Network Structure, Institutional Frameworks, and Social Change: The case of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland

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Declaration

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Summary

The steep rise in the number of asylum seekers arriving in Ireland since the late 1990s has presented a novel set of challenges to the Republic's nonprofit sector. Legal instruments and statutory policy that have developed since that time have created a particularly vulnerable population from this set of newcomers. The system of direct provision and dispersal, in combination with the trauma and hardship that is part and parcel of seeking international protection, creates a population with a diverse and at times extreme set of needs, which nonprofit organisations across the country seek to address.

Coordination among the nonprofits that support asylums seekers is a necessary, but not trivial, undertaking. This field consists of a combination of new organisations and organisations that support asylum seekers as a part of the wider population. Their work towards social change, whether through service that supports asylum seekers individually or advocacy that addresses their needs and rights as a group, faces two major challenges. One the one hand, these organisations work in tandem with the state in service provision, while on the other hand, the state and its policies are their primary focus in advocating for change. Additionally, divergent stakeholder interests create tensions in the field. These challenges raise the question of how nonprofits in this field manage their conflicting social roles as well as the question of how they hope to change the very social context in which they work.

Collaboration in the field creates opportunities to share information and resources as well as to create new ways of working to support asylum seekers. The social network structures and institutionalised meanings that condition collaboration shed light on how these relationships enable and constrain social change. Therefore, this thesis undertakes to answer the following question: How do collaborative relationships, particularly the social network structures and institutional frameworks that constitute them, enable and constrain social change in the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland?

This thesis draws on existing social network theory and neo-institutional theory of organisations in order to illustrate the meso-level social order of network structure and institutionalised meaning that conditions social change and micro social interactions. From this vantage point, it is possible to observe the emergence of social change from micro-level interactions. Meanwhile, the neo-institutional theory of social skill animates an otherwise static social infrastructure by drawing attention to actors' creative use of the structures and meanings that undergird their collaborations. As a result, this research

provides a multi-level framework for analysing the emergence of social change in a field of organisations.

The data for this study were collected through a mixed methods social network approach, which included a quantitative whole network study and qualitative personal network interviews with the members of two case study organisations. An online questionnaire garnered network structures as well as descriptive statistics from the entirety of the field. Then, computer-assisted personal network interviews with the members of both a national and a local hub organisation revealed the institutionalised understandings and roles that pattern social action in the field. In conjunction, these two data sources offer a holistic view of the structures and meanings that condition relationships and shape the possibilities of social change. This study contributes to the growing body of mixed methods social network literature by offering the theoretical and methodological grounds to observe and theorise social action within the confines of relationship structures. This study also demonstrates the value of embedding personal network interviews within a field-wide network study in order to create a multi-level view of the mechanisms of social change, inclusive of relationships that extend beyond the field in question.

The results of this study demonstrate that creative actors take advantage of differences in the field while they encourage unity through network structure and institutional meaning. Divergent structures that emerge from service and advocacy collaborative relationships encourage diversity in service provision and unity in advocacy efforts, respectively. Meanwhile, templates for interorganisational collaboration underscore differences between organisations and offer common grounds for joint working. Within the case study organisations, institutionalised understandings of the work at hand as either rights- or needs-based constrain the network location of each organisation and create institutional space for potentially conflicting activities. Seeming contradictions between the service and advocacy roles and across stakeholder interests present opportunities for actors to access and generate new resources and institutions. Members of case study organisations bring this same skilful opportunism to the institutionalised constraints generated by other fields, namely the state and funders. Creative responses across relationships within and beyond the field demonstrate that social change emerges from conscious efforts to create, bolster, and diminish the existing social order as necessary.

For Mom

and in memory of Dad

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List of Abbreviations[*]

AGM	Annual General Meeting
ARNI	Anti Racism Network Ireland
ASAM	*Asylum Seeker Activist Movement*
EFMD	*European Forced Migration Database*
DEVCO	*Northwest Local Partnership Organisation*
EAPN	European Anti Poverty Network
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
GNIB	Garda National Immigration Bureau
HSE	Health Service Executive
INTERGOV	*An intergovernmental organisation*
INIS	Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service
LIB	*Local Intercultural Board, Northwest*
MISO	*Migrant Information and Services Organisation – Case study organisation*
MLO	Migrant-led Organisation
NCP	New Communities Partnership
NCS	*Northwest Community Support – Member Organisation, NWI*
NHN	*National Homelessness Network*
NWI	*Northwest Integration – Case study organisation*
ORAC	Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner
RAT	Refugee Appeals Tribunal
RIA	Reception and Integration Agency
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SNA	Social network analysis
SVS	*Sexual Violence Support – Member Organisation, NWI*
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

[*] Italics indicate pseudonyms

Chapter 1 Introduction

My fieldwork ended in November 2014 where most asylum seekers' journeys through the Irish refugee applications process begin – at the Balseskin Reception Centre. The 83 bus brought me directly from Trinity's sociology office to just outside the complex. As the bus snaked its way through the north side, I tried to imagine what it would be like if this were my first time seeing Dublin's mishmash of urban grit and Georgian vintage. It seemed a telling start as the bus rolled past the Four Courts and King's Inn. The Department of Justice and intricacies of law and policy would loom large in any asylum seekers' life. And just as an asylum seeker inhabits a legal and political space outside that of most of Irelands' denizens, Balseskin is located outside the confines of the capital. Set in the north Dublin countryside, just past the boundary drawn by the M50 motorway, Balseskin's gates front onto a fast moving rural thoroughfare. I disembarked with a mother and her three small children. The bus driver told me they were going to the same place as I was. When we arrived at the vaguely marked 'Reception Centre' sign, the mother rang the bell and the gate swung open. Her youngest shouted a friendly thank you and jumped to be sure he could be seen in the camera.

The lane onto the grounds passes two little car parks and leads to a cluster of low prefabs set around a basketball court and children's playground. The administration building is well marked and has many doors around it. In one opening, I could see a resident doing her laundry. A few men stood outside the main door chatting, and they paid me no mind when I passed them. Just inside the entrance, there is a reception desk behind glass to the left and a bank of three computers to the right. Every wall is painted magnolia and covered with posters and flyers. The woman at the reception desk looked at me curiously as I entered, but when I said that I was there to visit an employee, she led me back outside and pointed me in the right direction. I was surprised by how welcoming and trusting the centre was on first impression, despite the serious security gate and protected

reception desk.[1] The reception area felt more like a backpackers' hostel than a government facility.

Throughout the tour I was given, staff members were friendly with me and with each other. Their interactions with residents ranged from polite to warm. They spoke of how hard they worked to provide a good service, and how much the bad press from the media and NGOs hurt their feelings. The atmosphere was palpably different from the other direct provision centre I had seen. It seemed more organised and more hopeful. Most of the residents had only been in the centre for a few weeks, rather than a few years. The manager, who is employed by the private catering company that runs the centre, told me that more than 26,000 people had passed through in the previous fourteen years. The vast majority of asylum seekers are moved on to direct provision centres around the country after a few weeks. She explained that many nonprofits come into Balseskin to provide classes and information sessions. As we walked through the building, she pointed to their assorted posters. She said that the organisations put up a lot of notices about services, because residents often think that the centre management works for the state, and they are fearful to disclose sensitive issues such as sexuality or having been trafficked.

The high level of support and signposting available in Balseskin is an indicator of just how much an asylum seeker in Ireland must rely on outside assistance as they await a decision on their claim for protection. That wait can be long, with over nine hundred (or 20% of) asylum seekers in the direct provision system for over seven years at the time of research (RIA, 2013). In that time, asylum seekers are barred from the labour market and subject to a unique labyrinth of restrictions and entitlements. Nonprofit organisations are a principle component of the support structure available to them, and these organisations perform a wide range of activities, from legal and medical advice to support groups to community development and protesting. They work with each other and with state agencies to address the needs and rights of their highly vulnerable beneficiaries.

To borrow a term from previous research (Hardy, 1994), the state, relevant nonprofits, and the population of asylum seekers and refugees constitute Ireland's 'refugee system'. This system is a policy domain that includes the decision making process on refugee applications, as well as the accommodation, integration, and eventual settlement of

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[1] It is worth noting that I was not asked to sign in, while visitors of residents were.

asylum seekers and refugees.[2] In relation to their work in this system, nonprofit organisations are answerable not only to asylum seekers, but also to the state, funders, their professional communities, and the public. The range of organisations, locations, activities, and priorities raise questions about the extent, and indeed the possibility, of coordination. In particular, their roles as service providers and advocates for asylum seekers present relational and programming imperatives that seem to stand at odds to one another.

The field of nonprofits that supports asylum seekers in Ireland is an extreme case in terms of the complexity of its beneficiaries' needs and of the extent to which its beneficiaries are excluded from society. The range of activities and aims taken on by nonprofits in the field, combined with the need to coordinate raises interesting questions about the structure and content of relationships that emerge. These challenges are compounded by the competition for a dwindling pot of funding in the field, which both state and private funders offer in competitive contracts of up to three years (R. Lentin, 2012b; Tomlinson, 2005). However, the complex nature of the refugee system demands that nonprofits that aim to support asylum seekers find ways of working together in order to coordinate their efforts and accomplish their aims of social change.

1.1 – The Conditions for Collaboration and Social Change

Previous authors have outlined this laundry list of challenges, painting a grim picture of the possibility of this field attaining social change through coordinated social action. In this thesis, I intend to show that collaboration is nevertheless alive and well in the field of asylum seeker support. Furthermore, the very diversity that threatens to undermine collaboration is the source of opportunities for change from within the field. I argue that collaborative relationships are particularly rich sites for the development of new ways of working and new understandings with a direct impact on the well-being of asylum seekers. My main argument is that the social network structures and institutionalised understandings that constrain these relationships are also the grounds upon which their capacity for change are built.

[2] Hardy (1994) does not include the accommodation and support of asylum seekers in her definition, however, these elements have been demonstrated to determine outcomes for refugee experiences in Ireland and so are considered to be a part of the refugee system in this study (Conlan et al., 2012; Moreo & Lentin, 2010; Ní Raghallaigh & Foreman, 2015; UNHCR Ireland, 2014).

The nature of collaboration as a relationship, rather than a single act or moment of exchange, means that parties to it spend time getting to know one another. The back-and-forth that takes places allows actors to build on existing shared understanding, finding unexpected points of agreement and negotiating new ones. When actors are exposed to the very differences that threaten to undermine this process, such as different professional backgrounds, stakeholder interests, or organisational structures, they can learn alternative patterns for action and incorporate them in the development of new understandings and ways of working.

Like any relationship, collaboration comprises of the dual facets of social network structure and institutionalised meaning. These two forms of social infrastructure (Lin, 2001) are symbiotically connected, reinforcing one another and co-constituting each other's development and change. Together, they create a meso-level social order that governs social action within a field. As a field of organisations collaborates over time, there is better information about the relevant networks and meanings flowing within the field. With this, actors are better able to coordinate social action and work towards social change.

Social network structure refers to the web of relationships a single collaboration is nested within. Each actor is connected to a range of other actors. These pairs aggregate into a network structure that constrains and enables the relationships in that field. For instance, dense interconnected structures bring many actors together, encouraging unity, while more star-like structures preserve diversity with just a few actors doing the work of keeping the network together. The fact that each relationship is nested in a web of others also means that reputations spread, and actors can keep each other in check without the need for formal contracts or authority.

At the same time, the institutionalised, or taken-for-granted, meanings within relationships also condition their progress. Understandings of actors' roles and accepted patterns of action create a normative framework for action that makes collaborative exchanges possible. These institutionalised meanings also govern relationships through the normative and cognitive imperatives they provide. The institutionalised meanings of a particular field provide frameworks for action, including who to work with and how.

The structure and meaning of collaborative relationships are the already existing grounds for action in a field, but they are also subject to change themselves. As actors engage with the social order, they can reaffirm parts of it, develop it, or leave parts of it

behind. When actors exercise social skill, the choices they make in collaborative relationships can change the very social order that pre-conditions those relationships. In this thesis, I will focus on two well-connected organisations, showing how their skilful engagement with structure and meaning in relationships brings the social order to life. By consciously making use of the differences in the field, these organisations turn diversity into a benefit for their own and the wider field's interests.

1.2 – Research Questions and Project Overview

The field of nonprofits that supports asylum seekers in Ireland is a prime site for learning about the creative interplay between structure and meaning in collaborative relationships, because the field is relatively new and complex with a clear set of external constraints and multiple, conflicting aims and stakeholder interests. Drawing on the theory of social networks and the neo-institutional theory of organisations, I endeavour to answer the following question:

- How do collaborative relationships, particularly the social network structures and institutional frameworks that constitute them, enable and constrain social change in a field of nonprofits? Specifically, how does this take place in the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland?

Particularly, this study considers the following research questions:

- What are the salient network structures and institutional frameworks in this field?
- How do these social structures and frameworks enable organisations within the field to manage the conflicting demands that arise from a) their service and advocacy roles and b) their various stakeholders?
- What strategies and tactics do organisations use to take advantage of their relationships in order to facilitate social change?

In order to observe and understand the dual influences of structure and meaning on the field of nonprofit support for asylum seekers, as well as the role played by skilful actors within it, I undertook a mixed methods social network study. The data in this study come from a field-wide questionnaire as well as semi-structured interviews with two case study organisations: the Migrant Information and Services Organisation (MISO), a Dublin-

based national hub, and Northwest Integration (NWI)[3], a local hub located in Connacht. First, using the data from an online questionnaire, I measured three networks within the field – the service and advocacy collaboration networks, as well as the umbrella organisation affiliation network. In combination with descriptive statistics from the same questionnaire, these networks provide a map of the structures that condition relationships in the field. Based on these findings, I chose two case study organisations – a national and a local hub – and performed semi-structured, computer assisted personal network interviews with both nonprofits' staff members. These interviews covered all working relationships, whether related to service or advocacy work or not. They provided a comprehensive view of the institutions that govern participants' relationships, within and beyond their organisations, and within and beyond the field. The result of this study is a multi-level view of the relationships in the field. Network and qualitative data shed light on one another, creating a comprehensive picture of how collaborative relationships in the field enable and constrain the work for social change.

What I found was a field that not only overcame the challenges presented by conflicting social roles and stakeholder interests, but also made the most of them. The different network structures that emerge from service and advocacy collaborations served to protect the diversity necessary to provide the range of supports necessary and to unite the field under the leadership of a handful of well-connected organisations respectively. A small number of nonprofits, funded largely by private organisations, drew the field together across networks through their relatively large number of connections. Interviews revealed that institutionalised practices of referral relationships and umbrella organisation affiliation provided common grounds for engagement in the service and advocacy roles, while simultaneously creating space for and at times demarking the differences between organisations. Participants not only found service and advocacy work to be necessary, they also drew relationships from each role in order to develop relationships for the other.

For their part, MISO and NWI demonstrated how skilful organisations make conscious use of the networks and institutions of the field in order to change the social order for their own and for the field's benefit. In the absence of statutory authority or a secure funding environment, these two organisations manage to develop the field and their own capacity through collaborative relationships. Whether at the national or local level, these two organisations drew on and deepened the networks around themselves in order to

[3] Organisation names are pseudonyms.

access and develop new resources and institutions. Each organisation carved out a role for itself through its network connections and the frame it used to understand and account for its work. MISO pitched its work as an issue-based endeavour to protect and further the rights of asylum seekers. As such, it positioned itself to be a national representative for asylum seekers and a frontline expert on their issues. In contrast, NWI took a needs-based approach to its work, focussing on asylum seekers as community members and limiting its network reach and hands-on knowledge to the local area. In both cases, the organisation became a steward of knowledge for its catchment area. Both organisations developed their role as stewards of knowledge of the network by developing the network around themselves, creating connections among other organisations. These new relationships provided resources and sites for institutional development for MISO and NWI, but also for the rest of the field.

The findings from this study make several contributions to the current empirical, theoretical, and methodological literature. First, they demonstrate that the challenges identified in previous literature on organisational support for asylum seekers in Ireland are not only surmountable, they are a key element of fruitful collaboration and potential social change. Next, on a theoretical level, this study enhances our understanding of how organisations accomplish social change under the constraints imposed by existing social orders. It builds on the growing network-institutional theory of organisations by introducing a theory of action, located in the skilled manipulation of social order by actors within a field. This research provides a multi-level framework for the exploration of the maintenance, emergence, and decay of social order within a field that incorporates both the structure and meaning of relationships. This research also contributes to the developing craft of mixed-methods social network research by offering the theoretical and methodological grounds to observe and theorise social action within the confines of relationship structures. Finally, this study demonstrates the value of embedding personal network case studies interviews within a field-wide network study in order to create a multi-level view of the mechanisms of social change, inclusive of relationships that extend beyond the field in question.

1.3 – Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divisible into two distinct sections. This first section is devoted to laying the groundwork for the research: context, theory, and methodology. The next section is devoted to the presentation and analysis of the findings of this study.

Chapter 2 introduces the context of the field under study. It describes the under-organised state of the refugee system in Ireland, which is governed by an array of laws, statutory instruments, and social policies. In it, I argue that the combination of the direct provision and dispersal systems excludes asylum seekers from society and makes them particularly reliant on nonprofit organisations for information and support. This chapter also locates the field within the history of Ireland's nonprofit sector. I argue that the sector's tensions between service and advocacy work as well as those arising from competing stakeholders are exacerbated by the extreme vulnerability of this field's beneficiaries and the state's outsize role in asylum seekers' lives. Finally, this chapter asks how organisations in the field and the field as a whole use relationships to manage these tensions, through network structures and institutional frameworks.

Chapter 3 builds out the theoretical framework necessary to address the questions raised in Chapter 2. In it, I argue that a network-institutional approach to the relationships paired with a nonprofit conceptualisation of the organisations in the field provides a conceptual basis that is inclusive of the relevant actors and comprehensive in its approach to their relationships. Neo-institutional theory and network theory of organisations combine into a robust theory of relationships, capable of analysing the taken for granted patterns of social interaction and the social structures that simultaneously arise from and undergird them. Furthermore, collaborative relationships are the relationships par excellence of informal governance structures. A multi-level perspective, anchored in micro-interactions and looking out over the meso-level field, provides the most comprehensive view of the relationship between institutions and network structures. Finally, Chapter 3 identifies social skill as a source of change within fields that operates via both institutional frameworks and network structures. This concept brings the theoretical questions back to the practical imperatives of the organisations' work to support asylum seekers in Ireland.

Chapter 4 develops the methodological framework for addressing the questions at the heart of this thesis. I argue that a social phenomenological approach allows an investigation of the meaning of social action that attends to the influences of context and motives on social action. Additionally, the theory of networks provides a structured approach to studying relationships, which, when combined with a phenomenological investigation, reveals the mechanisms through which the content and structure of relationships create and constrain one another. In Chapter 4, I also lay out the nuts and bolts of the study, arguing that a mixed methods embedded case study creates a body of

data that is detailed and layered in such a way as to reveal the nuanced interpolations of network structure and social meaning. Such a study results in a more refined and detailed understanding of the cases under study.

Chapter 5 briefly introduces the cases under investigation in this study. It describes the field as relatively young, professional, and Dublin-centred. It demonstrates that the field nevertheless relies on the support of volunteers, and that asylum seekers are active in over four-fifths of all participating organisations, largely as volunteers. Chapter 5 also introduces the case study organisations. Both organisations are central relative to their catchment areas. MISO is at the heart of the national field. It is a small, but professional and well-structured organisation. NWI sits at the centre of its local area. It is a voluntary organisation, which is also an umbrella organisation with representatives from a range of local nonprofits and statutory agencies. Both of these organisations are deeply enmeshed in a range of relationships, but their differences allowed the development of theory in the following chapters.

Chapter 6 marks the start of the analysis of data, and it addresses the question of how the field and organisations within it manage the range of activities necessary to support asylum seekers. Using the network measures of centrality and community detection, I argue that the field organises itself differently depending on whether it is performing a service or advocacy role. Service relationships create a flatter overall structure, with organisations tending to reach out to more geographically proximate partners. The result is a series of small subgroups. Meanwhile, advocacy relationships tend towards the 'centre', with a few organisations dominating the share of relationships in the field. In this instance, one large subgroup dominates the field, with a few smaller ones surrounding it. Within organisations, different frames are used to capture the meaning of their work. The issue-based, human rights frame emphasises advocacy work, while the needs-based frame emphasises service. However, both frames are capacious enough to accommodate both social roles.

Chapter 7 asks how the field and organisations within it maintain the diversity necessary for the range of supports demanded by asylum seekers' extreme vulnerability while upholding the unity necessary for coordinated social action. Using the theory of social capital to help interpret the core-periphery analysis of the two networks, I argue that the field has a 'semi-cephalous' structure, in which the core's density is weakly distinguishable from the periphery in each role. However, its persistence across roles and

its peculiarities in age and funding structure mean that the core's dominance is stronger than the network maps alone would suggest. Interview data reveal that referral relationships are the bread and butter of the field. Referrals are an interorganisational institutional template that expands the reach and capacity of organisations. This template includes shared understandings of how to relate with other organisations and what organisations' roles are while simultaneously delimiting the boundaries between organisations. The case study organisations capitalise on the diversity and unity of the field by creatively engaging with their partners and using their special role as stewards of knowledge to take advantage of opportunities. In this way they create social capital for themselves and the field.

Chapter 8 identifies affiliations with umbrella organisations as a key interorganisational institutional template for the advocacy role. While membership in umbrella organisations is widespread in the field, the variety of umbrella organisations vying for members suggests that the key issues of the field have yet to be institutionalised. The case study organisations demonstrate central organisations' role of field coordinator, in that they both organise umbrella organisations at the level of their catchment area. This allows them to skilfully set the agenda for interorganisational and inter-field dialogue. Additionally, both organisations participate in umbrella organisations at higher geographical levels, which allows them to re-frame their work when it is advantageous to do so and access professional peer support. This institutionalised form of relating throws particularly harsh light on the role of the recession in de-institutionalising interorganisational coordination. Decreased funding, increased workload, and the disappearances of key colleagues all conspired to degrade the efficacy of those umbrella organisations that survived the shock.

Finally, Chapter 9 addresses the question of how organisations in the field manage the constraints of exogenous institutions, namely from the state and funders. I argue that when faced with unfavourable or challenging institutions, actors double down on relationships. In order to lighten the load of faceless constraints, they deepen relationships with others, layering new meaning onto pre-existing roles. In the case of constraints from the state, actors engage empathically with state actors in order to encourage broader conceptions of institutions such as discretion and role. When the constraints come from funders, actors draw on relationships within the field in order to overcome resource shortages and increase their chances at new funds. This de-institutionalisation and

relational embedding in the face of constraints muddies the lines of accountability in the field in ways that are simultaneously questionable and effective.

Chapter 2 Context: Collaboration amid institutionalised 'underorganisation'

> So sometimes there's stuff going on up [high in the organisations], because all the organisations, at the CEO level, … are in this process where they're trying to get funds. And then you don't, you're here, and you don't really… you're trying to make friends with everyone. … You're kind of trying to work with everyone and then create opportunities for that. And then you don't know if up here, it's like, 'What are they doing that for?' Like, 'That's our piece of work.' Or you know, that kind of thing.
>
> *Information and Referral Officer, MISO*

The quote above came from the end of a particularly long interview with a participant who expends an exceptional amount of time and energy on her working relationships. We had come to the end of her list of relationships (the longest of the lot) and she was trying to draw her personal network together into some sort of cohesive whole. The complexity of the work of coordination in the field comes through in this quote, partially because of what she says but mainly because of how hard she finds it to articulate the problem. Nonprofit organisations as such are just a part of the picture. These organisations are made up of individual actors. They are also a part of a field, which could itself be conceived of as an actor in the wider refugee system. Relationships take place across various levels, encountering complications and stumbling blocks along the way. The field is young and complex. Its context in Ireland, including the statutory frameworks surrounding the asylum process and the history of the nonprofit sector, is most readily characterised by its disordered history. As a result, the terms of relating across the many organisational levels remain appreciably up for grabs.

In her comparative study on refugee systems in the UK, Canada and Denmark, Hardy (1994) uses the term 'underorganised' to capture this absence of clear negotiated order. She argues that it arises due to a lack of agreement on legitimate stakeholders as well as disagreements over values and understandings of issues at hand. In this chapter I argue that the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland is subject to a

domain that suffers from institutionalised underorganisation. This lack of negotiated social order creates the major challenges to and demand for coordination and social change in the field. These challenges are exacerbated by the effects of the recent recession and drop in funding for the field. As a result, the contextual challenges and organisations' efforts to overcome them are particularly evident, revealing the social networks and institutionalised meanings that are under negotiation in these collaborative relationships.

