents of Clarkston, newly arrived or not, Clarkston is not the product of a crisis, it is simply home.

Cities are learning to think through solutions and barriers to civic participation in the modern age in a more global way. Traditional, American mechanisms for civic engagement via running for local elections, voting, and participating in public meetings are being challenged by groups of legal residents who may not have the right or ability to vote. Americans are not only composed of racially and ethnically diverse groups, but they also represent a diversity of citizenship statuses, including refugees and those with temporary protected status on track to be citizens one day. They and their children compose a growing body of the future American vote. Planning for better communication is a critical part of planning for the city: the nuts and bolts of social and community infrastructure.

Notes

1. Housing unaffordability is a growing problem throughout Metropolitan Atlanta, as is the case in many cities around the United States. In fact, the city of Atlanta was designated the most "unequal" city in the United States for 2015 and 2016, in terms of class polarization (Berube & Holmes, 2015). The North-South divide in the region has also drawn attention, especially the relationship between the wealthier suburbs and intown neighborhoods to the North, and the increasing concentration of poverty and racial segregation to the South (Bennett, 2017; The Brookings Institution, 2016). Research on rental housing in particular points to the conundrum faced by refugee resettlement agencies in Georgia who want to diversify housing placement but are limited to placing people in neighborhoods where recent arrivals can obtain a job, access work without

- a car, and find affordable housing. Clarkston, located just east of Atlanta's edges, has good regional connectivity, given its proximity to highways, bus service, and a commuter railway.
2. Although Clarkston was the most foreign-born city in Georgia in 2014, the annexation of additional lands in 2015 and 2016 added almost 5,000 new residents to the city's population and decreased the total share of the foreign-born population of the city to just below half. The annexation included parts of unincorporated DeKalb County with more diverse land uses adding light industrial and commercial-zoned parcels. Clarkston expanded again in 2016 when city leaders annexed land southwest of the city.
 3. The U.S. Government Accountability Office (2012) noted that policymakers with control over refugee resettlement practices did not always consult with local leaders: "Similarly, officials in Clarkston, Georgia, another community that was not initially consulted regarding the resettlement of thousands of refugees beginning in 1996, described the flight of long-time residents from the town in response to refugee resettlement and the perceived deterioration of the quality of schools."
 4. For instance, in 2003, Georgia House Representative Karla Drenner introduced legislation to require resettlement agencies to report to government authorities of municipalities where ten or more refugees were going to be resettled at one time (Georgia General Assembly, House of Representatives, 2003). In 2009, she held a town hall meeting to assert that agencies should offer more warnings prior to resettlement (U.S. Congress, Committee on Foreign Relations, 2010).
 5. CEO of New American Pathways, Paedia Mixon, noted that "In 2013, a moratorium was requested by the state of Georgia after elected officials from Clarkston met with Governor Deal to request a pause in Clarkston resettlement" (Redmon, 2013). Because refugees cannot legally be prohibited from reuniting with family members, a reduction in new refugee placements was granted instead (Mixon, interviewed by A. Kim, August 2016; Nezer, 2013). That reduction caused complications for resettlement agencies as they struggled to find adequate housing for newly arrived refugees. Further, even when agencies found homes for refugees outside of the city's boundaries, local contacts report that some would move to Clarkston within a year anyway thanks to the existing cultural networks and diverse businesses attractive to newly settled families. Current Mayor of Clarkston Ted Terry, describing the de-facto moratorium on new placements in 2013, remarked, "The whole moratorium issue—it sort of treat[ed] a city boundary as if there was a moat and a wall around it We might have Bhutanese moving into Clarkston, Clarkstonians moving to Minnesota, so these migrations are happening whether we try to stop them or not" (Terry, interviewed by A. Kim, August 2016).
 6. Defined as "shops that give a neighborhoods character, such as restaurants, grocery stores, clothing boutiques, and beauty salons" (Kallick & Brick, 2015).
 7. Non-metro counties experienced a decline of an average 43,000 residents per year between 2011 and 2015, and a smaller average decline of 21,000 residents between July 2015 and July 2016 (USDA, 2016).
 8. "Clarkston Speaks" survey of city residents, 2016. Funded by the city of Clarkston and the Georgia Institute of Technology. Surveys were translated into six languages: Amharic, Arabic, Burmese, Karen, Nepali, and Tigrinya. Languages were chosen based on the most prominent languages spoken in the community and the availability of translators.
 9. Clarkston is situated in the 30021 zip code in DeKalb County. Although approximately 13,000 zip code residents live outside of official city boundaries in the unincorporated county and cannot vote in city elections, those who use the Clarkston mailing address often consider themselves to be residents of the city.
 10. Georgia Institute of Technology, IRB Protocol #H15079.
 11. Trent DeLoach, interview by A. Kim and A. Bozarth, February 22, 2017.
 12. Paedia Mixon, interviewed by A. Kim, August 2016; Ted Terry, interviewed by A. Kim, August 2016.
 13. GIS map by Ashley Bozarth.
 14. Trent DeLoach, interview by A. Kim and A. Bozarth, February 22, 2017.
 15. Yonas Abraha, interview by A. Kim and A. Bozarth, February 23, 2017.
 16. Luma Mufleh, interview by A. Kim and A. Bozarth, March 14, 2017.
 17. A. Kim notes from Public Testimony, Emergency City Council Meeting on Public Safety, Clarkston, Georgia, April 27, 2017.
 18. For example: residents with Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) status, as well as immigrants with Temporary Protected Status.
 19. A. Kim notes from Public Testimony, Emergency City Council Meeting on Public Safety, Clarkston, Georgia, April 27, 2017.
 20. Stephanie Ali, interviewed by A. Kim, March 14, 2017.

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Interviews

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- Altaf Sulaiman, Imam Usman, and Yousef (Masjid Al-Momineen) in discussion with authors, February 27, 2017.
- Amina Osman (Clarkston community member) in discussion with authors, February 15, 2017.
- Hussein Mohamed (Sagal Radio) in discussion with authors, February 22, 2017.
- Kitti Murray (Refuge Coffee Co.) in discussion with authors, February 27, 2017.
- Luma Mufleh (Fugees Family, Inc.) in discussion with authors, March 14, 2017.
- Paedia Mixon (New American Pathways) in discussion with authors, August 2016.
- Stephanie Ali (New American Pathways) in discussion with authors, March 14, 2017.
- Ted Terry (City of Clarkston) in discussion with authors, August 2016.
- Trent DeLoach (Clarkston International Bible Church) in discussion with authors, February 22, 2017.
- Yonas Abraha (Eritrean-American Community Association of Georgia) in discussion with authors, February 23, 2017.