In the next section, I will trace this underorganisation in the history of Ireland's ad hoc approach to international protection. Then, I will argue that the self-contradictory development of Ireland's nonprofit sector also contributes to the difficulties faced by this field. I will also review previous work on this field and argue that it presents a new field of practice, in which the social network structures and institutional meanings that condition coordination remain under development. Finally, I will unpack the three main challenges to coordination in the field, which constitute the sub-research questions of this thesis: the service-advocacy divide, the pull of various stakeholders, and the question of how social change can emerge in a field that is subject to the same social order that it is trying to change.

2.1 - Policies and Context of Asylum Seeking in Ireland

The field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland has taken its current shape in a large part in response to the laws and policies that define the process of seeking asylum in the country. This section will outline the peculiar history of forced migration in Ireland, followed by the development of the relevant legal framework. I will demonstrate that a diverse array of state bodies are involved in the administration and care of asylum seekers, making the access and delivery of support a problematic enterprise. Next, I will argue that the direct provision system, which currently accommodates asylum seekers, creates a high level of social exclusion that in turn creates an outsize role for nonprofits in the refugee system.

2.1.1 Late Beginnings: Ireland's place in the international protection system

The now sizeable asylum-seeking population is a fairly new phenomenon in Ireland, having only really arrived since the late 1990s. The political response has been ad hoc over the two and half decades, resulting in an overly complex system that makes supporting asylum seekers a hefty undertaking. As a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Ireland is obligated to offer protection to refugees – any individual who 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion,

nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of their nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection of that country' (UNHCR, 2007, p. 16). An asylum seeker is a person who has applied for this protection, but has not had their refugee status confirmed by the receiving country. This process of seeking, claiming, and conferring asylum is part of the international protection system.

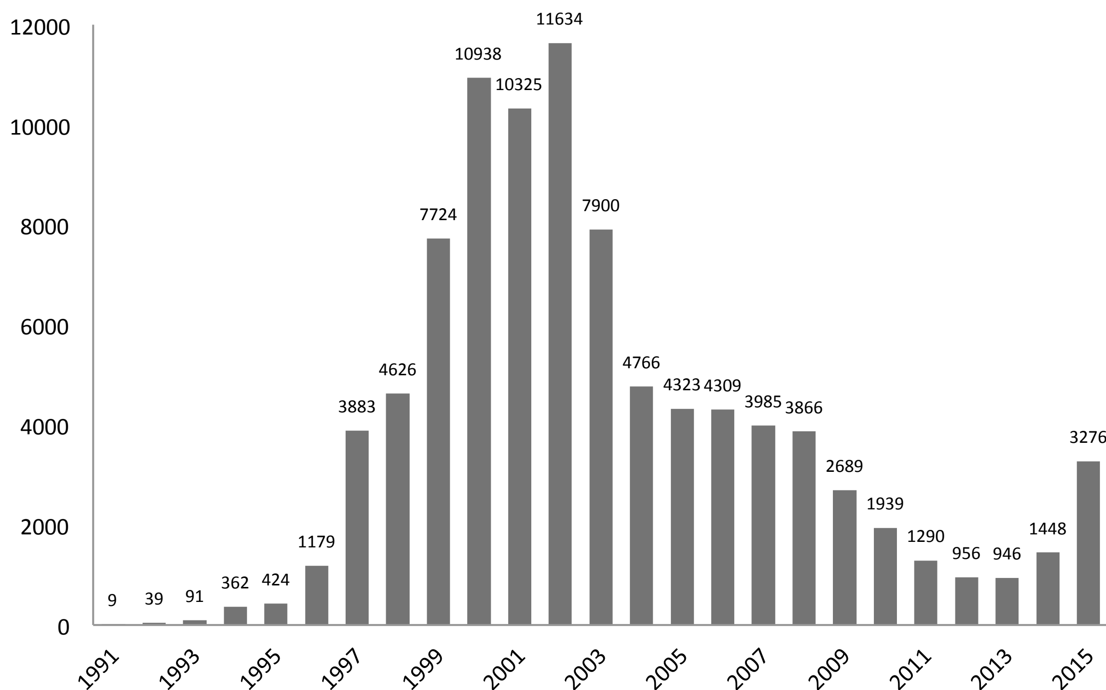
The 1951 Convention was drafted as a reaction to 'the failure of countries to offer safe haven from the holocaust' (Bohmer & Shuman, 2008, p. 16) and to the millions of homeless drifting through Europe after World War II. In the years following the war, when most refugees coming to the West were abdicating the right to return to or fleeing from life in Soviet Russia, they were celebrated a sign of the failures of socialism. Over time, these politically convenient 'good asylum seekers' from the Eastern Bloc were replaced by individuals from the developing world, who had been dispersed by armed conflict and human rights violations. As the numbers of asylum seekers reaching the West rose in the 1980s, so did Western anxiety and insistence on tightening borders (Moorehead, 2005). The celebration of 'good asylum seekers' gave way to wariness of 'bad' ones – supposed opportunists taking advantage of asylum channels to better their lives.

When I began this project in 2011, there had been a drop in asylum seeking numbers in Europe (UNHCR, 2012). Since then, on-going wars in Syria, Afghanistan, Libya, and Somalia, among other places have seen an large increase in numbers of people displaced from their homes and trying to reach European borders. Since 2013, Europe has faced unprecedented numbers of asylum seekers from outside its borders, with large numbers travelling via Turkey over the Aegean into Greece and from Libya over the Mediterranean (UNHCR, 2015). Like the rest of Europe, Ireland experienced a dip in its asylum applications that was reversed in 2014 (RIA, 2016). Global forces, such as climate change and on-going economic instability guarantee that asylum seeking will continue to be a significant social phenomenon in Ireland for the foreseeable future.

Ireland's asylum history is unique in western Europe, in that the Republic did not begin receiving significant numbers of asylum applications until the late 1990s (see Figure 1), when the growing economy, combined with an increase in affordable travel put Ireland on the in-migration map (Loyal, 2011). Prior to that, Ireland's relationship to the asylum world was primarily through programme refugees, whose status was pre-determined by the UNHCR. Initially, many of the small numbers admitted around the middle of the twentieth

century were eventually sent to live in other countries. The first groups that were largely resettled on a permanent basis arrived in the 1990s – from Chile, Vietnam, Bosnia, and Kosovo (O'Mahony, 2003). Since then, asylum seekers have been travelling from around the world, independent of any UNHCR placement programme, and lodging their claims for refugee status in Ireland.

Figure 1: Number of Asylum Applications Received in Ireland by Year (RIA, 2016)



2.1.2 An Underorganised System: The structure of the asylum applications process

The spike in asylum numbers in the late 1990s presented challenges previously unseen by the state. The administrative and legislative frameworks to support the influx of asylum seekers changed rapidly, with immigration controls becoming increasingly restrictive and the percentage of accepted asylum claims dropping sharply (Loyal, 2011; O'Mahony, 2003). The Aliens Act 1935, which had provided legislative basis for handling in-migration, proved inadequate to direct the administration of so many applications, so a range of new laws were enacted in quick succession. At the time of research, the Refugee Act 1996 along with the 1998 Amendments, and the Immigration Acts 2003 and 2004 form the main body of law that determines the asylum application procedure and experience. In addition, a range of Statutory Instruments and administrative circulars influence the execution of the law.

Currently, the Refugee Act, 1996, Amended 1998 dictates that asylum seekers are barred from the labour market until they are granted refugee status. Those asylum seekers

that choose to avail of government support are dispersed throughout the country in the direct provision system, in which their accommodation, board, and all medical and social welfare services are provided by the state and coordinated by the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA). Other statutory agencies responsible for the care and processing of asylum seekers include:

- Health Service Executive (HSE)
- Department of Justice, including:
    - Refugee Legal Service (representation of asylum seekers from the appeal stage onwards)
    - Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (ORAC)
    - Refugee Appeals Tribunal (RAT)
    - Office for the Minister of Integration
    - Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (INIS) (all administrative matters related to immigration, citizenship and visas)
    - Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB) (border control and deportations)
- Department of Social and Family Affairs (allowance and exceptional needs payments)

These different departments and agencies have very different priorities, for instance immigration control versus human rights (C. M. Smyth, 2016). The tension that arises from such differing aims has been found to be a defining measure of the level of underorganisation in refugee systems in the UK, Canada and Denmark (Hardy, 1994). Table 1 below gives an overview of the application process at the time of data collection. The warren of policies and relevant state bodies constitutes a process so complex that it manufactures a demand for nonprofits to help asylum seekers navigate their rights and entitlements. A recent government-convened Working Group on the Protection Process found that, in practice, there are delays at every stage of the process. Additionally, there have been large year-on-year changes in recognition rates and high rates of success on judicial review, leading some to argue that there are significant problems with the decision making process (C. M. Smyth, 2016).

At the Irish and European levels, details of the protection process are often policy created by administration officials rather than legislated by elected representatives. As a result, the asylum process is moved into the hands of national executives, with the courts'

oversight limited to judicial review (Costello, 2003; Quinn, 2009). Similarly, welfare policy for asylum seekers is also determined by administrative fiat, leaving it subject

Table 1: The Asylum Application Process (Irish Refugee Council, 2011)

Stage	Procedure	Processing Times
Initial application with ORAC	Questionnaire and Interview	Median: 6-7 weeks for accelerated cases, 9 weeks for substantive cases
Appeal to RAT	Hearing (substantive) or written appeal (accelerated)	Median: 33 weeks (substantive), 9 weeks (accelerated)
Apply for Leave to Judicial Review	First, applicant must apply for a pre-leave hearing.	Average: 27 months
	Then, applicant must wait for a full hearing	Average: 4 months
Deportation Notice	If the application fails at the judicial review stage, the Minister of Justice and Law Reform serves the applicant a notice of proposal to deport. The applicant can leave before receiving a deportation order, consent for deportation, or apply for subsidiary protection and leave to remain.	
Application for Subsidiary Protection	In the event of a denial, the only avenue for redress is to apply for a Judicial Review with the High Court	Median: 2 years

to change without legislative regulation (Thornton, 2013). The Irish government aimed to rationalise immigration law and streamline the asylum application process with the Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill. Under the Bill, asylum applicants would apply for all grounds to remain in the state in their initial application, thereby considerably shortening the processing time under the current, step-by-step process. The Bill appeared first in 2007, and then again in 2008 and 2010 (Joyce, 2011). A limited version addressing only on the asylum claim process was enacted as the International Protection Act 2015.

The complexity of the laws surrounding international protection and the range of government and state bodies involved in the process creates a demand for a knowledgeable, experienced intermediary to support asylum seekers in their claims and day-to-day needs. In Ireland, nonprofit organisations have stepped in to help navigate the disorder, which is reflected in the social order in which they operate.

2.1.3 Creating A Socially Excluded Population: Direct provision and dispersal

Asylum seekers do not just rely on nonprofits to help navigate bureaucracy. Government policy also serves to render the population socially excluded and vulnerable to such an extent that nonprofits supply a wide range of supports, including services and public advocacy. Based on the direction from a circular from the Department of Social and Family Affairs, asylum seekers are not considered habitually resident in the state (FLAC, 2009). As such, they are not eligible for many social welfare payments. Roughly half of all asylum applicant in Ireland avail of the direct provision system, while the rest get by without either government support or legal employment (Joyce & Quinn, 2014). Those asylum seekers who live in the direct provision centres around the country, receive an allowance of €19.10 a week and an annual clothing supplement of three hundred euro. The conditions of the accommodation depend on their location and management.

This system has been found to create state enforced poverty and extreme material deprivation. Direct provision has been roundly criticised as being unhygienic, cramped, poorly heated and ventilated, and inappropriate for family life. Life in direct provision has been found to induce depression and anxiety, often exacerbating the effects of trauma that occurred before asylum seekers' arrival in Ireland (Arnold, 2012; Fanning & Veale, 2004; K. Smyth & Whyte, 2005). Additionally, the long duration of residence in the system cements psychosocial problems and has been found to discourage independence (Stewart, 2006), resulting in problems with the transition into Irish society for those that receive a favourable outcome for their applications (Conlan, Waters, & Berg, 2012; Moreo & Lentin, 2010; Ní Raghallaigh & Foreman, 2015; UNHCR Ireland, 2014).

The end result of these arrangements is that asylum seekers face enormous, state-created barriers to integration, leaving them 'outside of Irish society, whilst living within Irish communities' (Fanning, 2011, p. 133). The lesser rights and entitlements afforded asylum seekers guarantees their social exclusion (O'Mahony, 2003), rendering them particularly vulnerable and reliant on the good will of local nonprofit organisations to mitigate these effects (Fanning, 2011). Direct provision began as a temporary measure in the midst of a housing crisis, intended to house asylum seekers for only six months until their claims were heard. Instead, it has stretched into a long-term, long-stay solution, described as a deterrent to potential asylum applicants (FLAC, 2009). It has been argued that negative framing of asylum seekers by the state and media has created a negative feedback loop that cements political imperatives to keep asylum seekers separated from Irish society (Loyal, 2011).

In sum, Ireland's asylum seekers are subject to a lengthy and complicated application process, dispersed throughout the country in precarious conditions, and denied the right to work. 'The net effect of these measures... has been to effectively guarantee the social exclusion of asylum seekers in Ireland' (O'Mahony, 2003, p. 135). Nonprofit organisations help parse a complicated and changing legislative landscape and provide a wide range of services and advocacy on asylum seekers' behalf. In order to more precisely locate this field, the next section will consider the history of the entire Irish nonprofit sector, highlighting those moments that shape the work of the field.

2.2 - Policies and Context of Nonprofits in Ireland

Established in 1992, the Irish Refugee Council was the first nonprofit in the country to focus specifically on non-citizens (Cullen, 2009). However, at that time there was already a rich bed of nonprofit activity in the country for the new organisation to slot into. The existing third sector was already enmeshed in the social and political structures (Salamon & Anheier, 1998) that would come to shape the field of asylum seeker support. Since the establishment of the Republic, the relationships between the sector and the state have been shaped by Church teachings, changing understandings of poverty and exclusion, and the professionalisation of nonprofit organisations. As a result, the state takes a hands-off approach to social service delivery, in which it expects the nonprofit sector to provide expert service but does not provide adequate means to address the root causes of social need. This section will introduce Irish nonprofit history and highlight the major factors that continue to influence the relationships in the field of nonprofit asylum seeker support. I will argue that the imperatives to provide services to and act as an advocate for beneficiaries create a relationship with the state that is paradoxical at best and that the relationship between nonprofits and their various stakeholders remains contested.

2.2.1 Divvying the Work Between Church and State: Charity and subsidiarity

The first principles to shape nonprofit work in Ireland, charity and subsidiarity, take their roots in the early work of the Catholic Church in the Republic. After Independence in 1922, religious organisations were the most common and influential civil society organisations in the Republic of Ireland. While the state concerned itself with the business of nation- and economy-building, the Church took over the provision of education, health service, and welfare. In the form of traditional voluntary organisations (or the 'Catholic philanthropy model'), which had been around since the early 1800s, Church-

affiliated nonprofits headed up the alleviation of need around the country following the Catholic principle of charity-based service (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999).

The Catholic principle of subsidiarity governed the relationship between the state, its inhabitants, and nonprofits for decades to come. This principle calls for social needs to be taken care of first by the family, then by the local community. The state was only to step in when those first two layers of protection failed (Donoghue, 1998). As a result, Ireland developed minimal state welfare support and the state 'was reluctant to invest in the voluntary sector as an instrument of policy or to recognise the sector as a distinct part of Irish life' (Acheson, Harvey, & Williamson, 2005, p. 197). While the Church has since come to take a more critical view of the state's role in social welfare, and the format of the nonprofit sector has changed, there are important hang-ups from this era. Firstly, the state still relies heavily on the nonprofit sector for the provision of key services. Secondly, its approach to supporting the sector remains short-sighted and ad hoc (Acheson et al., 2005).

2.2.2 Nonprofit Independence: The rediscovery of poverty and the rise of advocacy

The next major moment for nonprofits in Ireland came when the economy picked up in the 1960s and the sector changed its understanding of poverty. The landscapes of both need and nonprofits changed drastically. Community development organisations took root, bringing a self-help approach that included direct action and the start of social advocacy.

As Western economies moved from agriculture to manufacturing and service, they grew, and so too did inequality. At this time, there was a so-called rediscovery of poverty in the midst of affluence in US (Harrington, 1962) and UK (Abel-Smith & Townsend, 1965) with poverty redefined in relative terms. The concept of relative poverty would find purchase in Irish discourse starting in 1969, and shortly thereafter the 1971 Kilkenny Conference on Social Welfare was the first large-scale national forum in which burgeoning social disparity would be discussed (F. Powell & Geoghegan, 2004). At this time, the influence of the Catholic Church also began to wane, making room for other actors to address social exclusion (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999).

With EU support, Ireland developed the National Pilot Schemes to Combat Poverty (known more commonly as Combat Poverty). Combat Poverty's declared aims moved beyond the traditional charitable alleviation of need to address the systemic causes of poverty through increasing participation of the poor, supporting the development of

relevant policies, and increasing public understanding and awareness of the issue (Combat Poverty Agency, 1981). The community development model espoused by Combat Poverty changed the landscape of the alleviation of need.

Like the Combat Poverty Agency, the first community development organisations took a structural view of poverty, which led them to seek out opportunities for consultation and participation (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999). In these organisations, beneficiaries were the decision makers, and management were responsible only to make sure the organisation met its aims. Their global view of the issues, in combination with their focus on local needs, at times led to an oppositional stance towards the state. This critical perspective is now a taken-for-granted modus operandi for many nonprofits in the country, and the next sub-section will show how it continues to make for a complicated relationship between the two sectors. The developing relationship between organisation and beneficiary continue to be of importance in Section 2.3 below.

2.2.3 Professionalising Nonprofits I: The social partnership model

If the 60s and 70s were a growth spurt for nonprofits in Ireland, the 80s and 90s forced them to reach a sort of maturity, as their relationship with the state became more formal and their exposure to market forces more pronounced. At this time, the Irish government increasingly recognised the expertise and professionalism of the voluntary sector in the delivery of social services with a sort of informal partnership arrangement, which was formalised in 1996, when the voluntary sector was formally invited to take part in National Partnership agreement talks (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999). Beginning in 1986, the Social Partnership model was developed to include the interests of business, agriculture, and unions in the development of policy. This innovation has led authors to refer to Ireland's governance structures as neo-corporatist, highlighting the joined fortunes of the state and nonprofit sectors (Donoghue, 2010). Through national agreements, the model aimed to 'modernise public service provisions, de-centralise and de-bureaucratise management authority and accountability to local communities' (Somers & Bradford, 2006: 69). These nation-level links have been matched by policies of partnership among government, business, and nonprofits at the local level.

While the inclusion of the voluntary sector in the Social Partnership arrangements was meant to provide an avenue for the advocacy work of civil society, its success in this regard and its effect on the voluntary sector have both been criticised. It has been argued that while the government gains legitimacy from the input and service delivery by

nonprofits (Zimmer, 2010), the consultation is not genuine, leading one critic to refer to the process as Social Partnership Lite (Boucher, 2008). In addition, the aims of partnership itself have been contested, with the meaning of 'social inclusion' at the crux of disagreements (Somers & Bradford, 2006).

It has also been argued that participation in the partnership process has led the nonprofit sector to become more distant from its beneficiaries, overly professional and bureaucratised, and ultimately de-radicalised by threats of cuts to funding or further consultation (Cullen, 2009; Daly, 2007; Somers & Bradford, 2006). While the 1990s brought the unprecedented growth that the Partnership model aimed for, the expected 'trickle-down effect' did not materialise as social disparity continued to grow (F. Powell & Geoghegan, 2004).

Despite the unequal distribution of power between the state and nonprofits in Partnership discussions, they provided an important opportunity for nonprofits to advance alternative views of society and maintain relationships with the state (Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013). Partnership discussions officially collapsed in 2009, but not before they institutionalised nonprofits' roles as social advocates. The effects of the partnership process continue to be seen in the structure and working of nonprofits, but the relationships the sector needs to cultivate in order to effect social change are shifting (Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013).

2.2.4 Professionalising Nonprofits II: The contract model and the recession

In parallel to the development of partnership structures, the Irish government instituted a so-called 'services paradigm' in its relationship with nonprofit organisations (Harvey, 2009). The rise of the Celtic Tiger and its concomitant marketisation of Irish society 'changed the practical working relationship between the state and civil society organisations with more use of service delivery contracts, competitive tendering and bureaucratic managerial controls' (Murphy, 2011, p. 181). This new way of working with nonprofits ran counter to the aims of advocacy work, and the contradictions became increasingly apparent after the onset of the recession.

The structure of organisations within the nonprofit sector changed to meet the new socio-political landscape presented by economic expansion and partnership working. In their history of Ireland's nonprofit sector, Donnelly-Cox and Jaffro (1999) argue that by the 1980s traditional voluntary organisations developed into professionalised, specialised

organisations with the expertise and the wherewithal to deliver social services at a level that the state could not. Like community development organisations, these professional service providers lobbied to change the policies that impact the needs they work to alleviate. They also often include representatives of their beneficiaries in their decision-making processes. No longer a one-way source of charity, voluntary organisations since the 1980s work with, rather than simply for, beneficiaries.

The increasing tendency of the state to engage nonprofits via contracts has raised the prospect of cuts to funding in response to critical advocacy work. The state has been seen to limit advocacy through a 'service-only' funding paradigm and through Service Level Agreements, which specifically prohibit the use of the funding for policy-related advocacy. Additionally, nonprofits report a strict but inconsistent application of the Charity Act 2009, resulting in the withholding of charitable status for organisations engaged in campaigning activity (Harvey, 2014).

The new contract-based relationship also came with explicit encouragement to engage in collaborative working with other agencies and organisations (Somers & Bradford, 2006). A second generation of community development organisations also began to appear in the late 80s and 90s as a result of the shifting socio-political landscape (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999). These organisations co-existed with their predecessors. Like the first generation, the second generation involves local people, but they also work in partnership with statutory and business organisations. In these organisations management chooses both means and the ends of organisational work. If Social Partnership deepened the relationship between the nonprofit and state sectors at the national level, these local partnerships did the same at the local level.

Since the economic crash of 2008, the government has been reining in its spending on the nonprofit sector, and these cuts laid bare some of the contradictions inherent in the contractual model. The government significantly reduced the state structures that support this field in particular, dismantling the Combat Poverty Agency and the National Consultative Committee on Racism in Ireland. The Equality Authority was first downsized and then merged with the Irish Human Rights Commission (Share, Corcoran, & Conway, 2012). The government also cut funding, especially for community development in disadvantaged areas. As a result, at the time of research, much of the funding for the field support came from the European Refugee Fund (administered by Pobal), Atlantic Philanthropies, and the One Foundation (Prospectus, 2008). Similarly to the Irish

government, these groups issues grants in three-year contracts on a competitive basis. Consequently, organisations are simultaneously pitted against one another and encouraged to collaborate in partnerships that are often unequal (R. Lentin, 2012; Tomlinson, 2005). The conflicting results of this particular arrangement for the field under study are discussed in more detail below.

This section has demonstrated the influence of key socio-political transformations on the structure of nonprofit organisations and on their relationships with key stakeholders. The Catholic principles of charity and subsidiarity, the development of a structural approach to poverty, and the development of partnership and contract structures have encouraged a paradoxical relationship between service and advocacy in the nonprofit sector. The relationships that have emerged over the last century – among nonprofits, the state, private funders, and beneficiaries – create and at times conflict with understandings about what constitutes valid work for the field. The next section will take a closer look at how these tensions play out specifically in the field that supports asylum seekers.

2.3 - Introduction to the Nonprofits that Support Asylum Seekers in Ireland

When I began this research, the size and definition of the field under study was unclear. In their map of the nonprofit sector, Donoghue et al. (2006) found that 567 nonprofit organisations list refugees and asylum seekers as their beneficiaries. However, these populations may not be the *main* beneficiaries. A 2008 overview of the new communities sector identified 37 local and regional organisations focussed on refugee and asylum issues and 11 nationwide organisations (Prospectus 2008). While many of these organisations are well established, often pre-dating the uptick in asylum seeker numbers of the last fifteen years, many are small, homegrown groups with a short lifespan. Meanwhile, other researchers have found a rich layer of informal networks that provide a support system to new migrant communities (R. Lentin, 2012), and research in the UK found that refugees and asylum seekers deliberately avoid formalising their organisations (Zetter, Griffiths, & Sigona, 2005). Overlapping bodies of literature on migrant support organisations, migrant-led organisations, and organisations that support asylum seekers and refugees provide ample grounds for a discussion on the main issues that apply to the nonprofit organisations that support asylum seekers specifically. This section will draw out the salient elements from these literatures. It will argue that this field is new and complex, making the efforts to define it and the importance of relationships within it particularly ripe for observation and analysis.

2.3.1 A New Field

In response to the rising numbers of asylum seekers, support groups grew up throughout the country, often emerging from local partnership organisations, churches, or out of community and voluntary organisations. 'Initially, these humanitarian efforts consisted of befriending and welcoming new arrivals. Over time, however, support groups found themselves in the unenviable position of attempting to fill the gaps in state-provided services' (O'Mahony, 2003, p. 144). This is not the first time non-statutory agencies found themselves taking over the state's international protection responsibilities. In response to the arrival of Hungarian refugees in 1956, the government relied on the Irish Red Cross and the National Catholic Welfare Conference for meeting the refugees' needs and for their eventual relocation (Ward, 1996). However, this time around, many more groups and organisations stepped in, in what one study called a 'mass mobilisation of the Community and Voluntary Sector' (Feldman, Ndakengerwa, Nolan, & Frese, 2005, p. 14).

In her cross-national comparative study, Hardy (1994) refers to the systems involved in refugee status determination and support as 'metaproblems', which are beyond the scope of a single organisation to solve, and the case in Ireland is no different. As shown above, the legal and administrative framework surrounding everything from the status determination process to the allocation of social welfare payments is founded on a convoluted set of bills, statutory instruments, and administrative memos. It can be unclear what asylum seekers' rights are and to which bodies or organisations they can and should apply for various supports. For these reasons, successful service coordination been found to be instrumental to the successful integration of asylum seekers and refugees (Stewart, 2006). A previous study on the governmental Community Welfare Sector found that that the high level of reliance on the nonprofit sector points to limitations in terms of service integration by the government at the local level, with community welfare officers themselves unclear on the respective roles of statutory and nonprofit bodies (Faughnan, Humphries, & Whelan, 2002). With such a range of needs and stakeholders as well as a lack of clarity on responsibilities, the challenges of coordination and social change are great. This provides a novel opportunity to observe the deployment and creation of relationships and institutions that undergird these processes.

This new field also faces novel difficulties. A number of barriers have been found to inhibit nonprofits' ability to successfully support asylum seekers in Ireland. Organisations that work with new minority communities have cited a dearth of resources, challenging public attitudes, and government policies as three of the most common

difficulties they face (Faughnan & O'Donovan, 2002). Dispersal, language and cultural differences, fear and distrust on the part of asylum seekers, the cost of travel, and lack of affordable and available childcare have all been identified as issues that prevent asylum seekers from taking advantage of nonprofit and statutory support (MacFarlane et al., 2009; Ní Raghallaigh, 2013; Pieper, Clerkin, & Macfarlane, 2011; RCNI, 2014). Those nonprofits that are led by migrant communities face added difficulties including the vulnerability of their members, a lack of familiarity with the norms and practices of the sector, and societal factors such as racism and xenophobia (Feldman et al., 2005). Together, these organisations face difficulties peculiar to the asylum seeking population, including differences in language and culture as well as the specific needs of individuals with a history of persecution.

A New Zealand-based study argued that social work with migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers brings so many new challenges that it constitutes a 'new field of practice' (Nash, Wong, & Trlin, 2006). The authors contend that this new field requires particular development at all three levels: macro (human rights, social justice, and advocacy work), meso (community development), and micro (problem-solving with individuals and families). The influx of asylum seekers in Ireland presents a new field of practice that extends beyond social work to the wider field of nonprofit organisations. Just as the work of the field requires development at multiple levels, so do relationships and institutions that enable that work. For this reason, understanding the connections between the work, institutions, and relationships requires a multi-level study, paying attention to individuals, organisations, and the field, while bearing macro social forces in mind.

In sum, the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers represent a relatively new and distinctive field in Ireland's nonprofit sector. They work in a complex environment, which has emerged as a result of the elaborate policy frameworks regarding asylum seekers. This complexity, in combination with the relative youth of the field, means that understandings about the work and the roles pertaining to it are in flux. As a result, taken-for-granted definitions and practices are laid bare and up for grabs. Finally, the fact that the scope of the problem extends beyond a single organisation raises questions about the relationships that support coordination. The next sub-section will outline the findings of previous studies that coordination and collaboration are a crucial but difficult element of achieving the aims of the field.

2.3.2 Complex Problems and Collaboration

In order to manage refugee systems' status as a 'metaproblem', the agencies and organisations involved in their operation must relate to each other in a meaningful way. There are many ways that organisations relate to one another; a study on the UK refugee system identified four that are relevant: cooperation, compliance, contention, and contestation (Hardy & Phillips, 1998). Forms of coordination and cooperation are not necessarily better than forms of conflict for the advancement of social change. The literature on this field has shown that collaboration is important for both service provision and advocacy, but it is also difficult to achieve. This study will focus on those difficulties and how the field manages them via institutional frameworks and network structure.

The need to collaborate on service provision arises from the complicated set of laws and policies surrounding international protection and the sheer vulnerability they engender in asylum seekers. The dispersal of support across an array of organisations and bodies puts information at the core of the need for coordination. A recent study on refugee integration found that access to information on available services was crucial to the integration process (UNHCR Ireland, 2014). Another study on the experiences of female asylum seekers in the direct provision system found that they lacked information on available services and entitlement as well as their rights (AkiDwa, 2010). It has also been found that incorrect and inappropriate information from state bodies has led migrants to rely on nonprofits to mediate on their behalf (Cullen, 2009).

The need for adequate communication extends beyond the relationship between asylum seekers and organisations. The organisations themselves need reliable access to information and knowledge of the field. In their overview of the organisations working with new minority communities, Faughnan and O'Donovan (2002) found that information, especially about rights, policy, and the legal system, was vital to successful work in the field. These organisations drew on their relationships with other nonprofits in order to keep up to date with issues relevant to new minority beneficiaries. Good relationships are key to success for migrant-led organisations to be able to learn and develop and to share the culture of their community with mainstream organisations (Feldman et al., 2005). Just as asylum seekers have been found to rely on nonprofits in the absence of state support, studies have found that state bodies fail to communicate adequately with nonprofits and other frontline service providers. As a result, these organisations rely on existing, often local, and unofficial relationships to achieve their goals. Previous research points to the need to understand interorganisational relationships at the local and national level in order

to grasp the mechanisms that support coordination of service work (Faughnan et al., 2002; MacFarlane et al., 2009; Pieper et al., 2011).

Coordination is also often an major element of advocacy work, and collaborative relationships lend participating organisations 'legitimacy and power by speaking with one voice' (Yanacopulos, 2005, p. 95). Additionally, collaborative working helps participating organisations to identify inconsistencies that exist among state bodies which they can then use to support their campaigns (Gill, Conlon, Tyler, & Oeppen, 2014). Different organisations take different positions in relation to the state. Some choose to work closely with it, lobbying on its terms, while others remain outside policy discussions and rely on campaign techniques. These different stances can create complications at the interorganisational level while simultaneously pushing the refugee system towards change (Gill et al., 2014; Hardy, 1994; Landy, 2015). As a result, understanding the processes of advocacy work demands a local and a field-level view of the network structures and meanings that underpin advocacy efforts.

The studies mentioned above all point to the salience of interorganisational communication and coordination, whether for service or advocacy work. Field-wide coordination requires the establishment of an interorganisational network as well as an institutional framework upon which the nonprofits can draw in their interactions. In order to overcome the challenges of competing interests and varying operational frameworks, organisations must find ways to work together, fostering trust across organisational lines and encouraging communication between individual actors (Holohan, 2005). The next section will outline the major complications to these connections that have been found in the literature and introduce the questions that guide this research.

2.4 - The Challenges of this Field: Social roles, stakeholders, and change

The challenge of bridging organisational differences in order to collaborate, even in a country as small as Ireland, is no mean feat. The variety of agencies involved in serving Ireland's asylum seekers is significant. In addition to the statutory/non-statutory divide, different variables include: size, formality, philosophy, funding sources, as well as leadership, target population, and member demographics. In addition, Ireland's dispersal policy means that different areas of the country may be more or less well served, and different organisations prioritise different aims and services, bringing the priorities of their respective professions into the mix. If these organisations do not operate with shares aims

in mind, they are unlikely to be motivated to activate relationships with each other, and valuable knowledge about available services and tools could be unnecessarily withheld.

To succeed in this study's aim to understand process of interorganisational collaboration, it is necessary to look at the social network structures and institutional frameworks that shape their interactions. Previous studies have highlighted two major points of tension for nonprofits in the field: the service/advocacy divide and the pull of various stakeholders. These challenges are crucial to understanding the institutions and structures that facilitate collaboration and coordination in the field. A third challenge for the field is how social change can emerge in an already-structured environment. This section will draw out the details of each of these sub-questions.

2.4.1 The First Challenge: Balancing service and advocacy

The tension between delivering service and advocacy support to asylum seekers plays out in this field, as in the wider sector, in the paradoxical relations with the state set up by the contract model and the partnership process. The difficulties of this particular balance are nothing new to Irish nonprofits. However, the intensity of the state's presence and notable absences in asylum seekers' lives means that this relationship is particularly important for the nonprofits that work with them. Many organisations that support asylum seekers aim to provide service and advocacy simultaneously, which raises questions about how these conflicting social roles are managed within and between organisations.

As in the rest of the sector, this field seeks to influence government policy, whether through protest tactics or insider discussions. This field is particularly disadvantaged in official advocacy avenues, and the question of participation in state-led discussions has created discord among organisations. At the level of national Partnership talks, pro-migrant groups had only indirect membership through the Community Platform, arguably because migration was too contentious an issue for the government to deal with head on (Cullen, 2009) or because migrant issues were only discussed insofar as they pertained to migrant labour (Allen, 2007). In any case, the drive to participate in policy discussions has been criticised repeatedly as a neutralising force in the field, as argued above, with pro-migrant groups described as weak in comparison to the state (Landy, 2015). These concerns have played out more recently in the Working Group on International Protection. Some organisations in the field protested against nonprofit participation in the group on the grounds that it did not consider the abolition of direct provision and that the makeup of the group included limited direct representation of asylum seekers (C. M. Smyth, 2016).

Even as it tries to change state policy, the field also relies heavily on state funding. This funding is structured in such a way as to make it difficult to simultaneously provide services to asylum seekers and address the structural problems that create their social exclusion. In addition to the state's use of contract allocation to stifle dissent (Harvey, 2009), single-issue, once-off funding schemes have been found to encourage migrant-led organisations to take on a jumble of activities (Feldman et al., 2005). The resulting precarity of organisations means that those organisations that support them are left fire fighting for their own survival. They are limited by capacity to the 'defensive' tasks of supporting the basic rights and needs of their beneficiaries. These limitations have been found in the UK to prohibit similar organisations from taking on more holistic, integration-centred activities (Zetter et al., 2005). Additionally, funding competitions have been found to encourage competition between organisations on the one hand and unequal partnerships on the other, with migrant-led organisations at a distinct disadvantage in both cases (Feldman et al., 2005; R. Lentin, 2012).

These complications in the field's relationship with the state raise serious questions about the compatibility of service and advocacy work within the field as a whole and within single organisations. Yet the extent of asylum seekers' vulnerability in Ireland demands the performance of both roles. How, then, does the field accomplish the simultaneous performance of these two seemingly contradictory social roles?

2.4.2 The Second Challenge: Maintaining autonomy while creating unity

The second tension in the field arises between the need to maintain autonomy and to work collaboratively. This tension is exacerbated by the unique demands of various stakeholders. This challenge exists for any nonprofit, but it is worth considering in this field in particular, because it is new and complex. As a result, the understandings, practices, and rules that support collaboration are laid bare by their on-going negotiation. Nonprofit organisations are answerable to beneficiaries, local communities, fellow nonprofits, donors (including the state), board members, employees, and volunteers (Frumkin, 2002). Another study of refugee community organisations across the UK found that their role as intermediary between asylum seekers and society is particularly salient to mediate between the 'otherness' of refugees (e.g. through strengthening refugee communities) and the resistance of groups and institutions within the so-called 'mainstream' (Tomlinson & Egan, 2002, p. 1041). Based on the vulnerability of asylum seekers and their documented reliance on organisational support in Ireland, the same is true here.

In addition to the already discussed needs for collaborative working, funders, whether the state or independent philanthropic bodies, encourage collaboration in order to facilitate information sharing, sustainability, and coordination in the field (Feldman et al., 2005; Prospectus, 2008). In situations where a nonprofit works closely with another organisation or state agency with an unequal distribution of power, there is a strong risk that the relationship will be one of compliance rather than collaboration (Hardy & Phillips, 1998). The transfer of norms and practices might be predominantly one-way, thereby diminishing the weaker organisation's ability to properly represent its beneficiaries' interests. Previous studies on migrant support organisations in Ireland have found that the need to exhibit 'professionalism' can be particularly problematic, whether to the government and social partners, to other organisations, or to funding bodies. This balance of professionalism and representation has been a major issue in collaborative working between migrant-led organisations and majority-led organisations. Perceived disparities in professionalism have led funders to encourage a patronage relationships between the two kinds of organisations or outright co-optation of the migrant-led organisations by majority-led organisations (Cullen, 2009; R. Lentin, 2012; Tomlinson, 2005).

Different organisations work with different target populations, have different aims, or are made up of members from different professions. Each of these differences brings its own set of priorities and taken-for-granted understandings. Collaboration among divergent organisations enables the sharing of knowledge and resources as well as creating opportunities for the generation of understanding, which can transform views, practices, and institutions (Feldman et al., 2005; Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Yanacopulos, 2005). These benefits arise from the continuing diversity of the field. Thus, an important question is how organisations engage in collaboration, whether for service or advocacy work, while preserving their unique contributions to the work of supporting asylum seekers.

Previous work on the field has focussed primarily on migrant-led organisations. Feldman et al. (2005) found only a few relationships among migrant-led organisations. A later study reported largely positive relationships among migrant-led organisations and between migrant-led and mainstream organisations. However, that study gave no indication of the extent of relationships, and other sections of the report exhibited fundamental statistical errors (Ejorh, 2012). This thesis aims to go beyond the focus on migrant-led organisations and delve into some of the seeming contradictions of diverse organisations collaborating while working for social change. How does the local social

order of the field enable organisations within it to overcome differences in aims, ideology, and professionalisation to coordinate support and enable social change?

2.4.3 The Third Challenge: Finding space for social change

Based on the foregoing discussion, it is clear that a wide range of nonprofit organisations across the Republic work to support asylum seekers. Furthermore, these organisations rely on relationships with each other and with members of outside fields in order to fulfil their aims. However, these relationships are subject to constraints and paradoxes that are intrinsic to the diverse activities of the organisations. In addition, relationships with agencies and organisations from other fields, particularly the state and funders, situate actors in a challenging context of institutionalised underorganisation. How do the organisations in this field manage to effect change to the very social order that conditions their work?

In order to address this question, previous work on organisations that support asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants has depicted them in a variety of ways: a social movement (Landy, 2015), a form of resistance (Gill et al., 2014; R. Lentin & Moreo, 2012), a section of civil society (Feldman et al., 2005; Zetter et al., 2005), a network (De Tona & Lentin, 2011; De Tona & Moreo, 2012), and a domain (Hardy, 1994; Hardy & Phillips, 1998). While each of these conceptualisations highlights salient aspects of the organisations, for the purposes of this study, I will consider them as nonprofit organisations within an institutional field connected by networks of collaborative relationships. As next chapter will argue, this conceptualisation captures the wide range of aims and organisational structures in the field, while still creating a meaningful boundary from other parts of the refugee system. Additionally, it underscores the fact that these organisations must work with what is already there – an underorganised refugee system and an inherently contradictory model for nonprofit organisations.

Confronting similar questions, Hardy argued that, ‘Disorganization may, then, create a space in which less powerful stakeholders can influence events in a way not possible in domains where rules, processes, and structures are more clearly defined’ (1994, p. 292). This field of nonprofits lacks both statutory authority and economic leverage, yet it continues to work for social change, whether in the outcomes for individual asylum seekers or for the population as a whole. Within the field, differences in influence and resources create an uneven distribution of power between organisations. Nevertheless, these nonprofits persist in their efforts at coordinated support. In this thesis, I aim to

unpack the mechanisms by which these organisations use collaborative relationships to take advantage of the underorganised social order around them in order to effect change within and beyond those relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the major contextual factors facing the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland, demonstrating the institutionalised underorganisation it faces. I have shown that the state's ad hoc approach to international protection has created a need for nonprofit support, whether through service provision or public advocacy. I also argued that the paradoxes identified in the literature on the field – between service and advocacy roles and in the complex combination of stakeholder interests – are already evident in the history of Irish nonprofits prior to asylum seekers' recent emergence as a sizeable beneficiary population. However, this population's acute vulnerability and its particular relationship to the state exacerbates these contradictions to such an extent as to mark this field out as a new field of practice. The youth and complexity of the field simultaneously challenge and create its ability to coordinate and effect social change. I have broken these challenges down into three main strands: the service/advocacy divide, the need for both unity and diversity, and the difficulty of changing the very social order that conditions the field's work. In the next chapter, I will outline the network-institutional theoretical framework, which privileges the relationships at the crux of these questions and provides a lens through which to understand the social order that conditions the possibilities for social change.

Chapter 3 Collaboration for Social Change: Developing a network-institutional framework

The nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland continually strive for social change. Whether they lodge an appeal for an individual beneficiary or advocate for the entire population of asylum seekers, these organisations engage in social action in order to disrupt an existing social order. At times, they work within existing institutional frameworks, such as appeal systems, and at times, they attempt to change these very frameworks, for instance, when campaigning for the end of direct provision. Whatever scale the change an actor in this field seeks, they work toward it by engaging with other actors in the refugee system – whether other nonprofits, state agencies, or asylum seekers. But how does social change emerge from individual encounters? Particularly given that social exchanges are governed by pre-existing network and institutional structures? And what chance do we have of observing a process so complex and prone to fits and starts?

In order to understand social change, we must first consider the social order that constitutes and is constituted by relationships. Social networks and institutional frameworks constitute this social order. If social networks are the roads of a social world, then institutional frameworks are the rules and conventions that make driving them possible. This duality of structure and meaning in relationships is what facilitates and constrains social action. Understanding the dual influences of networks and institutions on social action allows a robust approach to social action that addresses questions about the distribution of power and influence in a field as well as the constraints that arise in organisational relationships. What an organisation can do depends on whom it entertains relationships with and what the terms of those relationships are. Successful collaborative relationships can aggregate across the field into successful coordination, which I identified in the previous chapter a one of the key ingredients to accomplishing the support of asylum seekers across the country.

Neither structure nor meaning is static. Individual relationships and the institutions that govern them develop, take root, and atrophy. In particular, collaborative relationships, developed over time, allow the exchange of information and values necessary to effect

social change. Additionally, factors from within and without the relationships can change their trajectory. For instance, a new CEO can change an organisation's priorities, which can result in knock-on effects on relationships down the chain of command. Or a recession can remove actors from the field altogether. The complex array of influences on the relationships in a field creates opportunities for its actors to influence the on-going development of structure and meaning. The choices actors make bring network structure and institutional frameworks to life. Organisations that make canny use of social networks and institutional frameworks, taking advantage of times of upset through socially skilled action, can effect social change. The youth, complexity, and current crises in the field under study mean that these processes are active and evident, given the right conceptual tools to observe them.

Investigating collaborative relationships through a network-institutional lens with particular attention to the social skill of actors contributes to the theory of organisations in three main ways. Firstly, this study addresses a dearth identified by Provan et al. (2007) in whole network studies. Specifically, it provides a whole network study that encapsulates the complex interplay between micro-interactions, meso-level structures, and macro-level change. This multi-level study provides a framework for understanding the institutional antecedents for network structure and the structural conditions for social institutions. Next, the focus on skilled action brings a dynamic element to the interplay between institutions and networks, as called for by Owen-Smith and Powell (2008). In doing so, it also addresses one of the main conundrums of collaboration among nonprofits – by what mechanisms do these organisations change their social order using the raw materials of that self-same order? Finally, this study develops the theory of social skill (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) by making actors' engagement with social network structure explicit.

In this chapter, I will develop the theoretical framework used in this thesis in order to observe and understand the emergence of social change from collaborative relationships in the field under study. First, I will argue that the key actors in the field are best conceptualised as nonprofit organisations. Next, I will argue that social network theory and the neo-institutional theory of organisations present the best lenses through which to observe relationships in the field. Then, I will present the state-of-the-art of a network-institutional theory and argue that collaborative relationships are the exchange par excellence of a network-institutional theory of social change. Finally, I will argue that the theory of social skill provides a theory of action that brings both network structures and

institutional frameworks to life and captures the emergence of social change from individual relationships.

3.1 – The Nonprofit Organisation as the Principle Actor in the Field

The decision of how to conceptualise the support for asylum seekers in Ireland sets a boundary around the research population, necessarily omitting some relevant actors while drawing the focus squarely on others. For instance, choosing nonprofit organisations as the actors in this study leaves statutory agencies and influential individuals out of the spotlight. Even the term 'nonprofit' has alternatives that bring different characteristics and different groups to the fore. There is much overlap in the literature about nonprofits, the third sector, civil society, and the community and voluntary sector. This section will outline the key differences among these terms. I will argue that the nonprofit sector is the best category for the population under study, because it is broad enough to include the range of organisational activities involved in supporting asylum seekers, but limited enough to illuminate a shared institutional landscape. It allows an investigation of the tensions highlighted in the previous chapter that might arise between organisations based on their relationship to the state and to various stakeholders.

3.1.1 'Nonprofit': Encompassing service and advocacy work in one category

The first question to address is why this study focuses on organisations. After all, previous work has highlighted the roles of individuals and informal networks in supporting migrant communities (De Tona & Lentin, 2011; Griffiths, Sigona, & Zetter, 2006; R. Lentin, 2012; Zetter et al., 2005). While these actors carry out important work, they inherently avoid much of the institutionalisation that organisations face. As a result, they do not have to confront and manage the taken-for-granted rules and roles of the field in the same systematic way. Additionally, by working 'under the radar', they can be more selective about their relationships, potentially avoiding other organisations and outside actors, such as private funders or state bodies. As such, they also avoid the contradictory influences that create the dilemmas this study aims to unpack.

The question of the definition of the organisations this project focuses on is a difficult one, because there is a lack of consensus in the wider literature on how to address those organisations that are neither governmental nor private sector. Part of the issue with the definition of the nonprofit sector comes from the fact it is what Corry (2010) refers to as a 'residual' sector – neither state (bureaucracy) nor market (for-profit sector). As a residual category, the third sector tends to be defined as what it is *not*, which means that a

wide range of organisations are lumped together. The nonprofit sector distinguishes itself from the state through its reliance on good will, rather than authority, for its on-going ability to function. Meanwhile, unlike the market, any residual earnings are directed back into the work of the organisations, rather than toward stakeholders (Frumkin, 2002). While some authors allude to the third sector as contesting or making up for failures in the state and market (Donoghue, 2010; Kirby, 2010; Lorentzen, 2010), Zimmer (2010) points out that third sector organisations are in fact 'interpenetrated' by the logics of state, market, and family. This interpenetration further adds to what she calls the 'fuzziness' of this set of organisations. The result is a diverse set of organisations that is only loosely related and which are distinguishable from one another along several lines, including funding, legal status, level of professionalisation, and underlying purpose (Frumkin, 2002).

Previous work on organisations that support asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants in Ireland has focussed on NGOs, migrant-led groups, and social movement organisations. Each of these descriptions highlights different activities and situates the organisations within different conceptual frameworks. Firstly, the term 'NGO' or non-governmental organisation, emphasises the sector's independence from and opposition to the government (Frumkin, 2002). While challenging and holding the government accountable is an important part of this field's work, so is working with the government in order to provide services and facilitate integration. Next, 'migrant-led groups' and 'social movement organisations' are both situated in the rubric of 'civil society'. As such, they emphasise self-help, empowerment, and democratic participation (Lorentzen, 2010). Again, these are important activities in the field, but they do not tell the whole story.

In Ireland, the third sector is often referred to as the 'community and voluntary sector'. This dichotomy echoes the division between service and advocacy roles. The 'voluntary' part of the sector is understood to include those organisations that provide services, often with ties to traditional charitable organisations. Meanwhile, the 'community' division reflects those groups working for social inclusion, participation, and empowerment of communities (Daly, 2007; Somers & Bradford, 2006). In their overview of the sector, Donoghue et al. (2006) found that while the largest percentage of organisations responded that either voluntary (31%) or community (39.4%) to be their *best* descriptor, the highest percentage (72.4%) indicated that the nonprofit label *could* describe their organisation, which makes it the most inclusive label.

The term ‘nonprofit’ also carries a more neutral and inclusive connotation. The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, which has been at the forefront of identifying commonalities and divergences amongst international non-governmental, non-business sectors, gives ‘nonprofit’ a structural-operational definition that includes both community and voluntary organisations, as they are understood in Ireland. As a part of the project, Salamon and Anheier identify five major characteristics of nonprofits. They are: organised, private, nonprofit distributing, self-governing, and voluntary (Salamon & Anheier, 1992a). Lorentzen (2010) argues that ‘nonprofit’ emphasises the service orientation of the sector over its democratic functions. However, Frumkin (2002) notes that the term is often used as shorthand for ‘nonprofit and voluntary’, which leaves space for both service and advocacy activities. Furthermore, much of the literature on this sector refers to the work of Salamon and Anheier (*cf.* for example: Donoghue et al 2006, Corry 2010, Lorentzen 2010, Donoghue 2010, Daly 2008), which means using their definition will allow this project to build on and refine an existing body of knowledge.

Thus, the principle actors in this study are conceptualised as nonprofit organisations, or simply nonprofits. They are understood to feature all five of Salamon and Anheier’s (1992a) characteristics, and the term is used as shorthand to be inclusive of members of both the voluntary and community portions of Ireland’s third sector. This conceptualisation of the key actors in the field includes the diverse range of organisations that support Ireland’s asylum seeking population while separating them from the statutory arms of the Republic’s wider refugee system. The ‘nonprofit’ concept also situates the discussion in a well-developed literature.

3.1.2 Defining Tensions of Nonprofit Organisations: Social roles and stakeholders

The discussion on how to label the nonprofit sector does not just define it in opposition to other types of organisation, it also reveals something about the activities and purpose of the sector. As the next chapter will argue, an actor’s project, whether that actor is an individual, organisation, or sector, shapes the understandings and practices that actor uses to engage with society. Frumkin (2002) claims that the nonprofit sector is ‘contested arena between the state and the market where public and private concerns meets and where individual and social efforts are united’ (Frumkin, 2002, p. 1). The assumption that runs beneath the separation of the sector from governmental and market interests is that it exists for the public good, even as it is fuelled by a combination of public and private resources. Donnelly-Cox and Jaffro (1999) locate this assumption in what they refer to as the myth of

the ‘goodness’ of the sector. They argue that in the Irish context, the sector is characterised by its ethos and values, which include a commitment to charity, social justice, empowerment, and self-help. The expectation that the nonprofit sector works for the ‘good’ of society raises questions about what constitutes the ‘good’, how it will be achieved, and who gets to answer these questions.

The inclusive nature of the nonprofit label leaves room for the consideration of a wide range of activities and roles. Analysing the sector as a whole at a national level, Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock (2000) identify five roles through which nonprofits can potentially contribute to society: service, innovation, advocacy, expressive and leadership development, and community building or democratisation. Any organisation can and likely does take on more than one role, and they can be difficult to tease out from one another. For instance, in their overview of the work of migrant-led organisations, Feldman et al. (2005) argue that there is a symbiotic relationship between community building and innovation among migrant-led organisations. However, these roles can also be contradictory to one another, running the risk of incoherent programming at best and a crippling organisational identity crisis at worst.

The previous chapter introduced the particularly paradoxical nature of taking on service and advocacy work in the field of asylum seeker support, and these two social roles will be the focus of this research. Both service and advocacy work have been argued to take place within the field of asylum seeker support and within single organisations. Rather than continuing to argue that they are contradictory, this study asks how organisations manage the two aims, individually and as a field. What institutional frameworks and social network structures do these organisations rely on to accommodate service and advocacy?

The next question that weighs on this field’s ability to effect social change is who decides what a nonprofit organisation does? Addressing this, Frumkin (2002) identifies two vectors along which nonprofit organisations can be classified and understood: orientation and justification. Orientation refers to the fact that organisations can have their direction set by the imperatives of either supply or demand. Supply-driven organisations are propelled by the resources and ideas of the people behind the organisation, such as social entrepreneurs, donors, and volunteers. These organisations aim to generate social innovation and to protect the interests of contributors. In contrast, demand-driven organisations take their purpose from the existing social context and aim to address social needs. These are the organisations acting as gap-fillers. Meanwhile, organisations can give

what Frumkin refers to as instrumental or expressive justifications of their work. Instrumentally justified organisations claim to accomplish tasks for the good of the community, acting on collective purpose. In contrast, expressively justified organisations focus on individuals' needs to express their values and commitments through participation, whether by career choice, volunteer efforts, or contribution of resources.

These vectors represent ideals, and reality is far messier. Any nonprofit faces a variety of stakeholders, including beneficiaries, donors, members, volunteers, employees, and funders. The amount of influence those stakeholders have on the activities of the organisation depends on the structure of the organisation (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999) as well as the amount of leverage the stakeholder carries, whether through resources or perceived legitimacy. Each of these stakeholders comes from its own sector or subsection of society, with all the values and understandings that entails. Additionally, if nonprofits are to maintain functioning relationships amongst themselves, they are also answerable to one another. The aims of nonprofit activity influence and are borne of relationships at the levels of the individual, the organisation, the field, and the sector as a whole.

Actors in this field must contend with the tensions described in this section – between the social roles of service and advocacy and among stakeholders. As I argued in the previous chapter, this field is a rich site for examining the emergence and transfer of values. Its complexity and its youth mean that there is an abundance of stakeholder interests, and many of these negotiations remain explicit to its members. In the next section, I will introduce the two theories equipped to unpack the structure and meaning of the relationships where the deliberations take place: social network analysis and neo-institutional theory of organisations. In combination, these theories can make legible the ways that actors intersubjectively manage competing interests in their work for social change.

3.2 – The Duality of Relationships: Networks and Institutions

If the nonprofits in the field of asylum seeker support are to achieve social change, they must do so within the confines of the existing social order. The social networks and the institutional landscapes that situate these organisations create a context for social action that governs agency within a field. As such, this research sits within the field of study of the governance of organisations. Classical work in economic sociology divides organisational governance structures into two main forms: markets and hierarchies (Weber, 1947; Williamson, 1975). Markets are portrayed as arenas of perfect exchange, where

actors are rational and exchanges are governed strictly by economic costs and benefits. Meanwhile, Weber famously argued that the force of bureaucratisation is inexorable in society, and that we cannot escape the iron cage of rationally structured authority, which seeks to constrain and structure activity within a firm. Both neo-institutional and network theorists (Granovetter, 1973; W. W. Powell, 1990) position themselves (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Zucker, 1987) in opposition to this dichotomy. Exchange, they both argue, is embedded in social relationships, which are not governed by formal authority or economic interests. These relationships shape the choices actors make, whether those actors are individuals or organisations, and, in a symbiotic cycle, these choices have impacts on the social order in which exchange takes place. This section will introduce each of these theories in turn, highlighting those principles that are most relevant for this research.

3.2.1 Introducing Network Theory and the Theory of Social Networks

The field of social network analysis (SNA) has been on the rise since the 1970s, with a particularly steep increase in output since the turn of the millennium (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011). SNA studies distinguish themselves from more traditional social research by analysing outcomes or other characteristics via the relationships between units rather than solely through the traits that belong to units themselves (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, & Labianca, 2009). The relationships under investigation in an SNA study can be between individuals, groups, organisations, or societies, and these levels are often combined, as in this study, in order to bridge the micro-macro gap (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994). In this study, social network analysis provides a systematic approach to the coordination of nonprofits and the structures that facilitate and constrain social change in the field.

'Network' can be an over-loaded concept in social science, referring at times to method, metaphor, or form. 'Network' can be the structure of relationships between actors (whether formal or informal), a way of organising a group of actors, or a hallmark of contemporary life, where 'networking' is a dominant social activity (Holohan, 2005; Knox, Savage, & Harvey, 2006). In this study, 'network' refers to a set of relationships between organisations in a field as well as between individual actors. It is the structure that emerges out of a series of intersubjective decisions to engage in social exchange. It is not assumed that members of the network self-identify as such or that they self-consciously organise, although both may be the case at times. Such 'networks' do certainly exist within the field, and they will be discussed under the concept of affiliation networks. Discussions will also

draw on the idea of the network as a form of governance, as will be introduced in the theory of organisational networks below.

Perhaps the most obviously distinguishing feature of SNA studies is their use of network maps, also called graphs or sociograms. In these maps, individual actors are indicated by a shape, and connections between them are shown by a line connecting them, also known as a tie. The two actors that are connected by a tie are called a dyad. These network maps can represent a whole network, which is the entire set of connections within a defined boundary, e.g. students in a classroom or firms in a field. Alternatively, they can represent the personal network of an individual actor, or ego, by showing the comprehensive set of ties that actor has to other actors, whom are called alters in this case.

Whether a network map represents a whole or personal network, a range of measures have been developed over time that can be used to describe the network, distinguish its features, and understand its outcomes (for relevant overviews, see Wasserman and Faust (1994) or Borgatti et al. (2013)). These measures have been divided in to positional (or structural) measures and relational measures (Borgatti & Foster, 2003; Burt, 1980). Positional measures predict outcomes based on the topology of the network. For instance, two actors with similar surrounding structures (such as a manager's connections to his or her team or a teacher's ties to students) will likely share characteristics, opportunities, and constraints. Chapter 7 will use the positional measure of centralisation to explore the particular role of central organisations in the field. Meanwhile, relational measures focus on direct relationships, particularly their contents and the flow of those contents within the network. For instance, actors with direct connections are likely to be similar to each other along some dimensions and to share norms, resources, or information. Chapter 6 will use relational measures to understand the management of service and advocacy roles in the field. Chapter 8 will combine positional and relational measures to unpack the influence of different umbrella organisations.

The accumulated body of network measures and their outcomes is what Borgatti and Halgin (2011) refer to as network theory in their review of the topic. They distinguish network theory from the theory of networks, which seeks to describe the antecedents of network structure. This study draws on network theory in order to build on the existing theory of organisational networks. In each data chapter, relevant network theoretical concepts will be introduced, and structural network data will be combined with qualitative interview data in order to develop the theory of organisational networks.

3.2.2 Governance Through Relationships: Organisational networks

This study fits into the subsection of network theory devoted to organisations, which is known as either interorganisational networks (Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, & Tsai, 2004; Provan et al., 2007) or network organisations (Podolny & Page, 1998; W. W. Powell, 1990). While the network theory of organisations is still developing a shared, concrete language, there are common themes that run through the literature, including an emphasis on informal relationships, resource interdependency, collaboration, collective action, and trust (Gulati & Gargiulo, 1999; Podolny & Page, 1998; W. W. Powell, 1991; Provan et al., 2007). This literature has made great strides in unpacking the benefits of network-based exchange relationships as informal governance structures. However, the emphasis on outcomes in this field of study has left questions under-addressed, such as those of antecedents to network structures and mechanisms of interorganisational relationships. This study aims to extend our knowledge of those prerequisites for network function by regarding the existence of networks in the field of asylums seeker support as a variable rather than a given.

Interorganisational networks arise in those instances when organisations share interdependencies or a mission, and their coordination is self-governed (Gulati & Gargiulo, 1999; Provan et al., 2007). Powell's (1990) seminal paper on the topic outlined the main features of the network form of organisation, situating the network as a form of governance in contrast to markets and hierarchies. He argues that while markets govern exchange via price and legal sanctions, and hierarchies govern exchange through direct authority, network relationships govern interorganisational exchange through normative sanctions. Based on a review of studies on a range of industries, economies, and strategic alliances, he argues that the network form can be distinguished by voluntary, indefinitely repeated exchanges between interdependent firms. In other words, links between firms are not based on transactions or rules, but on relationships.

These exchange relationships are costly to maintain but come with a range of benefits. They share burdens, risks, and benefits among partners. They are good for reliable, efficient information. This in turn can lead to knowledge creation and sharing, offering efficient solutions to timely problems. The trust and shared norms and obligations that organisational networks rely on make them a favourable choice in uncertain environments, and their stability can reduce search costs for participants. On the other hand, Powell warns, this trust does make room for potential malfeasance. Overall, he

paints a rosy picture of their value, based on assumptions about the emergence of trust and reciprocity over time.

In another seminal review, Podolny and Page (1998) raise critical questions regarding the eternal optimism of the literature on the network form of organisation, directly questioning Powell's (1990) claim to having found a novel organisational form. They argue that sociologists' strong emphasis on functionality means they are missing questions of the circumstances in which networks form, what problems arise in their governance, and where the network form ends. For instance, they argue that markets and hierarchies are also networks, insofar as they consist of actors linked by ties. At what point, then, do connections between organisations turn into governance based on norms of trust and reciprocity? And are these elements necessary for a functional network?

Study after study has confirmed the benefit of network-based exchange relationships for organisations (e.g. Gulati & Gargiulo, 1999; Powell, Koput, & Smith-Doerr, 1996; Provan, Isett, & Milward, 2004; Provan, Nakama, Veazie, Teufel-Shone, & Huddleston, 2003; Uzzi, 1997). However, the actual mechanisms of management and coordination remain under-addressed (Provan et al., 2007). For instance, in a study on an Arizona-based cross-sectoral interorganisational network devoted to addressing chronic illness in a single community, Proven at al. (2003) found that while members of the network saw benefits to collaborating with other organisations, trust *decreased* in the year following network formation. The authors posit that trust would likely increase over time, however the finding highlights the possibility that the benefits of horizontal collaboration can, at least in some instances, rely on some mechanism other than trust. Additionally, the governance of a network can take different structural forms. For instance, it can remain decentralised across all organisations, or it can be located in either set of centralised member organisations or a single an administrative organisation (Provan et al., 2007).

In this study I approach the networks in the field of support for asylum seekers as emergent structures within a field rather than as a foregone organisational form. Three networks are measured – service and advocacy collaboration networks and the umbrella organisation affiliation network. This analytical stance allows the network itself to be both a variable and an outcome, opening up the question of to what extent networks exist in the field. Additionally, I can compare the networks and ask how they relate to one another in the coordination of activities and in the on-going project of achieving social change. This cross-network analysis allows me to consider the extent to which the normative order is

truly horizontal, or whether its perpetuation relies on the concentrated influence of a few dominant organisations.

By collecting qualitative data on the contents of relationships in the field, I am also able to shed light on the specific mechanisms of governance in the field. In a discussion of roles in social networks, DiMaggio (1992) argues that even static, descriptive analyses of social structure require cultural explanations in order to understand tie choices and to interpret and validate findings. A qualitative investigation of the particular norms of this field allows me to ask questions like: What exactly is being reciprocated or exchanged in relationships? Is there a distribution of roles in the field that enables the network to function? How do the values and understandings within the field enable and constrain relationships between organisations with different structures and agendas? With its emphasis on taken-for-granted rules and roles, neo-institutional theory of organisations offers an entry point for those discussions in reference to organisations. The next section will introduce this theory.

3.2.3 Introducing Neo-institutional Theory

In the previous chapter, I argued that this field has inherited many of its social structures and strictures from the pre-existing third sector and its relationship with the state. However, the youth of the field and the particularly vulnerable state of its beneficiaries mean that it must also develop its own tailor-made understandings and practices. The neo-institutional theory of organisations provides a useful lens for observing and understanding these taken-for-granted frameworks and their impact on relationships in the field.

Like network theory, the neo-institutional theory of organisations has become increasingly prominent over the last thirty-five years. Since the first, now classic papers (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977) began to explore the role of social institutions in organisations, applications of neo-institutional theory have expanded to include isomorphism and diversity among organisations; stasis and change; and the constraints and actions that institutions create (David & Bitektine, 2009). Neo-institutionalism draws heavily on Berger and Luckmann's (1966) work on the social construction of reality, but it focuses specifically on how social institutions shape organisational forms and activities. In this study, it is used to identify those taken-for-granted norms, values, and roles that govern the relationships in the field. This theory provides the tools to answer questions about the antecedents to network structure.

Institutions are defined as '…those social patterns that, when chronically reproduced, owe their survival to relatively self-activating social processes.' (Jepperson, 1991, p. 145). These social patterns are taken for granted by actors, and they provide identities, or roles, as well as scripts or rules for action (Jepperson, 1991). These frameworks for action are not reinforced by conscious action, but are enacted by actors, simply because they are considered to be 'the way things are done' (Jepperson, 1991; Zucker, 1977). Every time an institution is enacted, or to put it another way, every time interpersonal expectations are met, that institution is further maintained. Thus, the longer the history of a particular institution, the more entrenched it is likely to become (Zucker, 1977). The taken-for-granted aspect of an institution implies that an actor perceives it as external and objective, even if they are the one enacting it (Jepperson, 1991). Just like the network structures they constitute, institutional frameworks emerge over time from within relationships and go on to shape relationships in turn.

This intersubjectively agreed upon, objective nature means that an institutionalised act comes with its own ready-made account, lending legitimacy to both the act and the actor. For instance, the decision of the member of an office will be seen as the way things are done, whereas a personal decision is open to question (Zucker, 1977). This built-in legitimacy creates what Meyer and Rowan (1977) call the 'myth-like status' of institutions, including products, services, techniques, policies, and programmes. They argued that this myth-like status means that organisations are likely to adopt institutionalised practices in order to be perceived as legitimate and to ensure their own stability and survival, regardless of whether such a choice is the most efficient one. In fact, they contend that the drive for legitimacy can result in a kind of organisational double-speak, whereby formal structures and accounting practices are de-coupled from the actual technical work of an organisation.

When a field of organisations is highly structured with high levels of interactions among organisations, institutions take hold and spread. As organisations strive for legitimacy and stability, they begin to look like each other (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) famously called this process isomorphism, and they identified three different varieties: coercive isomorphism, in which more powerful organisations are able to impose institutions; mimetic isomorphism, in which organisations model themselves on other, more successful organisations; and normative isomorphism, or professionalisation, in which members of an occupation define legitimate conditions, methods, and practitioners of their work. DiMaggio and Powell identify the state and the

professions as the largest forces of institutionalisation in society. This project presents a novel opportunity to observe the influence of isomorphism inherited from the pre-existing structures of the third sector in combination with the intra-field isomorphism driven by the peculiarities of this field's aims.

Whether inherited or newly minted, the taken-for-granted roles and patterns of action of this field are the norms and values that influence and are influenced by the network structures of interorganisational collaboration. In combination, the actual details of these social forces shape the field's ability to work for social change.

3.2.4 Locating Change and Agency in Stability and Homogenisation

The potential for this field to achieve better outcomes and living circumstances for asylum seekers hinges on its capacity to change existing institutions. Taken at face value, the main points of neo-institutional theory I just outlined are justifiably criticised as depicting actors as passive, cultural dopes and organisations as overly similar and static, with little role for politics or power (Fligstein, 2001; W. W. Powell, 1991). However, change, power, and heterogeneity are built into the underbelly of this theory's original papers, and they are not far from the surface. Institutions are variable, context-specific, and subject to external influence, all of which leave space for actors to influence and contest their transmission and maintenance. A critical examination of how these nonprofits strategically maintain and enact prevailing institutions will help to discern how organisations and the field manage conflicting interests and aims.

The first question such an examination must ask is: To what extent is any role or norm institutionalised? From the first, Zucker (1977) specifically argued for institutionalisation as a variable that can appear in degrees. After describing experiments that depict the effect of varying levels of institutionalisation on the transmission and maintenance of cultural understandings, she suggests researchers would do well to ask to what extent an institution is entrenched and why. The non-binary nature of social institutions means that some are stronger than others, opening up the possibility for competition between institutionalised understandings and practices. For instance, in this field, it is worth considering whether some organisations are considered recognised leaders? And by whom? And are there competing ways to publicly advocate for change?

The next question is: What sources do actors in the field have for new institutions? DiMaggio and Powell locate these wellsprings in the boundedness of institutions. They

situate institutions within fields, a concept which will be discussed in more detail below. No field operates in isolation from the rest of the world, and different fields' respective institutional frameworks are likely to overlap and butt up against one another, presenting actors with a range of possible taken-for-granted rules and understandings to choose from. Similarly, Jepperson (1991) argues that institutions are relative to context. As actors switch context, they may slide in and out of roles, but they do not forget the norms and values from previous worlds when they do. What other worlds do actors in this field draw on for ways of relating?

Finally, what makes one actor more institutionally influential than another? Both Meyer and Rowan's (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) work point to the influence of powerful forces in the shaping of institutions for organisations. Specifically, they name the state and the professions, but also other entities that have resources that an organisation might need. These sources of power – authority, legitimacy, and economic advantage – provide actors with the ability to put their weight behind those practices and understandings that suit their interests over others'. Understanding social change means understanding which resources organisations draw on to develop influence over the institutions of the field.

The core texts cited in this section make space for a theory of institutional change, but they do not articulate a full theory, inclusive of mechanisms and processes. The theories that begin that project, theories of institutional work and social skill, developed about twenty years after the first expressions of neo-institutional theory. These theories of change will be addressed below in a section dedicated to social change. This study will build on the theory of social skill to develop a structural-institutional lens through which to view the work towards social change in this field.

In sum, neo-institutional theory raises questions about which taken-for-granted frameworks shape organisational activity. The interpersonal nature of institutional enactment raises further questions about who major interlocutors are and what takes place within relationships. The structure of the relationships that bear and are borne of institutions in the field is a necessary component to understanding how institutions traffic in the field. The next section will draw out the theoretical connections between network theory and neo-institutional theory, showing how they can be used in tandem to illuminate the connections between interorganisational relationships and social change.

3.3 – Network-Institutional Theory and Collaboration

The diverse and particular needs of asylum seekers have drawn together an array of organisations into a single field. Each instance of interorganisational collaboration represents both a tie within the networks of the field and an arena for institutional exchange and development. These two sides of relationships – structure and meaning – enable and constrain coordination among this motley assortment of nonprofits.

Networks and institutions have a recursive connection, shaping and being shaped by one another in an on-going symbiosis that amounts to the infrastructure of social action (Lin, 2001). Lin (2001) and Owen-Smith and Powell (2008) have begun the work of sketching out a network-institutional theory of organisations that illustrates the intersections between these two elements. The work of drawing these theories together is in its early stages, however, and there is considerable room for hashing out the particular mechanisms and qualities necessary to turn the infrastructure of social action into the breeding ground for social change. In this study, I build on these foundational texts by applying their concepts to a single case and drawing out some of the factors that enable and constrain social change within it. This section will give an overview of existing network-institutional theory. I will argue that collaboration is the quintessential relationship at the heart of network-institutional governance, and that investigating the conditions for collaboration reveals the mutually conditioning forces of structure and meaning.

3.3.1 Existing Network-Institutional Theory

Both neo-institutional theory and network theory place relationships at their centre, and both focus on emergent properties of meso-level social phenomena. Lin (2001) and Owen-Smith and Powell (2008) identify social action and social change as the culmination of processes that ricochet between network structure and institutional meaning. Used in tandem, network and neo-institutional theories can illuminate the dual influences of structure and meaning on a set of actors, showing how these formative elements of social action reinforce one another and create space for change within one another.

First, and most obviously, networks and institutions fortify one another, creating and enforcing the categories and understandings that shape social action (Lin, 2001). Strong institutional environments have been found to create stability for internal and external organisational relationships (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutions make networks meaningful (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008) by providing scripts for social action that

include who to work with in what circumstances. For instance, in this field, certain roles imply particular network ties. An organisation can become a go-to for specialised services or information. Conversely, networks reinforce institutions. They provide the paths along which reputations spread, creating the mechanisms for the enforcement of institutionalised values (W. W. Powell, 1990). They also provide the hierarchies and categories that structure a field (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008). Roles played by organisations in this field, for example national versus local hubs, will be shown in the following chapters to be distinguished by their structural 'locations'. The meaning of these structural positions, however, depends on contextualised understandings.

Networks and institutions also work together to provide the grounds for social change (Lin, 2001; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008). Networks provide access to new institutions and new capital, whether social or otherwise. When one organisation works with another, it can potentially tap into the resources and institutional frameworks available in that alter's network connections. The more actors come together, the more potential resources they can pool, raising the possibility that they can transform the institutional environment (Lin, 2001). On the other hand, institutions can also instigate network change (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008) by incorporating patterns for action that include reaching out to new alters or encouraging new relationships among alters. In other words, network ties provide access to the social materials necessary for change, but institutions provide the reasoning that encourages and legitimates those ties.

Both institutions and networks are brought to light in moments of social action, when an actor draws on structure and meaning to effect some kind of interpersonal or interorganisational exchange. That exchange, then, becomes part of the long thread of maintenance and transformation of institutions and network ties. The potential for social change is built into the very infrastructure of social action. However, the nuts and bolts of the actual process of moving from existing structures and meaning to social change via social action remain to be sketched out. The particularities of a field, including its aims, context, and challenges, are essential for understanding the possibilities and roadblocks for change. Additionally, questions about what kinds of actors and relationships are necessary to transform existing social infrastructure remain to be answered, both theoretically and empirically. In what remains of this chapter, I will draw out the theoretical answers to these questions, beginning with the salience of collaboration for social change.

3.3.2 Collaboration As Network Exchange

In this thesis, I ask how collaborative relationships in particular enable or constrain social change. That is because collaboration, in which both actors come together over a common project, are sites of exchange that can produce enduring network ties and create pathways for the maintenance, creation, and transmission of institutions. While it is possible to measure the networks in a field built from any number of forms of exchange, collaboration is an ideal form for a network-institutional study such as this. This is because collaboration is a relationship that takes place over time between interdependent parties, requiring sizeable involvement of both parties, which creates opportunities for institutional maintenance and development. The resulting network of collaborative relationships can be understood as an indicator of coordination, which is a key aim in this field. Collaboration is both the product and the author of its context, and as such, it is an ideal site for learning about the culmination and on-going development of meaning and structure in a field. Like any empirical action, it is conditioned by and feeds into a combination of agency, structure, and culture (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994).

This research follows previous neo-institutional work in defining collaboration as '…as a cooperative, interorganizational relationship that is negotiated in an on-going communicative process and that relies on neither market nor hierarchical mechanisms of control' (Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002, p. 282). This definition includes wide range of interorganisational relationships while differentiating them from market and hierarchy. In contrast to market relationships, collaboration is not guided by a price mechanism or global capitalist structures. Instead, its terms are subject localised institutional contexts. Meanwhile, hierarchy supposes an already accepted authority to manage the relationship. In contrast, collaboration relies on the on-going negotiation roles and responsibilities. This negotiation is where institutionalised norms, values, and understandings are reaffirmed and born (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2000).

Collaboration is a *relationship* rather than an *act*. A single cooperative exchange does not constitute the commitment to shared interests implied in collaboration. A collaborative relationship may take place in conjunction with formalised, contractual relationships, such at the formal relationships called for by the major funders in the field of asylum seekers support. However, it is more than a series of pre-drafted interactions. Rather, in successful cases, collaboration extends like an iceberg beneath the tip of formal agreements (W. W. Powell et al., 1996). It is a complex relationship, in which interpersonal interactions and trust form the foundation for interorganisational trust, which

then becomes institutionalised over time (Tsasis, 2009). Joint funding contracts might encourage collaboration, or be the product of it, but the contracts themselves are not the grounds for institutional development.

Collaboration arises in the context of a shared project or interest, such as the support of a particular beneficiary population. The process demands the opposing elements of autonomy and mutuality between partners (Thomson & Perry, 2006). It is a 'messy, contradictory, dynamic process' (Thomson & Perry, 2006, p. 23) in which partners must negotiate self- and collective-interest. In order for collaboration to work, organisations must cede some of their autonomy, including information and resources, and occasionally compromise on their own mission in the interests of some larger project. As seen in the previous chapter, these sacrifices raise concerns about co-optation, organisational identity, and outright abuse (Thomson & Perry, 2006; Yanacopulos, 2005). However, when it is successful, the nonlinear, emergent progression of collaboration through formal, informal, business, and social interactions creates the potential for a rich, trusting, and on-going relationship (Thomson & Perry, 2006). Collaborations result in new social institutions pertaining to both the issue at the base of the collaboration and the process of collaborating itself, leading one theorist to argue that collaboration is, itself, an institutional process (Phillips et al., 2000).

This theory of collaboration as found in organisational studies has strong parallels to network theories of organisational governance, making it an ideal concept for joining network and neo-institutional theories of organisational governance. Neo-institutional descriptions of collaboration overlap heavily with Powell's (1990) outline of the relationships that create network forms of organisation. Those networks also emerge from mutual interests and take place over time and across a range of interaction forms. As in collaboration, Powell argues that the standards of the interaction are mutually determined, and they result in and rely on trust. These parallel characteristics lead to similar outputs: both the network organisation and collaboration ideally result in shared risks and resources, reduced redundancies, and innovation. Whether collaboration takes place between two actors or more, the agreed upon rules of interaction that emerge from the exchange can aggregate across a field into governance structures.

In addition to fomenting institutional development, collaboration can have effects on the structure of a network of organisations and on the movement of institutions through that structure (Hardy, Phillips, & Lawrence, 2003; Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 1999;

Lawrence et al., 2002). As organisations learn to collaborate, they are more likely to accrue new collaboration partners (W. W. Powell et al., 1996). Likewise, different network structures can facilitate or inhibit the flow of information, reputations, and institutions, leading to different system-level outcomes (Provan & Milward, 1995). In their longitudinal study on businesses in Japan, America, and Europe, Gulati and Gargiulo (1999) found that structure and action are deeply intertwined, and that over time, as the network differentiates (i.e. breaks out into recognizable roles), organisations choose new partners based on information *internal* to the network. In other words, as a group of organisations collaborate over time, there is better information about the network flowing within the network. The end result of this, which bears on the questions at the heart of this study, is that collaboration within a network can be taken as an indicator of *coordination* within that network (Ernstson, Sörlin, & Elmqvist, 2008).

As argued in Chapter 2, coordination is one of the core issues facing the field of asylum seeker support. Individual nonprofits have been learning since the early 2000s to work together on asylum-related issues. These organisations have been learning to balance their need for autonomy and independence with the requirements that come of a mutual project. As it is a relatively young and complex field, the process of coordination is on-going. Therefore, an investigation of collaboration in the field can reveal which institutions and network structures are working to enable collaboration as well as how actors strategically take advantage of that social order to further their aims.

3.3.3 Collaboration Among Nonprofits

Previous studies on collaboration have tended to focus on work in the public interest, particularly highlighting relationships between nonprofits and state agencies. In their seminal work on network effectiveness in mental health systems across the United States, Provan and Milward argue that '…the rationale for organizations cooperating to accomplish system goals rather than organizational ends is often stronger than in the private sector, even when specific incentives to integrate and cooperate are weak' (Provan & Milward, 1995, p. 3). However, working for the common good is not reason enough for nonprofits to collaborate. Aligning organisational aims is not a trivial matter, and power discrepancies and funding competitions can make collaboration a fraught process. The previous chapter has already argued that differences in organisational aims and interests are a real threat to successful collaboration and field-wide coordination. However, the

organisational differences that complicate collaboration are also the source of innovation that makes problem-solving possible in a field.

Collaboration among nonprofits includes both joint advocacy and shared programming. Previous studies have found that information sharing and referrals are the most frequent form of collaboration among service-providing non-profits, a finding confirmed in Chapter 7 (Guo & Acar, 2005; Snavely & Tracy, 2000). Yanacopulos (2005) found that joint programming among development organisations was more problematic than joint advocacy, mainly because of the lower risks of the latter. However, many studies have found that public funding and, increasingly in Ireland, philanthropic funding require service integration, even across sectors (Guo & Acar, 2005; Lorentzen, 2010; Prospectus, 2008; Provan et al., 2004; Provan & Milward, 1995; Snavely & Tracy, 2000). How the organisations in this field manage both types of collaboration, particularly in conjunction with one another is a key question in this study.

Another major issue for coordination in this field is the different interests and agendas that arise from the diverse range of organisations involved. Additionally, these nonprofits are also vying for resources from the same diminishing pot, even while supporting shared goals. However, diverse aims and competition do not necessarily rule out collaboration, so long as organisations agree on the grounds for and terms of the relationship. In a study on collaboration among AIDS organisations in Canada, Tsasi (2009) did find that differing goals can lead to manipulation of relationships or even to outright competition. However, that same study also found that shared dependencies and ideology could encourage trust to develop between members across organisations. This study aims to identify ways that actors make use of and even create shared understandings and interests to accomplish the work of coordination.

In practice, interests never entirely overlap, and organisations are not always equals. Based on their research on the UK refugee system, Hardy and Phillips (1998) argue that any analysis of collaboration must pay heed to the distribution of power and interests amongst collaborators. In particular, they name three sources of power: formal authority, access to critical resources, and discursive legitimacy. They found that a power discrepancy can lead to co-optation, while public conflicts can mask clandestine cooperation. This study will consider the ways that network structure and institutionalised roles work in conjunction with contextual factors such as funding sources to distinguish nonprofits from one another. The structure and meaning of relationships will be used to

reveal the challenges to collaboration posed by power differentials, but also the opportunities these differences raise.

Despite potential pitfalls, collaboration remains an attractive choice for organisations facing complex problems, which the last chapter showed supporting asylum seekers to be. Indeed, complex problems that sit across different fields are often the starting point of collaborative relationships (Lawrence et al., 2002; Phillips et al., 2000; Provan et al., 2004). These system-wide problems and the relationships that form to address them are an important source of social change. The very differences that make collaboration difficult, for instance different professional backgrounds, skills, organisational structures, and beneficiary populations, can be the sources of fresh ideas and tactics. Because the necessary collaborative negotiations are decentralised, informal, and complex, they can result in new norms, practices, and understandings that can spread through the field (Lawrence et al., 2002; Phillips et al., 2000). For the field under study, this means that as the organisations learn to work together, they figure out how to cope with conflicting aims and interests, improving coordination in the field and increasing the potential for social change.

This section has argued that a network-institutional framework can trace the symbiotic relationship between network structure and institutional meaning through their culmination in social action to the development of social change. As social infrastructure, network and meaning work together create opportunities for novel actions and identities, allowing evolution and change in a field (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008). Collaborative relationships are the relationships par excellence for understanding the nexus of structure and meaning in an organisational network, due to their reliance on and creative role in governance structures. While collaboration between nonprofits is not a straightforward affair, it is an essential aspect of the problem-solving that is central to the field under study. Understanding the interests and understandings that inhibit and encourage collaboration is a vital step in tracing the paths to social change. The next section will look more closely at the idea of social change and its location at the level of the field.

3.4 – Understanding Social Change: A multi-level approach

The organisations in this study engage in collaborative relationships with an eye toward changing the status quo for asylum seekers. Such a change is a tall order given the number of state agencies and private organisations that have a stake in things staying the same. Public opinion is another barrier to institutional change. Existing institutional

frameworks and network structures present constraints, but they also create opportunities. This section will explore possible sources of change, arguing that socially skilled actors are the ones to watch. It will also argue that a view of the relevant institutions and social network structures requires a multi-level approach, privileging the level of the field and anchored in individual relationships.

3.4.1 Social Skill as a Source of Change to Institutional Frameworks

In the introduction to neo-institutional theory above, change was highlighted as one of the underdeveloped aspects of institutions. After all 'How can actors change institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change?' ((Holm, 1995) cited in (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009, p. 31)). The possibility of institutional change is a central theme in this research, because change lies at the heart of the work of the organisations under discussion. The work the field entails changing the circumstances of individual asylum seekers through service provision and as well as advocating for relevant policy changes and new public understandings of the population. In section 3.2.4, I argued that the possibility for change was in fact built into the ideas of institutionalisation as a variable and institutions as bounded by context. This sub-section will give a brief overview of change in neo-institutional theory and focus on the theory of social skill. I will argue that the combination of network theory with neo-institutional theory allows an elaboration of the theory of change in a field.

In order to change an institution, the first question one must ask is how entrenched that institution is. Jepperson (1991) argues that institutions will be less vulnerable to outside influence the more embedded they are within a wider institutional framework (see also Powell (1991) on institutions as sunk costs). He argues that if an institution is central to a framework, if it has been around for a long time, or if it is tied to some sort of exogenous constraint (such as the laws of nature or some moral authority), then it will be harder to dislodge. Other impediments to institutional change include the relative invisibility of the institution to its (en)actors, as well as the forceful negation of alternatives by an outside force. Failing these inhibiting factors, Jepperson identifies four possibilities of institutional change:

- Institutional formation, or the creation of order from chaos
- Institutional development or elaboration, in which an existing institution is expanded upon
- De-institutionalisation, in which there is a return to entropy

- Re-institutionalisation, in which one order is replaced with another

Each of these four possibilities is relevant to this study. The youth of the field makes institutional formation and development important, particularly in terms of developing ways of working together to support a new beneficiary population. Re-institutionalisation is an aim for some in the field in terms of changing the legal and policy environment that surrounds asylum seeking in Ireland. And de-institutionalisation is a surprising tactic taken by members of the field in response to overly restrictive institutional constraints from outside forces.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) drew together previous work on agency in neo-institutionalism into a single sub-theory they call 'institutional work'. Drawing largely on the work of DiMaggio (1988) on institutional entrepreneurship and Oliver (1991, 1992) on de-institutionalisation and strategic responses to institutional processes, they define institutional work as 'the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). Under those three headings, they name seventeen different tactical approaches an actor can take towards an existing institution. Actors are not tied to a single response to institutions in their field. These different tactics are an array of choices available to organisational actors as they calculate their choices, based on the costs and benefits of rational interests, issues of legitimacy, and other social factors (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009). The decision-making of institutional work results in the accomplishment by actors of the social construction of institutions in a field (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Like institutional work, the concept of social skill (Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) also develops the conception of agency in neo-institutionalism, but it has some notable differences. Social skill is the ability to motivate others to cooperate. While it also pays heed to actors' interests in their decision-making, the concept of social skill goes beyond the changing of institutions to shifting the power dynamics of an entire field. If an actor or set of actors can do that, they can not only change existing institutions, but they also can influence the direction of future social construction within that field. Fligstein and McAdam refer to this ability to 'create and sustain social worlds' as strategic action (p. 17). The focus in this study on the structure of relationships in a field allows a particularly systematic view into the possibilities of social skill a field. By combining field-wide network maps with qualitative accounts from actors within the field, I am able to track the back and forth between structure and meaning, including the social actions through which

actors engage with networks and institutions for their own benefit or for the benefit of the wider field.

The key to social skill is empathy, or the ability to see the world from others' perspective. By making use of this understanding, an actor can get beyond simple coercion or sanctions, instead using identities and cultural frames to provide others with reasons to cooperate. The socially skilled actor expands institutionalised understandings in a relationship or field to include grounds for action by others in their own interests. Fligstein and McAdam identify ten tactics available to the socially skilled actor:

- Framing stories that appeal to others' identity, belief, and interests and set actions against opponents
- Setting the agenda of discussions
- Bricolage, or taking advantage of the uncertainties and ambiguities that are available at any given time
- Brokering, or appearing as a neutral mediator
- Appearing devoid of personal interests
- Creating a collective identity for others to get behind
- Pursuing multiple courses of action at once
- Convincing others a course of action was their own idea
- Leading from behind
- Including outliers

Understanding the expectations of others is a basic component of maintaining institutions, but in the hands of a socially skilled actor, this understanding becomes the groundwork for changing or manipulating institutions. Non-dominant actors, or challengers as Fligstein and McAdam call them, are particularly able to transform their fields in moments of crisis. In the absence of a crisis, an incumbent actor supports the maintenance of institutions in order to consolidate their own interests. Crises can throw taken-for-granted frameworks into question by showing their failings or bringing actors into contact with other interests and ways of doing things. The field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers was in a state of crisis at the time of research for two reasons. Firstly, the underorganisation of the wider refugee system, including state bodies such as ORAC and the HSE, compromised nonprofits' ability to confidently provide information and referrals. This disorder was exacerbated by the upheaval of the recession beginning in

2008, which saw the closure of many nonprofits and statutory agencies as well as the one-two punch of reduced funding and increased demand for those organisations that remained. These environmental factors create an environment where institutions are laid bare and questioned, leading actors in the field to make observable manoeuvres to reorganise the institutional environment in their favour.

In a critical appraisal of neo-institutional theory, Suddaby (2010) cautions against a 'stampede' to either isomorphism or institutional work, at the cost of 'understanding how and why organizations attend, and attach meaning, to some elements of their institutional environments and not others' (Suddaby, 2010, p. 15). This caution serves well for the theory of social skill. While questions of power and self-interest are important to understanding social structures and social action, these frameworks cannot be reduced to power, just as they cannot be reduced to economic expediency or formal authority. In their foundational text on the social construction of institutions, Berger and Luckmann (1966) foresaw this temptation, arguing that while different perspectives are related to the social interests of a group, 'This does *not* mean, however, that the various perspectives, let alone the theories or *Weltanschauungen*, are nothing but mechanical reflections of the social interests' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 86). Attention to meaning in relationships requires an eye trained on cognitive and normative imperatives and the processes that engender them. In this study, interviews demonstrated how actors weighed and engaged a variety of professional, economic, and personal interests, at times forging ahead with change and at other times making the institutionalised status quo work for them.

Bearing its limitations in mind, the concept of social skill is useful for explicitly bringing together the influence of institutions, the possibilities of personal interest and agency, and the role of relationships in fields. Social skill sheds light on social action that is both purposive and effective. In order to build on existing relationships to develop shared institutions and network structures, actors must understand their alters, and there must be enough capacity—or bandwidth, to use a network term—to transmit values and trust. The close working of on-going collaborative relationships are an ideal site for the development and observation of those processes.

The measurement and mapping of relationships in a field is an important part of that observation. The concept of social skill relies heavily on notions of 'position' within a field. As Fligstein and McAdam write, 'Skilled strategic actors mostly find themselves in fields that are already structured. As a result they often do not have much choice as to their position in the field, the resources available to them, or the opportunities they might have

to either reproduce or change their situation' (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 48). As will be argued in the chapters to come, an organisation's network position works in combination with the institutional structure within a field to constrain or create opportunities for action. Understanding these constraints and opportunities is just as important for skilled action as understanding other actors in the field. Meanwhile, skilled actors also have the capacity to affect the structure of the network. A mixed methods study such as this one can investigate both directions of influence.

3.4.2 Locating Opportunities for Change at the Meso and Micro Levels

It almost seems inevitable that discussions of social change devolve into questions about chickens and eggs. If pairs of individual actors are the source of institutions, but it takes the weight of society to enforce or erode them, where do you begin to look for social change? The next chapter will outline Berger and Luckmann's (1966) elegant theory of how an institution grows from a thing done once between two people into a thing that is to be done by a society. But the aim of social research is not to understand theoretical processes. Rather, it brings theory to bear down on real, muddy, complicated social process in order to make sense of them. And in reality, we can never catch that pure beginning of institutionalisation. We are always already in the thick of it, with new institutions emerging and older ones bearing down on their birth. The same is true for network structures. Relationships begin and end in a pre-existing abundance of connections. Making things more complicated, these network structures and institutional frameworks are deeply related, but they cannot be mapped cleanly onto one another.

Observing the chains of influence up and down the snakes and ladders that connect pairs of actors to society at large requires a systematic approach to scale. Somehow, individuals, organisations, networks, and society must be related to one another while preserving their inherent analytical differences. The concept of the field as it is used in neo-institutional theory provides a meso-level resting point, at which these different layers of social change can be drawn together and teased apart. It allows a boundary to be drawn, answering questions about which actors are relevant, and it creates a filter through which to discern salient exogenous social forces.

A field, then, is a group of actors who share an institutional environment. That is to say, they 'recognise, demonstrate, and share rituals and behaviours, and subscribe to constraints and incentives as dictated by the social institutions' (Lin, 2001, p. 187). In this study, the main actors are organisations and the individuals that make them up. An

organisational field includes organisations that interact repeatedly, by virtue of both competition and collaboration, within context of shared stakes or purpose, rules, and resources (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Phillips et al., 2000). Organisations in a field share a body of knowledge regarding the activities, members, and relationships between them, as well as the rules and structure of the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue that the structure of a field emerges over a four stage process. First, there is an increase of interaction among organisations. This might be precipitated by an event such as the dramatic rise of asylum seekers in Ireland in the late 1990s. Next, interorganisational structures of domination and coalition emerge. In this case, questions of funding and representativeness of asylum seekers are important factors in these structures. Third, there is a rise in the amount of information with which member organisations must work. For instance, the introduction of direct provision created a unique and complicated policy context for these nonprofits, while dispersal forced them to become aware of living conditions and sources of support for asylum seekers across the country. Finally, 'the development of a mutual awareness among participants… that they are involved in a common enterprise' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148).

In this way, a field is socially constructed by what is agreed upon among actors, but there is considerable differentiation between them. Some organisations will be favoured by the emergent institutional environment, setting the stage for power struggles and contention (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). In a stable field, powerful actors, or incumbents, are able to reproduce the institutional environment that favours them. Outside groups, or challengers, can upset the stability of institutions and structure by changing the frame through which the work of the field is understood (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

All of the action in a field happens via relationships, whether these relationships are competitive, collaborative, coercive, or coalitional. Neo-institutional theorists are agreed that the structure of relationships is closely linked to the institutional frames. However, neo-institutional theory does not formally investigate these relationships. Fligstein and McAdam (2012), for instance, argue that while SNA is a useful tool for mapping aspects of relationships in a field, the logic of the field is not 'encoded' in the network. This is a surprising stance, given the extent to which their theory of social skill relies on concepts of positions and groupings within fields. Questions about the relationship between social

structure and social outcomes are a key component to social network theory (Borgatti et al., 2009)

Furthermore, as Owen-Smith and Powell (2008) argue, many of the categories actors use to understand their field come directly *from* network structure. In particular, positional analyses of networks can reveal the hierarchies and categories that emerge when certain kinds of actors interact with certain other kinds of actors, creating the 'horizontal distinctions' through which we make sense of our world. For instance, incumbents and challengers maintain their respective roles through and because of their relationships with each other and with their peers. Moreover, when Fligstein and McAdam claim that network analysis can only evaluate the effects of relationship changes for an actor rather than for the field as a whole, they are giving short shrift to the rich body of positional research, particularly studies on social capital, which will be discussed greater depth in Chapter 7.

The issue of positional analysis raises an important concept for this study, namely that of a 'role'. It is a key concept in both neo-institutional and network theory, and it has also been discussed in this thesis with respect to nonprofits specifically. In social network analysis, 'role' refers to the status and behaviours that arise as a result of actors maintaining similar relationship structures to each other. Again, the example of teachers' relationships to students is illustrative. An institutional role similarly refers to a typified set of actions, but in this case it arises from the same processes that produce institutions as rules and understandings (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Unless otherwise indicated, this is the definition of role this thesis will be working from. This kind of role underscores the differentiation of knowledge and activity that takes place within and across fields, and it is conceptually useful, because 'it reveals the mediations between the macroscopic universes of meaning objectivated in a society and the ways by which these universes are subjectively real to individuals' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 79). All institutionalised action contains roles, and every time a person plays out a role, they represent an institutionalised order. Thus, Salamon et al.'s (2000) outline of nonprofits' roles in society convey nonprofits' embodiment of an institutionalised order, in this case at the level of the nation. When these particular roles are being discussed, they will be referred to as nonprofits' 'social roles'.

If the concept of the field provides an analytically meaningful resting point in the journey between single relationships and social change, then social network analysis

preserves the privileged place of concrete exchanges between actors. This elemental point of reference is necessary in the potentially woolly task of moving 'up and down the scale of abstraction … to get a proper grasp on the social world' (Bottero & Crossley, 2011, p. 116). The choice of field in a study answers questions about which relationships and which institutions are relevant to the research, while the relationships within that field and the structures that emerge from them refine the definition of the field itself. As the next chapter will argue, this multi-level approach to social reality is best approached with a set of mixed methods tools.

Conclusion

The journey to social change moves from individual interactions to shifts in understanding that can affect society at large. This progression from micro intersubjective exchange to macro context shift is not black magic, but an observable process dependent on a knowable set of ingredients. First, the existing context, with all its opportunities and constraints, is the starting point from which a study of social change must begin. Chapter 2 outlined the challenges raised by the historical roots of the field under study, as well as the statutory and funding environment in which these organisations operate. It demonstrated that the complexity and nascent nature of asylum seekers' issues as a beneficiary population require coordination among organisations with diverse interests, ways of working, and agendas. These very issues make this field an ideal one in which to trace the path from interorganisational relationships to social change.

Next, the relevant set of actors must be identified. For this study, the concept of the nonprofit organisation captures a set of actors with a shared interest in the common good. The concept is inclusive enough to capture the main activities involved in supporting asylum seekers, namely providing services and advocating for policy change. It is also precise enough to exclude other actors in the wider refugee system, such as statutory agencies or prominent individuals, who face markedly different contextual limitations and possibilities. Additionally, the concept of the nonprofit includes a rich set of tensions that condition efforts at coordination, including potentially conflicting social roles and stakeholder interests.

Then, the location of the mechanisms for change must be identified. In this chapter, I have argued that the seeds of social change can be located in collaborative relationships and the agency of those that participate in them. These relationships connect actors with new possibilities for action and understanding, whether through contact with new alters or

through the creative negotiation necessary to undertake substantive collaboration. They are sites for social action that can reveal the dual influences of network structure and institutional meaning. These two elements constitute the infrastructure of society (Lin, 2001), which enables and constrains social action and the eventual possibility of social change.

For instance, in this field, the constellation of actors that an organisation deals with can be laid out in a network map. This constellation provides access to social and economic resources that can support that organisation's self-interests as well as wider collective interests. The distribution of such resources in the field is governed by the shape of its networks. Meanwhile, the institutional frameworks that create the grounds for and shape collaborative relationships provide taken-for-granted patterns for action, including norms and roles, that help organisations decide how and with whom to collaborate. In conjunction, these two elements of collaborative relationships create a system of categories and rules of exchange that lays bare the impact of power, influence, and resource advantage on the possibilities for coordination in the field. Later chapters will show how this dual nature of relationships reveals the influence of factors such as funding sources, age, and professional background on organisations' ability to collaborate and effect change. Comparing networks and meanings across the social roles of service and advocacy will allow me to draw out the ways that these two roles work with and against one another in their inherently intertwined trajectories.

The effects of structure and meaning are not static determinants of social action. Rather, their influence can be seen as conditioning the possibilities available to actors. The question then becomes one of agency. What does an actor do with the alters and institutions at play in collaboration? And what effect do these dyad-level decisions have on the structure and meaning of the field at large? The social skill that actors bring to their relationships makes space for social change beneath the weight of pre-existing context, whether that context is historical, economic, structural, or institutional. The chapters to come will show how actors in this field make conscious use of their understanding of the structure and institutions available in order to create new institutions and resources for self- and collective-benefit.

The governance of any field happens at multiple levels, with structure and meaning emerging from micro-interactions and evolving into macro social orders. Observing social action from the meso-perspective of the field with a focus on individual actors' social skill

draws these different levels together, grounding the big picture in concrete moments of social action while simultaneously contextualising those micro-level actions in the structures and meanings that define them. This study demands a multi-tool approach to data collection and analysis. The next chapter will dig into the methodology and methods of the approach that fits the bill: a mixed methods design rooted in social phenomenology and social network analysis.

Chapter 4 Methods: Finding points of intersection between meaning and structure

At its heart, this is a study about relationships. How are relationships structured? What institutions do they carry? And how do structure and meaning interact within social action? To get a handle on these questions, this study has to investigate relationships at the level of the field, the organisation, and the individual. The story of relationships in the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland is a complex one that requires more than one type of data collected in more than one type of method. Consequently, this research is a mixed methods social network study that uses data from quantitative and qualitative instruments to develop theory on the interactions between institutions and social structure. The design of the research is that of a multi-level case study, with two organisational cases nested in the case of the field. The national field, which was measured quantitatively, is triangulated with and complemented by qualitative data from interviews with two member organisations. In addition, an ethnographic pre-study assisted the development of subsequent research instruments (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989). The collection of both quantitative and qualitative data allows this study to investigate both meaning and structure in working relationships, thereby illuminating the points of intersection between them.

This chapter will discuss the gathering of that data, starting from the ground up. First, I will outline of Alfred Schütz's social phenomenological theory of meaning and its theoretical impact on current understandings of institutions as they are applied in this study. I will compare social phenomenology's definition of meaning with previous work on meaning and culture in mixed methods social network research, and I will mark out its contributions to the discussion. Next, I will introduce the methodologies necessary to make sense of structure and meaning in one study: mixed methods social network research and case study research. I will argue that mixing interpretive and structural methods in a case study that accounts for different levels of social order allows for a rich and nuanced understanding of the realities of relationships within and among organisations. In particular, this study demonstrates that nesting personal network case studies in an organisational whole network study provides a simultaneously detailed and broad view of the

relationships involved in coordination and social change. Then, I will detail the methods of this particular study, including three stages of data collection – ethnographic pre-study, whole network questionnaire, and semi-structured personal network interviews with members of two case study organisations. Though these stages were consecutive, they built upon each other and were analysed in dialogue with one another in order to provide a holistic view of the field. This section will present the advantages and challenges found in this particular set of mixed methods. It contributes to the growing body of literature on mixed methods social network research, and particularly on snowball sampling methods for whole network studies and computer assisted participatory mapping in qualitative personal network studies. Finally, I will address the less technical but equally valuable issue of the relationship between researcher and participants. First, I will outline approaches to ethical concerns and guidelines. Then, I will interrogate my own positionality in order to shed light on its influence on the construction of data in this research (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This research will provide a basis for future mixed methods studies of organisational fields that aim to understand the structural and institutional antecedents to existing social orders.

4.1 – What Does Meaning Mean?

Meaning stands along with norms and values as a cornerstone of qualitative research. What does social action mean? To an actor? To society? In fact, one could argue that meaning is the foundation for the other major concepts; norms, values, and strategies have no sense without meaning. But what exactly is meaning? How are we to understand it in reference to social action and social structure? This section aims to address these questions by drawing on the theories of social phenomenology and social networks. An intersubjective understanding of meaning as motive and context will be established, which will lay the groundwork for the methodological approach to this study.

4.1.1 A Social Phenomenological Approach to Meaning

Approaches to meaning in phenomenology and in the wider qualitative tradition are strongly rooted in the work of Max Weber, who argued that meaning is what distinguishes action from mere behaviour (Weber, 1978). For Weber, meaning is subjective, to be found in the head of the actor. It is the intention behind the act, and these intentionally directed acts are the basis of the structures of society. Per Weber, the researcher's aim is to understand this subjective meaning from the point of view of the actor, also known as *Verstehen*.

Drawing Edmund Husserl's work on the constitution of reality, Alfred Schütz (1972) argues that Weber ignores the processes of intersubjective agreement behind the meaning of social action. Meaning does not exist inside people's heads, but lives and changes in moments of intersubjective interaction. It is built upon a history of meaning-endowment between people. Meaning, like the acts it defines, is social. Noting that an individual's meaningful act is too complex to be a basic building block of a theory, Schütz delineates a taxonomy of meaning in social life. In explanation, he writes:

> What is given to both the acting self and the interpreting observer is not only the single meaningful act and the context or configuration of meaning to which it belongs, but the whole social world in fully differentiated perspectives (Schütz, 1972, p. 8).

Thus, the meaning of an action depends both on the perspective from which it is viewed and the configuration of the social world that surrounds it.

Schütz distinguishes objective and subjective meaning, which provide different perspectives from which to interpret the meaning of an action. Objective meaning refers to broad concepts of signs and expressions that are intelligible without reference to a specific context or individual. These signs are linked together in an agreed-upon system. In contrast, subjective meaning is highly contextual. On the one hand, it can take the form of intended meaning, that is, the interpretation of an act or experience in reference to an actor's previous lived experience, i.e. his or her point of view. On the other hand, subjective meaning can refer to the motivational context of an action. In this case, the meaning of an action is its aim or goal. According to Schütz, social action always happens as a part of an actor's projects and must be understood in relation to them.

Because objective meaning exists in a social world, to which we all have access, '…every act of mine through which I endow the world with meaning refers back to some meaning-endowing act (*Sinngebung*) of yours with respect to the same world. Meaning is thus constituted as an intersubjective phenomenon' (Schütz, 1972, p. 32). In other words, any social action refers to previous social actions for the construction of its meaning. In this way, meaning is built up over time and over relationships. A shared environment and collective history of meaning-endowing allow for the development of a system of signs and symbols to which we can all refer so that the meaning we express can be interpreted by others.

This duality of meaning expression and interpretation is the core of interpretive sociology, as far as Schütz is concerned. Our ability to interpret another person's subjective meaning depends on our relationship with that person, i.e. how much we can know about them. For Schütz, the ideal situation for this is the face-to-face situation, in which two individuals are in a shared flow of time and place, where they can constantly check their understanding of each other's meaning-contexts, constantly updating their memories of what's been said before and what they expect to come. These shared meanings are also referred to as intersubjective meaning. The more one shares an intersubjective meaning context with another, the more easily one can understand the other's social action, achieving Weber's *Verstehen*.

In their extension of Schütz's proto-sociological project, Berger and Luckmann (1966) spell out how individual interactions repeat over time, thereby becoming habitualised and eventually institutionalised. In this case, the institutions that develop take on an objective character, even to those who created them. These objective institutional orders provide a taken-for-granted set of rules to future interactions, at times dictating circumstances and methods of connection. Wider social frameworks emerge from a myriad of repeated social interactions. In a dialectic fashion, these frameworks then reflect back on the individual actors, shaping their future interactions. When this is passed on to a new generation, the institution is internalised. Finally, because the original meaning of institutions becomes inaccessible, legitimisations are necessary to carry on their conviction. This sense of legitimacy is what brings the 'should' character to an action, bringing both 'cognitive validity' and 'normative dignity' to objectivated meanings and their practical imperatives (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 92).

A phenomenological investigation of a social world uses qualitative methods to observe and interrogate the projects, ideal types, and attendant meaning-contexts of a community or group. Through observation and interviewing, it is possible to unpack the taken-for-granted meaning-contexts and 'describe the processes of meaning establishment and meaning interpretation as carried out by individuals living in a social world' (Schütz, 1972, p. 248). By gaining access to the subjective meaning contexts of participants and learning how they interact with objective meaning contexts, a social scientist can trace the relationship from the norms, values, and projects of a community to the resulting social realities of action, position, and power, which reflect, in turn, back on those subjective meaning-contexts.

As this project focuses on organisations as actors, two of the three meaning-interpretive frameworks will be emphasised. First, the shared objective meanings, or institutions, of the field will be investigated in order to see how they interact with social structure. Second, the motivational context for organisational action will be considered in relation to its impact on organisational behaviour. In turn, it will be further linked to organisational position in the field as well as the structure of the networks within the field. As individuals are actors within organisations, their own intentional meaning contexts will also be brought to bear, particularly in considering those institutions that are nascent or changing. Next, the investigation of meaning within network theory will be discussed in order to draw the line that connects institutional frameworks with network structure.

4.1.2 A Network Approach to Meaning

This project fits into a growing body of work that attends to the relationship between qualitative concepts and social structure. Much of the previous work in the field has drawn on the theories of symbolic interactionism (see e.g. Crossley, 2010; Fine & Kleinman, 1983; Lazega, 1997) or relational sociology (Fuhse & Mützel, 2011; Mische, 2003; White, 1992). In both cases, the qualitative emphasis was trained on culture broadly, rather than any narrow definition of meaning. Nevertheless, this body of work provides excellent groundwork to the study of phenomenological meaning in networks, particularly as culture can be understood to be closely related to Schütz's objective meaning.

Echoing Schütz, Fuhse argues that the meaning structure of social networks consists of 'the expectations, symbols, schemata, and cultural practices embodied in interpersonal structures' (2009, p. 51). Culture, meaning, and expectations are enacted, confirmed, and changed within intersubjective interaction. Much the same way, network structure emerges from dyadic interactions. Crossley (2010) describes relationships as sedimented, a term that is central to phenomenological theories of meaning constitution over time. In doing so, he breaks away from the binary view of relationships as either absent or present, bringing in the rich and contextual history that exists between actors, shaping their expectations and their actions.

Existing network literature is conflicted on whether the network is constituted by culture, culture is constituted by network structure, or both co-constitute each other. This study takes the final position, agreeing with Lazega (1997) that actors can define their identity or the situations they find themselves in based on attributes provided by network structure. Actors also shape the structure of that network through their own actions and

transactions, which are rooted in the meaning structures that shape their choices (Fuhse, 2009). In their seminal piece on culture and networks, Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) argue that while culture may shape group interests and relations, it is paramount not to reify it or treat it as a static category. Rather, the point is to recognise that both culture (or objective meaning structures) and network structure are constantly in flux, interacting with each other, and changing each other's shape. As Mische argues, '…we should not see networks merely as sites for or conduits of cultural forms, but rather we should look at how both of these are generated in social practices, that is, by the dynamics of communicative interaction' (2003, p. 262). In addition, these practices must be viewed within the wider context of 'much larger symbolic formations such as discursive frameworks and cultural idioms' (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994, p. 1439).

The reintroduction of culture into network studies makes space for the theorisation of agency within network structures. Actors can be seen to be enacting relationships within the contexts of network structure and culture, by making choices and taking advantage of possibilities presented by those contexts (Crossley, 2010; Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994). The research done on networks by interpretive theorists has given prominence to the actor as such, endowing him or her with the role of bestower of meaning, not only onto action and experience, but also onto network structures such as cliques and hierarchies (Fine & Kleinman, 1983). In this way, network structure is as much an outcome as it is an independent variable.

In their work systematising the combination of qualitative, statistical, and network methods in network research, Fuhse and Mützel (2011) identify a gap that remains in the mixed methods approach to networks, namely a theory of action. Previous work has done well to contextualise relationships within cultural and structural contexts. It has also taken into account interpersonal expectations and roles. However, the question of how meaning and structure influence social action remains unanswered. Social phenomenology's emphasis on meaning as motive as well as context provides the ontological grounds to address that gap. The next section will discuss the epistemological foundations of the research designs that structure this study: mixed methods and case study research.

4.2 – Epistemological Underpinnings: Theorising meaning and structure

Understanding the confluence of institution and structure demands complex data that are both quantitative and qualitative. Meanwhile, the exploratory nature of this study calls for an in-depth research design, capable of developing theory. This section will

consider the possibilities and challenges of a mixed methods network study for managing such complex data. Then, it will treat the strengths and limits of case study designs. I will argue that a mixed methods embedded case study is the best approach to understanding the institutions and network structures in the field under investigation.

4.2.1 Mixed Methods Research in Network Studies

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods is necessary to access data on institutions and network structure. Theoretically, the combination of interpretive methods and network analysis is an ideal one. As Edwards (2010) argues in her overview of mixed methods social network research, narrative descriptions and visual models can provide two separate views on the same social structures. Previous work on mixing such methods has found that the two methodological bodies are both compatible and complimentary. However, as with most things, the devil is in the details, and a truly integrated approach faces difficulties in practice, particularly at the analysis stages. This section will present the arguments for and challenges to combining interpretive and network methods. Then some strategies for overcoming analytical stumbling blocks will be discussed.

It has been argued that interpretive methodologies, such as symbolic interactionism or relational sociology, are compatible with network methods, and the same reasoning holds true for social phenomenology. Firstly, these interpretive traditions and network methods concern themselves with relationships (Lazega, 1997). They are particularly concerned with phenomena that emerge from within relationships and then influence and are influenced by the wider social order encompasses them, whether cultural or structural. Furthermore, both methods are largely inductive and exploratory (Hollstein, 2014; Lazega, 1997), seeking to build theory from cases, whether those cases are individuals, organisations, or whole networks.

In addition to being compatible, interpretive and network methods also have the potential to compensate for each other's weaknesses. For its part, network analysis is able to abstract from the mess of details of everyday life, providing formal models of networks that would otherwise be invisible to participants and observers alike (Crossley, 2010; Edwards, 2010). These models allow researchers to measure and compare networks, connecting micro-interactions with meso- or macro-structures (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994). However, there are two major limitations of network studies. Firstly, they tend to be cross-sectional, which precludes an analysis of process and change. Next, whole network

studies are necessarily bounded to a particular population, limiting the view of external actors.

Interpretative methods, in turn, reintroduce the messy details and make good use of them. Qualitative methods such as participant observation and open-ended interviews give researchers access to the subjective worlds of participants. They provide space for participants to explain the meaning of relationships and networks in their own lives and projects, and they give researchers access to the cultures in which networks are embedded (Fuhse, 2009; Fuhse & Mützel, 2011). Qualitative methods also allow for the investigation of the role of agency in networks and the theorisation of network practices (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Hollstein, 2011). These methods can also compensate for the major network design limitations. Narrative approaches allow the introduction of time into the data, which can reveal dynamics and mechanisms for change within a network (Edwards, 2010; Hollstein, 2011). Meanwhile, open-ended approaches to data gathering allow the exploration of relationships and events that might have been excluded in a network study design (Hollstein, 2014).

The combination of interpretative and network methods can take place in a range of constellations at different points of data collection and analysis. Mixed methods studies can imply collection of multiple types of data as well as the conversion of qualitative data into quantitative data at the analysis stage. (Edwards, 2010; Hollstein, 2014). As evidenced above, a mixed methods approach can improve the breadth, depth, and theory-building capacity of a given study.

However, attaining these aims requires the systematic integration of qualitative and quantitative data (Hollstein, 2014), which is a difficult task given the large differences between the two. Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) remind us that while culture and structure may be co-constitutive, they remain analytically separate. The gaps between them are accentuated by the ways in which structural and interpretive approaches reduce one another (Mische, 2003), each taking the finer points of the other for granted. For instance, the social network concept of the cohesive subgroup assumes that densely connected actors will share norms amongst themselves, without necessarily asking how or which norms are shared. On the other hand, traditional neo-institutional theories of homogenisation are silent on the role of network location in a given organisation's capacity to induce the acceptance of norms.

The use of 'linking concepts' presents one approach to finding points of intersection between the two bodies of thought. For example, Lazega (1997) argues that the notion of 'role' has the potential to link structure and behaviour. He points out that the idea has two meanings within network analysis, as a function of position or of a combination of relationships across networks. Role also has a separate definition within social constructionist thought, as a taken-for-granted body of actions and knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Such concepts, which have dual but inherently related meanings, present opportunities to investigate the confluence of structural and cultural forces within and among individual actors. Concepts that are reduced or taken for granted in one methodology present opportunities for the other methodology to step in and offer explanatory support.

Relating the quantitative data on the presence or absence of relationships in a network to the subjective accounts of life within that network is challenging at best. Bridging micro descriptions to macro structure presents its own difficulties. Individuals will not always have an overarching perspective on the network, or even their own personal neighbourhood, leaving the task of aggregating meaning and social structure to the researcher. Meanwhile, static network data will not always map neatly onto the more fluid and changing reality of individual accounts of relationships. However, these incongruities need not be a disadvantage. In fact, they can help us to understand how the mess of social life can crystallise into a structure at any given time.

Despite the challenges of reconciling two analytically separate bodies of data, understanding meaning and structure in relation to one another is a worthwhile task. It provides a more complete and variegated picture of social reality, which is itself often full of contradictions that are difficult to tie into a single explanation. The next section will delve further into the possibilities for coming to terms with complex social realities via case study designs.

4.2.2 Case Study Methods

The study of a national field such as this one is inherently a case study. In addition, this research features a comparative case study of two organisations within the field of nonprofit support for asylum seekers in Ireland, resulting in what Yin (2014) refers to as an embedded case study design. This section will introduce the case study model and argue for its appropriateness to this research. The strengths and limitations of this methodology will also be discussed.

The concept of a case study is neutral in terms of the methods employed in the study (Simons, 2014). A case study can be investigated quantitatively, qualitatively, or, in this case, both. What distinguishes a case study is its emphasis on the in-depth analysis of a single unit or small number or units. To name an event or group or any empirical unit as a case is to suggest that the phenomenon under discussion is of a kind, and that its investigation will shed some kind of light on other cases in the same category (Walton, 1992). At the same time, distinguishing a case implies that the object of study is bounded within its kind and somehow separate from other cases (Ragin, 1992b).

Casing distils an infinite empirical reality to theoretically relevant aspects. In doing so, it allows only a partial view of the cased phenomenon, but allows the case to be related to others of its kind via theory (Ragin, 1992a). This is important, because a case study cannot be generalised in the same way as a survey of a randomly sampled population. Instead, the aim is to reason from the single case back to its universe (Becker, 1992; Walton, 1992). Yin (2014) refers to this research goal as 'analytic generalisation'. In contrast with statistical generalisation, analytic generalisations 'shed empirical light about some theoretical concepts or principle' (Yin, 2014, p. 40). The findings of a case study can be seen as working hypotheses to be compared with existing and future studies, or they can be used to define new research.

A case study design allows a deeper understanding of social phenomena. This understanding can come in the form of either a nuanced and processual grasp of complex causal processes (Becker, 1992; Walton, 1992) or a clear understanding of diverse subjective perspectives within the case (Harper, 1992; Simons, 2014). As this study is concerned with meaning in a field of social actors, it takes the particular goal of understanding subjective perspectives within the universe, or Weber's *Verstehen*. The case study design is particularly suited to the task of investigating meaning within networks due to the attentiveness it brings to contextual detail and multiple, at times conflicting, perspectives on the case itself (Simons, 2014). The case study design allows for reasoning through ambiguity and complexity by allowing subjective perspectives to illuminate shared meanings in each case (Harper, 1992; Simons, 2014). As such, a case study is able to create a rich and multifaceted image at various levels, from the individual subjective perspective to the national field.

Walton (1992) argues that cases can be chosen based on empirical substance or analytical aims. Cases chosen for substance are representative of some accepted

typological distinction, for instance a city or a community group. Analytical choices are based in theory; these are often extreme or deviant cases that serve to highlight the boundaries of the universe from which the case is chosen. This study features both types. Firstly, the whole network study represents a substantive case of a national field of nonprofit organisations that support asylum seekers. Its universe is all national nonprofit fields. Next, two organisations within the field were chosen to highlight the distinctions and similarities between a national and a local hub. These analytical cases were chosen in order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between network and meaning within the field by distinguishing field-specific and case-specific phenomena, thereby allowing the refinement of network and neo-institutional theory as it applies to each case (Simons, 2014).

The end result of the embedded case study will be a refined definition of each case. The Irish field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers, as well as the local and national hub within that field, will be 're-cased' by the end of the study with new definitions that reflect the refinement of theory throughout the research (Ragin, 1992a). The findings of this case study will constitute analytic generalisations, which can inform other, related studies on nonprofits or fields of nonprofits, particularly those that support asylum seekers or other extremely vulnerable groups. These generalisations will also add to the theories regarding the confluence of qualitative understandings and network structure, which are currently being developed in the field of mixed methods social network research. The next section will detail the nuts and bolts of the mixed methods case study design employed in this research.

4.3 – Methods: A sequential, mixed methods social network study

Data for this research were collected over three stages. First, I spent eight months volunteering with an organisation that supports asylum seekers. This phase of participant observation allowed me to acclimate myself to the field, getting to know important players as well as the issues and questions that should be addressed in the following stages. Next, I conducted a field-wide, quantitative study, using an online questionnaire as my research instrument. This phase provided descriptive data on the organisations in the field. In addition, participants provided information on their service and advocacy collaboration networks, which allowed me to create two whole network models for the field. Finally, I conducted semi-structured personal network interviews with two case study organisations based on the survey results, namely a national and a local hub. I interviewed each staff

member of both organisations as well as selected individuals who could provide context for the findings, for example clients and interns. The data from these interviews allowed me to explore the meanings that underlie individual relationships and to investigate relationships with agencies and organisations outside of the field. By placing this data in the context of the survey data, I was able to address questions of how organisational and field-wide institutions interact with network structure.

This section will unpack each phase of the research in greater detail. It will also explain the methods employed in analysing the data, and it will raise some of the limitations of the research design as well as some of the contributions this study makes to the mixed methods social network discussion.

4.3.1 Pre-study: Participant observation

The first phase of the research consisted of an eight-month period of participant observation in a prominent organisation in the field. This ethnographic pre-study lasted from October 2011 until June 2012. While working in my capacity as a volunteer weekly receptionist, I took notes throughout the day, which I wrote up on my lunch break, as soon as I got home in the evening, or first thing the next morning. This ethnographic work allowed me to make vital contacts in the field. It was also a crash course in the who's who and what's what in asylum support services. In addition, conversations with participants, observations of the flow of callers and emails into the organisation, and participation in organisational events such as meetings and social outings allowed me to gather data which will provided initial themes for exploration in the following stages of research.

I was readily accepted and trusted by the other members of the organisation. Many of them were enthusiastic about research on relationships in the field, telling me that it was an important but at times difficult issue. In addition, I believe that my discrete and unobtrusive demeanour in combination with my competence on the job encouraged the organisation staff to be open and frank with me. In fact, my previous administrative experience meant that I was able to perform my duties well, and my colleagues soon began asking me to help with tasks beyond reception duties. This vote of confidence gave me access to privileged documents, which revealed the presenting issues that clients brought to the organisation as well as the processes and strategies used by organisation members in dealing with them.

The original plan for this research project was to gather all data ethnographically, but this quickly proved to be problematic for three reasons: ethical concerns, the tacit nature of relationships, and the limited view of the field from inside one organisation. I found the participant observation to be an ethical minefield, because the lines between research experiences and personal encounters were extremely blurry. This was partially because many of my colleagues were around my age and shared many of the same interests. Dublin is a small city, and I inevitably found myself running into people 'off-duty'. Furthermore, a few people began to confide in me, presumably because they knew I was bound not to share their concerns with other colleagues. It was often unclear whether the conversations were personal or research. Rather than jeopardise those hard-won relationships, I began to think that formal interviews would provide a structure for people to disclose as they saw fit once they knew the recorder was rolling.

The next problem was the often hidden nature of the subjective meanings and aims behind relationships. While I had a good view of who was calling into the office and who was on the phone, I had limited access to the interactions themselves, let alone the interpretations my colleagues had of them. As Schütz argues, '…it is only by questioning the observed persons that the observer can be certain of the existence of a social relationship between them' (Schütz, 1972, p. 155). This is particularly true when the attitudes of a person toward a relationship are of concern. Such questioning would have been unbecoming of my role as receptionist, and there was little time or space for it. Again, formal interviews seemed to be the best option for gaining the access I needed in order to answer my research questions.

Finally, while my work as gatekeeper for the organisation gave me a wide perspective on the other organisations and agencies my colleagues communicated with, it also shed light on how limited their view of the field as a whole was. There was sometimes a lack of clarity on which organisations do what, and sometimes colleagues complained that they did not know of any local organisations in other parts of the country to which they could refer clients. For this reason, I decided to survey the entire field, map the network, and build a public directory of relevant organisations in the process. Such directories did exist, but they had been created before the recession and were severely out of date.

Despite these limitations, I continued my work as a participant observer for the duration of my first academic year. Ethnographic pre-study is an accepted way to prepare

for a whole network study, particularly if the field is unfamiliar to the researcher (Edwards, 2010; Hollstein, 2014). The time I spent volunteering helped me to develop an informed and appropriate questionnaire, which posed questions that were relevant to participants. It also meant that when I eventually came around to interviewing members of the case study organisations, I was able to ask well-placed questions and to understand the answers, even when they referred to the minutia of the field and significant past events.

By participating in the field, I was able to make valuable contacts that helped me find and gain access to participants in the following two stages of research. In addition, the limited view of the field, both from my post and from the organisation generally, suggested important decisions for later research choices. Firstly, as argued before, it convinced me of the value of sitting down and interviewing people formally. Secondly, it helped me understand the nature of the set of organisations under study: that it is not a fully connected network or a social movement, but a field of organisations working towards similar goals under the same institutional conditions.

4.3.2 Measuring Structure: Quantitative whole network study

The aims of the second stage of research were to identify and describe the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland and to describe the social network structure within that field. The hidden nature of the field to its own members and limitations with regards to time and resources posed serious challenges to the undertaking. A public online survey with a modified snowball sampling strategy provided a cost-effective approach to reaching field members in a matter of months. This section will outline the decisions made in the execution of the questionnaire and analysis of the data.

Defining the Population

In this study, any organisation that self-identified as a part of the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland was considered to be part of that field. In their seminal work on snow ball sample building in network studies, Doreian and Woodard (1992) included only organisations that had been chosen by three existing network members. However, this study defines the field as a set of organisations work in a shared institutional environment – in this case with shared goals and context. This definition makes no demand on the extent to which individual organisations identify with *each other* as sharing the same goal or as working together. As such, it is sufficient for an organisation to nominate itself as a member of the field. Dispensing with a minimum threshold of mentions also allows the investigation to reach the periphery of the field (Murty, 1998).

Participating organisations were not screened for degree of formality or for their specific set of activities. For instance, a rape crisis support organisation, a homelessness shelter or an informal direct provision residents' committee could be a part of the network so long as they provide for support to asylum seekers.

That said, not every organisation sympathetic to the needs of asylum seekers in Ireland was included. Like any whole network study, this one set boundaries. In this case, an event-based approach (Marsden, 2005) was used, in which the sample was chosen based on participation in asylum seeker support within certain criteria. In order to participate in the study, organisations must have been:

- Based in the Republic of Ireland
- Nonprofit
- Non-statutory
- Able to assert that asylum seekers constitute a significant portion of their beneficiaries or that the organisation offers programs specifically targeted for asylum seekers.

The non-statutory requirement in particular ruled out many organisations that would have otherwise taken part in the study. However, these organisations work in different institutional contexts due to their public sector status, and therefore they constitute a separate field.

Locating the Field

Whole network studies are generally sampled using either the fixed list method or a snowball sampling method. In the fixed list method, researchers use a sampling frame to populate a list of relevant actors, and participants are asked to identify those with whom they have a relationship. In the snowball sampling method, participants are asked to name relevant actors with whom they share a relationship, and those actors are asked to complete the network survey in turn. As there was no available sampling frame, this study opted for the snowball sampling method.

Extensive efforts were made to make the study known to the entire field. At the start of the study, the questionnaire was publicised widely, and throughout its execution, personal phone calls to identify population members encouraged response from field members. Drawing on existing lists of related nonprofits (Grønbjerg, 1989), names of co-collaborators given in the survey, and organisations found in the course of preliminary

participant observation, 535 contacts were identified and contacted by the researcher via email, phone or Facebook. I created a list of contacts from in the following resources:

- Integration Centre: List of affiliates
- New Communities Partnership: List of members
- Irish Refugee Council: Integration Mapping Project
- Dublin Library: Find Your Way: A Guide to Key Services in Dublin City Centre
- Irish Missionary Union: Interfaith, Intercultural Map
- Immigrant Council of Ireland: Directory of Migrant Led Organisations
- All-Ireland Churches Consultative Meeting on Racism: *Directory of Migrant-Led Churches & Chaplaincies*
- 2012 Revenue List of Charities
- Trinity Immigration Initiative: *Migrant Networks Project Map*

Organisations were contacted if they were in the same town as a direct provision centre and their name and/or web presence indicated that they provide services relevant to asylum seekers or if their name indicated alliance with a people from countries that typically send asylum seekers to Ireland. Four related organisations also publicised the survey via their own mailing lists. It is important to stress that these 535 initial contacts *do not* constitute a sampling frame. In many cases it was not known whether or to what extent the organisations engaged with asylums seekers as asylum seekers, as opposed to as general members of the public.

The sample was built as organisations self-identified as meeting the requirements of the field definition. This happened in one of three ways:

- Organisations responded to the callout by participating in the survey and answering positively to the initial filter questions.
- A seed list of fifteen organisations was prepared. Based on experience in the ethnographic phase of research, it was believed these organisations belonged to the field. One organisation proved to be statutory, and another had stopped supporting asylum seekers but recommended another organisation that fit the eligibility criteria. Thus, a final seed list of fourteen organisations was contacted by phone before the launch of the questionnaire to encourage response.
- Organisations that were named by participants in the social network questions but had not responded to the callout themselves were contacted via email. In the event

the organisations did not response to an email invitation, they were contacted via telephone to verify membership of the field and to encourage response.

In this way, a sample of 55 organisations was identified, 50 of which participated in the survey, resulting in a response rate of 90.9%.

The wide list of initial contacts alleviated the bias in the sample toward central organisations that is normally associated with the traditional snowball sampling method (Berg, 1988) as well as the fixed list method (Doreian & Woodard, 1992), as evidenced by the existence of smaller components and isolates in the network data. Previous exploratory network studies utilised a two-stage survey process, in which relevant organisations were first identified and then subsequently approached for substantial data collection, e.g. network data (Borgatti et al., 2013; Doreian & Woodard, 1992; Murty, 1998). Due to concerns regarding the likelihood of a low response rate and time limitations, in this study, substantive data collection and network identification took place within a single research instrument. By quickly contacting organisations as they were named, I was able to keep building my sample at pace without concerns of attrition on a second wave of data collection.

The sample of 55 eligible organisations is slightly larger than the size of the field found in a 2008 overview of the new communities sector, which identified 37 local and regional organisations focussed on refugee and asylum issues and 11 nationwide organisations (Prospectus, 2008). This suggests that while one can never be sure to have uncovered every last relevant organisation in the country at the time, there is a strong probability that the bulk of the field has been identified.

Encouraging Response

In order to encourage a high response rate to the questionnaire callout, the Tailored Design Method was followed (Dillman, 2000). Following this method, contacts were notified of the research via email two days before the start of the survey. The seed list organisations received a phone call in lieu of this initial email. Contacts were emailed again at the launch of the questionnaire. A reminder email was send two weeks later. One month later, an announcement of launch of the Support for Asylum Seekers in Ireland (SASI) Directory was sent, including another reminder to complete the questionnaire. Finally, a last reminder was sent three days before the closing of the questionnaire.

In order to obtain the most reliable responses, invitations requested that an individual in the organisation who is familiar with the organisations' asylum seeker

support work complete the survey. I decided not to direct the research specifically at CEOs or other management personnel, because in organisations that serve the wider population, it can be the case that only one or two frontline workers are familiar with asylum seeker support work. Feedback in the pilot interviews indicated that the questions in the research instrument were suitable to be asked of a non-management employee or regular volunteer.

Dillman (2000) also recommends using gifts or prizes to encourage response. In this case, two public resources were promised to organisations, regardless of whether they participated in the survey or not. Firstly, a report on the research would be published online. Secondly, a directory of organisations that support asylum seekers in Ireland would be developed out of the survey. Organisations were encouraged to participate so that they could be listed in the directory. Both resources were placed on the research website (sasi.ie), which, along with Facebook and twitter accounts, provided public interfaces where potential participants could learn more about the project.

In total, the questionnaire garnered 89 responses, 50 of which met the eligibility criteria (see Table 2).

Table 2: Organisation Eligibility

		Non-Statutory		
		Yes	No	**Total**
Asylum Seekers as Main Beneficiaries	Yes	50	7	57
	No	27	5	32
	Total	77	12	89

The Questionnaire

The design and content of questionnaire were developed with a mind to motivate participants to complete the survey without undue burden. The full text of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1. Some questions and phrasings were drawn from the *Hidden Landscape: First Forays into Mapping Nonprofit Organisations in Ireland* (Donoghue et al., 2006) and *Networks of Asylum Support in the US and UK* (Gill, Conlon, Oeppen, & Tyler, 2012) surveys.

The burden of the online questionnaire on participants was eased by following the guidelines of Total Survey Error Approach (Weisberg, 2005). Participants were informed of the structure of the survey on the welcome page, at the start of each new section, and

through a status bar that let participants know what section of the survey they were on. In addition participants were allowed to skip all but the most important questions.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections: network questions, organisation attribute questions, and directory details. The sections were ordered in this way to mitigate the effects of participant fatigue. The network questions came first, as these were the core questions for the research. I wanted to make sure any potential dropouts at least completed this section. The directory details came at the end, because they were the easiest questions to answer and so the least likely to be answered incorrectly despite participant fatigue (Weisberg, 2005). Furthermore, organisations were likely to be keen to be included in the directory, so knowing that the opportunity to enter their details would come at the end would encourage them to persevere through the other sections.

Network Questions

The network questions followed the name generator approach (Wassermann & Faust, 1994), in which respondents were asked to name organisations with which their organisation had relationships via free recall. The responses produced miniature personal networks for each organisation, which were linked together into a whole network map. Crossley (2010) argues that a quantitative network study is unsuitable for a field that is nascent or in flux, which this field is. However, Powell et al. (1996) suggest that once an organisation develops a set of collaborative relationships, it is likely to continue to cultivate such ties, even if the individual co-collaborators change. Therefore, while the details of the individual relationships in a field may change, the general trend of relationship formation is suggestive of longer-term tendencies. This argument is supported by presence of a core of relatively older organisations in the field (see Chapter 7). Respondents were asked about habitual contacts, as this is more likely to garner more accurate results than questions about a particular time period (Marsden, 1990, 2005; Wassermann & Faust, 1994).

The network questions inquired about three different kinds of collaborative relationships – service based, advocacy based, and those with obsolete organisations. Service relationships, or ties, were elicited with the question, ‘Which nonprofit organisation(s) does your organisation collaborate with most often when providing information and / or services to asylum seekers?’ Advocacy ties were elicited with the question: ‘Which nonprofit organisation(s) does your organisation collaborate with most often when working to change policy relating to asylum seekers?’ Obsolete ties were

elicited with the questions: 'How many non-profit organisations that have left the field in the past three years had you worked with on asylum-related matters?' and 'Which non-profit organisation(s) that left the field in the past three years did your organisation collaborate with most often?' These last questions did not add to the networks as such. However, they did give insight into changes in the field.

Participants were invited to name up to three organisations for each type of relationship. Limiting the service and advocacy collaborative relationships to only three alters returns a sparse, or low-density, network (Lubbers, 2003). However, the desire for more network information had to be balanced with the goal, drawn from previous literature on the field, of comparing the service and advocacy networks. In its first draft, the questionnaire elicited six more relationships, but the burden on the respondent in the first pilot interview was so high that the extra questions were removed. In subsequent pilots, some respondents expressed relief at the end of the network section, as the repetitive questions were tedious and at times difficult. However, they did not think the amount of questioning was unreasonable, as the first pilot respondent did.

Table 3: Size of Complete and Eligible-Only Networks

	Complete Nodes	Eligible Nodes	Complete Ties	Eligible Ties	Complete Density	Eligible Density
Service	93	40	118	56	0.026	0.063
Advocacy	64	35	77	48	0.036	0.074

The sparseness of the collaboration networks was potentially exacerbated by the fact that many organisations named alters that did not belong to the field. Part of this was due to participants naming organisations that did not fit the requirements of the question given – i.e. that the organisation be nonprofit. Part of this was because organisations were simply asked to name nonprofits they collaborate with on asylum work. They were not asked for alters that fit the specific criteria for the study. I was concerned that it was too much of a burden to expect participants to know another organisation's main beneficiaries or statutory status. In fact, when I rang organisations to see whether they themselves were eligible for the study, some did not know off-hand whether they were statutory or not. As seen in Table 3, the final eligible networks included fewer members (nodes) and fewer relationships (ties) than the complete networks. The density of the eligible networks is higher, because the complete networks include a significant number of nodes that could not name alters, since they were not eligible to participate in the study. It is likely that if

respondents limited their choice of alters to organisations within the field, there would have been more intra-field connections and, hence, higher density.

This trade-off between respondent burden and complete data is the direct result of choosing a snowball method with a limited number of alters. I felt that the benefits of locating as many organisations as possible and encouraging participants to complete the survey by reducing the question burden were worth the analytical costs. In the end, the service and advocacy collaboration networks I am analysing in this study must be seen as the networks that result when field members are chosen from participants' three most important collaboration partners. While the high number of extra-field responses impairs the completeness of the data, the presence of so many non-field members in the total results convinced me that a full, personal network study of individuals within case study organisations would be the best way to approach the many fields in which these organisations are embedded. In addition, the information from these subsequent interviews was used to check the validity of findings from the network study.

In anticipation of the normally low average response rate of just over 50% for organisational surveys (Anseel, Lievens, & Schollaert, 2010), participants were asked to provide extra information about each collaboration partner they named. For each named partner, or alter, participants were asked to identify its county, presence, or absence of asylum seekers or former asylum seekers on its staff, and its main activities. The organisation's county was particularly important, as some national organisations might not focus on asylum seekers per se, while some of their local branches do. Also, organisations with relationships with separate branches of the same national organisation should not be considered to be connected by those branches, unless the branches themselves are connected. In the end, with the exception of the county question, these extra requests for information proved unnecessary, because the response rate was so high.

Attribute Questions

The aims of the attribute section were to gain information on responding organisations' human, economic, and social capital, as well as their embeddedness in the field. Organisational size, including the number of staff, volunteers, members, and asylum seeker participation were all used as indicators of human capital. Economic capital was not measured as such, but a question inviting respondents to rank the sources of organisational income indicates the degree of dependency organisations have on external stakeholders, such as the state or members. Social capital was measured through membership in

umbrella organisations and the collaborative network structure. Finally, a question about the participants' target beneficiaries indicated the degree to which each nonprofit is embedded in this field or interpenetrated by other fields in the nonprofit sector.

Directory Details

The directory details section served two purposes. Firstly, it gathered details for display in the directory of asylum seeker support. Secondly, it gathered information about the projects and activities of the organisation. Questions about organisational activities and targeted subpopulations indicated the aims and projects of the organisation.

Validating the Questionnaire: Pilot study

In order to ensure the quality of the questionnaire, particularly the validity and reliability of individual items, it was piloted with individuals who were similar to but not included in the population under study (Weisberg, 2005). Care was taken to find individuals who work with nonprofit organisations in Ireland or who are non-native English speakers, as well as to engage male and female pilot respondents (see Table 4 below). Three respondents worked in the field under study but would not be the organisations' respondent to the questionnaire. Pilot respondents also included colleagues with experience in survey design (Weisberg, 2005) and friends with no experience of the survey design or the field. This last group helped to ensure the clarity of the language and design of the research instrument. I sat next to five respondents while they completed the questionnaire and invited them to discuss their thoughts as they completed the survey (Weisberg, 2005). I took notes on these conversations. The remainder completed the survey in their own time and emailed comments to me. The survey was updated based on reviewer feedback, including the omission and addition of individual questions as well as the alteration of wording or clarification of vocabulary.

In the end, despite serious resource limitations, the questionnaire performed well on both of its aims: describing the field and mapping the relationships within it. The high response rate of the survey confirms that the issues under study were valuable to the field. The modifications to the accepted snowball sampling methods gave mixed results, which provide new options for future network studies. On the one hand, limiting the sample building and substantive questioning to one phase ensured that participants would not be lost to attrition. On the other hand, limiting the number of alters a respondent could name without providing a roster meant that there was some error in the total network outcomes. Future whole network studies would do well to choose either snowball sampling or limits

on the number of relationships to be named, but not both. Despite these limitations, the questionnaire was a sound research instrument, because of extensive efforts to ensure its validity, including an ethnographic pre-study and a pilot study, as well as triangulation with interview data to corroborate and elucidate the whole network findings. The next section will turn to these interviews.

Table 4: Pilot Study Participant Profiles

Pilot Respondent	Works with a nonprofit	Works with asylum seekers	Non-native English speaker	Male	Female
1	X	X			X
2	X				X
3	X			X	
4	X				X
5	X		X		X
6	X	X		X	
7	X	X		X	
8				X	
9			X		X
10			X		X
11					X
12					X
Totals	7	3	3	4	8

4.3.3 Understanding Meaning in Relationships: Semi-structured interviews

Interviews took place from September 2013 – January 2014. The collection and analysis of the interview data is underpinned by the theory of social phenomenology (Schütz 1973; Berger and Luckmann 1966), which uses the exploration of intersubjective interactions to understand the constitution and maintenance of wider community institutions. This data complements the survey results, identifying the qualitative precursors for and implications of the network structures. Interview data assisted the interpretation of quantitative data by deepening, elucidating, and contextualising questionnaire results (Edwards, 2010; Hollstein, 2014). Meanwhile, the quantitative results, particularly the whole network maps, allowed for the structural contextualisation of interview data and emergent meanings (Hollstein, 2011). Two case study organisations were chosen, thereby allowing for comparison and validation of results – both between the cases and with the survey data. The design allowed for disentangling results peculiar to the field from those peculiar to a particular organisation.

The two case study organisations were chosen based on the results of the whole network map. Each case was found to be central in its respective catchment area. Migrant Information Services Organisations (MISO) is a hub for the Republic of Ireland as a whole, and Northwest Integration (NWI) is a hub in a large town in the northwest of the country. Comparing these two organisations revealed characteristics shared by two very different hubs, while also highlighting major differences that come from location, organisational structure, and funding. The following chapter will introduce both organisations in more detail.

Two kinds of interviews were employed: semi-structured personal network interviews for staff members of the organisations and semi-structured contextual interviews for interns and service users. The structured elements of the interviews ensured comparability of data across individuals and across cases (Hollstein, 2011). At the same time, the open-ended nature of the questions and the flexibility to probe and follow up on relevant leads allowed a deeper exploration of meanings in the field. See Appendix 2 for the interview schedule.

I conducted personal network interviews with MISO's entire paid staff of twelve employees and all three regular volunteers. I also conducted contextual interviews with two interns, the chair of the board, and one beneficiary. I had asked a few members of MISO from different departments repeatedly for help to access beneficiaries, but they were unable to assist. One member of the legal department told me that they were having a hard time finding participants for their own research at the same time as my interviews. However, two of the regular volunteers with whom I conducted personal network interviews were a current and a former beneficiary, so they were able to provide more information from the service user's perspective. With NWI, I interviewed all twelve members of the organisations, eight of whom participated in NWI as representatives of other nonprofits and four of whom were volunteers. I also interviewed one former and two current beneficiaries.

Audio recordings were made of the interviews, with only two exceptions in which participants asked not to be recorded. In those two instances, I took notes during the interview, which I typed out and expanded as soon as the interview ended. I transcribed the remainder of the interviews in full. The interviews took place in a variety of locations, depending on what was most convenient for the participant. Most were in cafés, and some

were in either the participant's or my office. One interview took place in the participant's home.

Personal Network Interviews

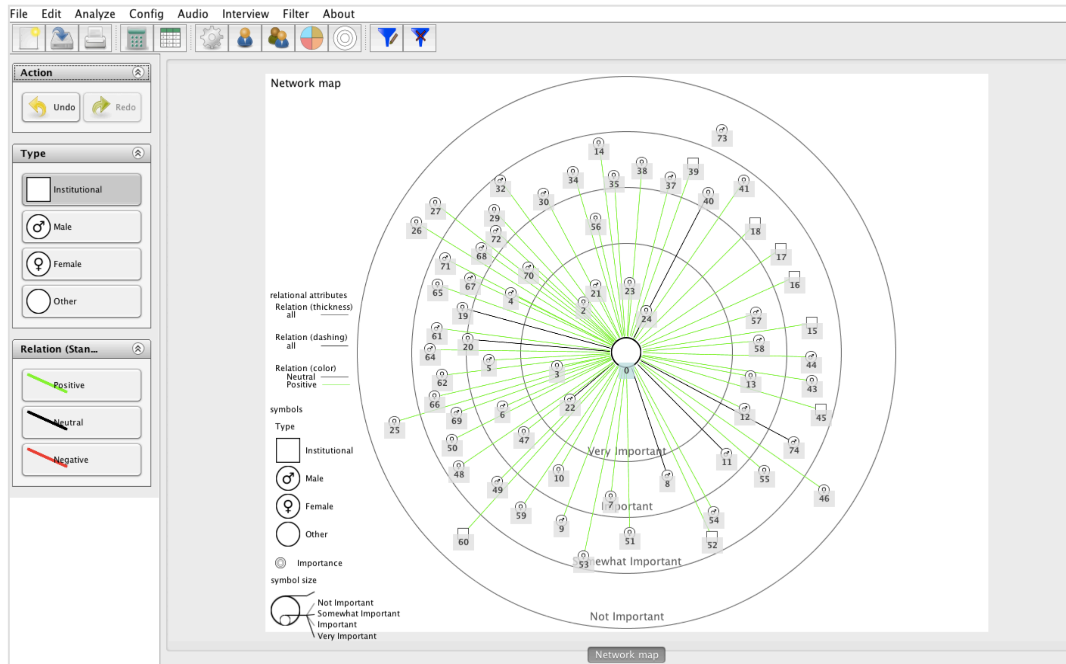
Personal network interviews, in which participants were invited to discuss the entire set of their working relationships, allowed the detailed consideration of relationships, both within the field under study and beyond (Hollstein, 2011). These interviews lasted between one hour and two and a half hours.

I began the interviews by asking participants to describe their own roles in the organisations in order to gain the context of their personal projects within the organisation. Doing so helped them to ease into the interview and jogged their memories about the different situations in which their relationships existed. I also asked for their perception of the organisation as a whole. This was to get an overview of their perceptions of the organisation and how individuals functioned as a network within it.

After the warm up questions, I introduced the personal network segment of the interview. In this segment, I used VennMaker (Schönhuth, Kronenwett, Gamper, & Stark, 2007) with participants to create a map of their personal network as they described it (see Figure 2). While some personal network programmes create the map at the end of a network interview, VennMaker allows participants to draw the map as they talk about it. In addition to being more enjoyable, this interview style also makes the potentially tedious probing questions proceed more quickly (Hogan, Carrasco, & Wellman, 2007).

I asked participants to include everyone with whom they communicate over the course of their work. This allowed participants to discuss the many ways that they coordinate their work activities without tying them to a particular definition of or set of expectations surrounding 'collaboration'. (For a similar argument regarding 'friendship' see Pahl and Spencer (2004).) Allowing participants to define their own relationships provided a deeper understanding of 'collaboration' in the field, both in participants' own terms and in the context of other working relationships. Individuals and organisations were placed in locations on the map depending on whether they were deemed Very Important, Important, Somewhat Important, and Not Important to the interviewee's work. Each relationship was described as Positive, Neutral, or Negative, and that description was denoted using different colours to link the alters to the participant (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2: Personal Network Maps



Computer assisted participatory mapping is a new methodological arena. It has been argued that creating a network map on a computer might be intimidating to certain respondents (Gamper, Schönhuth, & Kronenwett, 2012; McCarty, Molina, Aguilar, & Rota, 2007). Because all of my participants were familiar with office work, I was not concerned that this would be the case. Nevertheless, to make sure each participant was as comfortable as possible with the somewhat unusual style of interview, I gave interviewees the option of handling the computer themselves or telling me how to map their networks. Either way, I encouraged them to speak aloud as they went along, explaining their choices. I found that at the start of the interviews, I asked probing questions more frequently (for example, 'What makes this person so important?' or 'How would you be in touch with each other?'). As the interviews went on, participants developed a better sense of the information I was looking for and they directed their own narratives, focussing on what they found to be the important aspects of the relationship.

The mapping process kept the conversation focussed on specifics and encouraged participants to discuss working relationships exhaustively (Emmel, 2008) while also providing a visual prompt for narratives and perceptions of the field (Hollstein, 2011). Combined with the open-ended probes, the mapping encouraged the exploration of multiplex meanings within single relationships (Fine & Kleinman, 1983), providing a rich view of the many ways actors in the field rely on one another. The value of the mapping was apparent in the one staff interview in MISO in which the participant refused to make a map, either on the computer or on a printout of the concentric circles I had in case of such

a refusal. This interview ran far shorter than the rest, finishing up after thirty minutes with sparse details on individual relationships.

When time allowed, I asked participants to comment on the structure of their final map. For example, I asked if anything surprised them or if they would distinguish between different levels of importance. Unfortunately, participants often had to hurry back to work, so this was not always possible. However, their answers to probing questions regarding the importance or quality of relationships along the way often provided the same information. As Hogan et al. argue, 'Arranging the ties in an overall structure induces the respondent to think about individuals in relation to each other' leading to a more holistic view of the participants' network (2007, p. 129). Finally, I closed by asking participants if they had any specific strategies for maintaining and cultivating relationships. Often, participants were so fatigued at this point that the question did not elicit a particularly revealing answer. For some though, it provided an opportunity to reflect on the networks they had built up and the qualities they value in relationships.

In their work on structure and meaning, Fuhse and Mützel (2011) argue that intersubjective meaning, including negotiated expectations and understandings, is best accessed through observation of behaviour or artefacts, and that interviews more suitable for subjective accounts of meaning as motivation. However, in this field much of the co-constitution of intersubjective meaning takes place in private conversations, whether face-to-face or over the telephone, and it often does not leave documentary evidence. While these conversations could theoretically be observed, gaining access would involve the permission of alters as well as case study organisation members, which was not feasible given the time and resource restraints of this project. In the interviews, participants were able to account for the development and change of key relationships over time, highlighting the shifts in expectations and context that would likely have been invisible in a documentary analysis. In addition, as Schütz argues, 'It is easier to observe the effect that the action of one person has on that of another than it is to observe the attitudes they may have toward each other, e.g. sympathy or antipathy' (Schütz, 1972, p. 155). These attitudes, which are constituted through histories of intersubjective interactions, shape future expectations and present actions in ways that can be inaccessible to a straight observer.

These network interviews provided insight in to the so-called cognitive networks of participants. Which is to say, rather than mapping actual network behaviour, these maps revealed participants' understanding and conceptualisation of their own social worlds,

including things like their attitudes to relationships and perceptions of frequency of interaction (Lerner, Lubbers, Molina, & Brandes, 2014; McCarty et al., 2007). These conceptualisations reveal the contextual meaning of social institutions that actors draw on as well as their own subjective motives behind social actions. Because these meanings are couched in narratives, combined with the whole network data, this particular interview style allows the leap from meaning and structure to social action as it was called for by Fuhse and Mützel (2011).

Contextual Interviews

The contextual interviews with beneficiaries and ancillary organisation members allowed me to get overall impressions of the organisations from individuals who knew the organisation well but did not necessarily see themselves as a part of it. In addition, these interviews gave an insight into how the relationships maintained by actors in the case study organisations impacted the experiences of beneficiaries. These interviews were considerably shorter than the personal network interviews, generally around thirty minutes.

Interviews with interns and the chair of the board of MISO contained similar questions to the personal network interviews, but the relationships questions were abbreviated and more general. I asked participants to describe their role and how they came to the organisation, as well as to describe the organisation. One intern had done a previous internship with MISO five years prior to the interview, which was before the change in management. As a result, she was able to elaborate on the changes in the organisation over the years. The chair of the board was able to draw out the planning processes involved in creating the current organisational structure, including key relationships with external stakeholders.

Interviews with beneficiaries provided a bottom-up view of how their cases were managed among members of the case study organisations and with other organisations and agencies. While beneficiaries may not have known all of the exchanges involved in dealing with their presenting issues, their perspectives gave insight into information sharing practice as it happens on individual cases. In addition, beneficiary relationships with individual organisation members suggested the extent to which asylum seekers rely on individual actors versus particular institutionalised roles in organisations.

While the survey data provided a formal, structural overview of the field, allowing for its visualisation and the calculation of key descriptive statistics, the semi-structured interviews allowed for the exploration of the meanings of the relationships within the field

as well as across fields (e.g. with statutory and for-profit bodies). Utilising the qualitative and quantitative data to contextualise one another increased the interpretability, meaningfulness, and validity of findings (Greene et al., 1989). In addition, the interview structure allowed participants to explain the dynamic elements of relationships (Crossley, 2010; Edwards, 2010), which is particularly important as they are adapting to the current economic climate and a shifting policy context. These interviews provided as multi-faceted view of relationships within the organisations, as well as of the complex and at times contradictory interorganisational relationships that emerge from individual interactions.

4.3.4 Analysis

Questionnaire and interview data were analysed iteratively. This allowed findings and questions from each body of data to inform and deepen analysis of the other body of data. In addition, it allowed each body of data to serve as a check on the validity of the other body of data. The assumption underlying this process is that both data sets present different perspectives on a singular reality (Wald, 2014). As questions arose during the analysis, both bodies of data were consulted for potential answers, resulting in multi-dimensional understandings of the meaning of social actions and relationships. By systematically relating the case study organisations with the wider case of the field, I was able identify patterns and contradictions, and thus, to build theory (Hollstein, 2011).

From the survey, attribute data were analysed via descriptive statistics using SPSS (IBM Corp., 2012). This attribute data provided an overview of the field, which in turn helped to contextualise the two case study organisations. Network data were also analysed descriptively, using relational measures, which focus on direct and indirect relationships between and among actors, and positional measures, which focus on structural equivalence (Burt, 1980). Relational measures used in this thesis include: cohesive subgroup analysis (Girvan & Newman, 2002), degree centrality (Freeman, 1979), and group affiliation. The positional analysis used in Chapter 7 describes the relationship between the core and periphery of the service and advocacy networks (Everett & Borgatti, 2000). Each of these measures will be discussed in detail in the chapter in which they appear. Network analysis was performed with UCINET (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). As collaboration is a mutual relationship, all relationships are considered to be symmetric, regardless of which organisation named the other. Thus, if two organisations name each other, they only have one relationship between them.

All interview data were entered into NVivo (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2012) and analysed thematically (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Themes were drawn from the major theories underpinning this research, neo-institutionalism and social network theory, as well as social phenomenology. Sub-themes were allowed to emerge from the data. This approach allowed the theories underpinning the research to structure the data, while still allowing meaning to emerge from participants' words, as demanded by the research questions (Fereday, 2006). The case study organisations were briefed on the findings, and they were given the opportunity to comment in order to confirm the validity of the qualitative study.

Missing Network Data

Missing data are a serious concern in whole network studies such as this, because even a small number of missing cases can have large effects on the overall structure of the network, particularly if those cases are central in the network. Care was taken in this study to head off missingness at the data collection stage, as described in the section on encouraging response above. Nevertheless, full participation was not achieved, and the final response rate was 90.9%. Two additional organisations opted out of the study altogether, but these were not named by any participant and could not be confirmed to fit the eligibility criteria.

Due to the low rate of missingness and the symmetric nature of collaboration ties, reconstruction affords a simple and effective method of dealing with missingness. Reconstruction 'allows the description supplied by one person to be how the link between two people is described' (Stork & Richards, 1992). Another option would have been to leave out the missing cases altogether (Robins, 2015), which would have also been unproblematic due to the peripheral nature of the five missing cases. Each non-participant was only named once and only in either the service or advocacy network. However, reconstruction provides a more complete picture of the network. The network does remain potentially incomplete; however, the measures used in this study have been found to be relatively robust when the rate of missingness is relatively low (see Huisman (2009) on degree-related data and clustering, and Žnidaršič, Ferligoj, and Doreian (2012) on positional analysis). Kossinets (2006) points out that reconstruction is not an option for affiliation data. For this reason, in Chapter 8, affiliations of nonparticipants and item nonrespondents were imputed from public records where possible. For all analyses, any missing location (i.e. county) data, for both respondents and nonrespondents, were imputed using public records.

In this project, mixing methods attained three aims. Firstly, triangulation of the whole network and personal network studies allowed a check on the validity of the data and resulting theories. Secondly, the qualitative and quantitative data enhance and clarify each other via their complementarity. Finally, development of the questionnaire and interview segments were attained via an ethnographic pre-study (Greene et al., 1989). This particular combination of whole network study with embedded personal network case studies presents an approach to multi-level organisational research, which has advantages that could be beneficial to studies of any organisational field. Firstly, it allows the exploration of the intersections between structure and institution at the levels of inter-personal and interorganisational social action. Secondly, augmenting a whole network study with personal network interviews affords a wider view of the relationships that shape a particular a particular field, included relationships with organisations external to the field under study.

4.4 – Building Relationships with Participants: Ethics and positionality

The strength of any social research study hinges as much on the relationship between the researcher and participants as it does on the rigour of the research design. This section will discuss that relationship from two different perspectives: the ethical considerations made in this study and the potential effects of the positionality of the researcher.

4.4.1 Ethics

This research was performed within the ethical guidelines set out by the Trinity College Dublin School of Social Sciences and Philosophy Research Ethics Policy. This study received approval from the school's ethics committee for each stage of research before the commencement of data collection.

In this mixed-methods project, it was particularly important to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, which can be particularly challenging in a small community of organisations. In the case of both the asylum seekers and the nonprofit staff, it was important to ensure that any information released does not jeopardise their relationships, application for international protection, or employment status. Consequently, all raw data have been stored securely in password protected and encrypted files. In all presentations of this research, including this thesis, pseudonyms were used for all individuals and nonprofit organisations. Other identifying details were also withheld, such as the exact location of the local case study organisation. A small number of organisational

details were obscured in order to protect the identity of the case study organisations. Pseudonyms for organisations named in the interviews do not correlate with the codes given to organisations that participated in the questionnaire. Questionnaire data, particularly location data, has been reported at a low resolution in order to protect the identity of participating organisations.

Throughout the research, obtaining informed consent required on-going negotiation. At the observation stage, making my status as a researcher known was a continual challenge that required constant introductions of my research and myself. At the start of the questionnaire, participants were briefed on the aims of the project, as well as any potential for harm. Because the network questions asked participants to name other organisations, organisations were given the opportunity to opt out of data analysis altogether. With the exception of beneficiaries, all interview participants were given consent forms immediately prior to the interview. In order to provide added protection for beneficiaries, I first asked permission to record the interview, and then once the recording began, I briefed them on their right to withdraw consent and asked again for permission to interview. Oral consents allowed me to gain their permission without leaving a paper trail including beneficiaries' names.

Asylum seekers' status as a vulnerable group demands extra attention to clarity, transparency, and respect. Ideally, all respondents should feel empowered by the research, insofar as their cooperation could have real, lasting implications for future service delivery (Mann, 2007). This project only involved interviewing adult asylum seekers, and I follow Strous and Jotkowitz (2010) in arguing that asylum seekers are well able to give or withhold informed consent, and to deny them that option is to withhold an opportunity to exercise autonomy. Indeed, the ethnographic pre-study demonstrated that asylum seekers are active and autonomous in their access of support via nonprofit organisations.

The risk of harm within the research instruments was minimal for all participants. The questions in the questionnaire and the qualitative interviews focussed on the functioning of the organisations and on working relationships, which were unlikely to induce a strong emotional reaction. In the case of asylum seeker participants, the line of questioning in interviews focussed solely on access to services within Ireland and did not invite participants to discuss any trauma from their home country or in Ireland. That said, all participating asylum seekers did speak frankly about negative aspects of their lives in Ireland and how the organisations fit in with that. Their candid portraits of life in direct

provision invited respect and a listening ear rather than pity or worry for their ability to participate in the research.

4.4.2 Positionality of the Researcher

While I did strive to standardise the data collection in the interests of reliability and comparability, I was still very much a part of each stage of inquiry, whether I was interacting with participants in person, encouraging participation via email and telephone, or simply designing the questionnaire. Just as meaning is constituted among research participants, it is also constituted between researcher and participant. This section aims to unpack the ways my positionality as a person impacted my data collection as a researcher, or, to use Schütz's vocabulary, to step out of the flow of experience and reflect on the constitution of meaning in this project. As Hammersley and Atkinson argue in favour of reflexivity, '… rather than engaging in futile attempts to eliminate the effects of the researcher completely, we should set about understanding them…' (2007, p. 16).

I came to this research with a set of qualities that gave me just enough common ground with participants to gain their trust and enough distance to preserve my role as an independent researcher. The most important element that I shared with participants is a genuine interest in the welfare of asylum seekers. My mother was born in a refugee camp after World War II, and I grew up hearing stories of my grandmother's forced exile from her home. Participants often asked where my interest in the field came from, and I found that this information often put them at ease, particularly those respondents who were currently in or had been through Ireland's asylum process.

In addition, though I had never worked with asylum seekers before, I came to the research with over a decade of experience working with a variety of nonprofits, whether as a volunteer, a staff member, or most recently as an employee at a company that provided fundraising support to nonprofits. As such, I was already familiar with many of the issues that participants faced on a day-to-day basis and the kinds of relationships that might be particularly important for doing their jobs. Additionally, my competence in office work was part of what helped me to build trust with members of the field during those early days of participant observation.

Finally, I share a cultural background with many of the participants, mainly by virtue of my age but also from having lived in Ireland for six years prior to the research and being married to a local. This often helped me connect with people on a personal level

through small talk and jokes. As noted above, I shared so much in common with the members of the organisation where I volunteered, that I often saw some of the staff at pubs or events around Dublin.

That said, I was also different enough from participants that they would take time to explain things that an insider would be expected to know, and at times they relayed information that they might not have handed over so readily to someone immersed in the field. Part of this came from my status as a researcher and the confidentiality I promised. Furthermore, although I am an Irish citizen, I was born and raised in the United States. I also spent the four years prior to the research living in Canada. As a result, I had a lot of catching up to do in terms of learning about the field, and participants were often happy to fill me in on what I missed, simultaneously revealing their own values or those that were dominant in the field. Additionally, I was able to build rapport with non-Irish respondents by highlighting my foreignness, inviting them to speak candidly of their own perspective on our shared adopted home. This proved particularly useful when talking to beneficiaries, who did not want to appear critical or ungrateful for the support they have received in Ireland.

Approaching participants with respect and honesty was very important to me throughout the research. Whether they were formal notifications of ethical standards or the subtler back and forth that happens in preparation for and throughout moments of research, each interaction with participants provided valuable opportunities for me to build trusting relationships that increased the reliability of the study.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the best way to understand the confluence of meaning and structure in a field of organisations is an embedded case study consisting of mixed methods social network research. While other interpretive traditions have been used in combination with social network analysis, phenomenology is an overlooked tradition in that regard. It has been shown that social phenomenology's particular emphasis on meaning and its constitution within relationships is particularly apt for investigating institutions in relation to social structure. By bringing phenomenology and network theory together, this study advances both bodies of thought, particularly in filling the gap where structure and meaning are connected to social action.

This chapter also argued for the value of a sequential research design, with each phase of research contributing to and providing a check for the validity on the findings of

the study as a whole. In particular, it has demonstrated that combining a quantitative whole network study with embedded personal network case studies provides a holistic view of the field that brings together multiple levels of meaning and structure. In the whole network study, modifications made to the traditional snowball sampling design demonstrated new possibilities for reaching respondents quickly when time is of the essence. The high response rate of the questionnaire showed the value of relying on tried and true methods to boost participation, no matter how new the type of research. Finally, qualitative personal network interviews allowed me to make lemonade from what might have been the lemons of limiting the number of relationships that participants were allowed to name in the questionnaire. These interviews provided an important opportunity to corroborate the network data, and they also afforded a deeper analysis of the important relationships that extend beyond the field under study. In addition, this phase of the research adds to the nascent body of literature on computer assisted participatory network mapping.

Now it is time to put all that data to work. These last three chapters have set the stage for the study. In the first two chapters, we saw the context of the field, particularly the way that the recession and a series of restrictive policies and laws make asylum seekers a remarkably vulnerable population in the country. In the third chapter, major theories and concepts that will be used to understand this field were introduced. It was argued that neo-institutionalism and social network theory ask questions so closely tied to one another that it makes sense to approach them in a single study. Finally, this chapter laid out the ontological, epistemological, and technical details that such a study requires. The remainder of the thesis will work through the data collected from 2011 through early 2014, inductively answering questions about structure and meaning in the field. To begin, Chapter 5 will introduce the cases in this study.

Chapter 5 Introducing the Cases

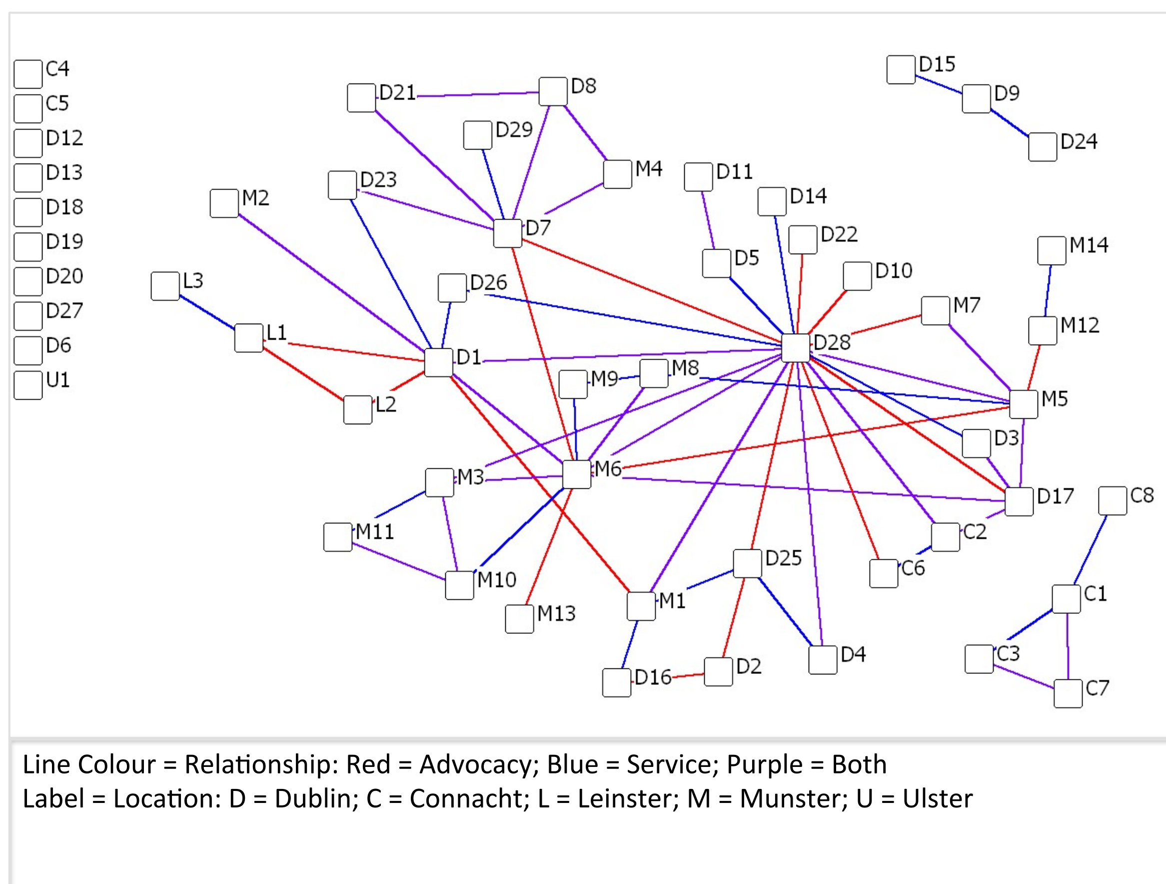
Before proceeding with the findings and discussion of the data from this study, it is worth pausing to introduce the cases under investigation. There are three cases at two levels. First, there is the field of non-statutory nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland. Then, within that case, two organisations have been chosen. These organisations are both hubs within the field, but they exist in different geographic locations and their individual networks have very different reaches. The first, Migrant Information and Services and Organisation (MISO), is a national hub. The second, Northwest Integration (NWI), is a local hub. The main challenge of this thesis is to move back and forth between these two levels as well as a third, implicit level – that of the individuals within each organisation. In order to do that, each case must first be understood on its own terms, so that the following chapters may place them in the context of one another.

5.1 – Overview of the Field

As reported in the methodology chapter, the questionnaire garnered fifty eligible responses from organisations in the field and identified a further five non-statutory, nonprofit organisations in Ireland for which asylum seekers are among their main beneficiaries. Figure 3 below shows the entire field as it is connected by service and advocacy collaborative relationships. Those organisations that are lined up along the upper left did not indicate any collaboration partners within the field for either of these social roles. The colour of the ties between organisations indicates the type of relationships. In the network maps in this thesis, Dublin has been split out from the rest of Leinster due to the high number of organisations present there.

The following three chapters will discuss this field as it is structured into these two networks. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the field as a whole, giving an overview of relevant descriptive statistics, placing it in the wider context of Irish nonprofits, and setting the stage for the discussion of its networks.

Figure 3: Service and Advocacy Networks in the Field of Nonprofits that Support Asylum Seekers in Ireland



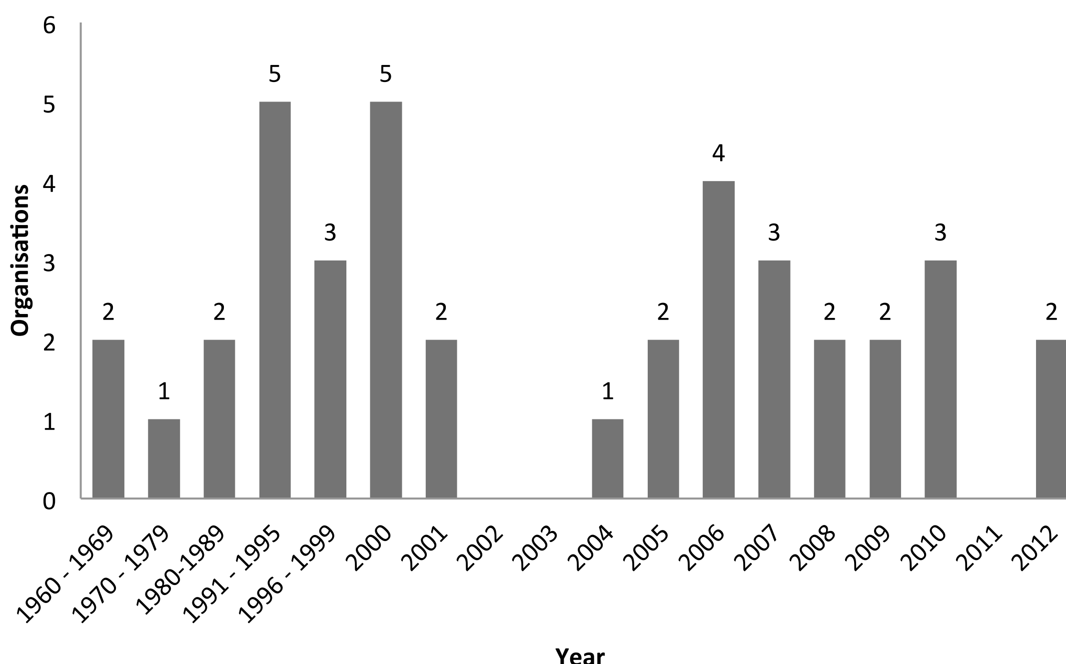
5.1.1 How old is the field?

The field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers is young compared to the entire field of Irish nonprofits. The relative youth of the field reflects the relatively recent nature of asylum support as a major social issue. Ireland did not begin receiving significant numbers of asylum applications until the late 1990s, when the growing economy and an increase in affordable travel put Ireland on the in-migration map (Loyal, 2011).

Based on the results from thirty-nine respondents, the average age of organisations in the field is 13 years (see Figure 4), which is the same age Mullen et al. (2012) found in their analysis of the 2,000 organisations in the Irish Nonprofits Database. However, the average in this case is dragged upwards by outliers that do not specialise in asylum seekers or even migrants. They are, rather, organisations that provide for the general population and have found that asylum seekers have become a significant sub-population among their service users. Without these three organisations, the average age of the field drops to 11 years.

The relative age of the field has important implications for its ability to do work and to shape its own projects. On the one hand, by the time the needs of asylum seekers became a sizeable issue in the country in the late 1990s, the third sector had already mature, as evidenced by its formalised relationship with the state (Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999).

Figure 4: Organisations Established by Year



This suggests that much work on figuring out how to be a nonprofit had already been done. Channels of communication with state bodies already existed, and institutionalised roles and programmes were already developed, which the new field could take advantage of (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). On the other hand, this pre-prescribed environment was not developed with the specific needs of asylum seekers in mind, and organisations must develop new skills and strategies to deal with the peculiarity of their situation.

5.1.2 Where is the work being done?

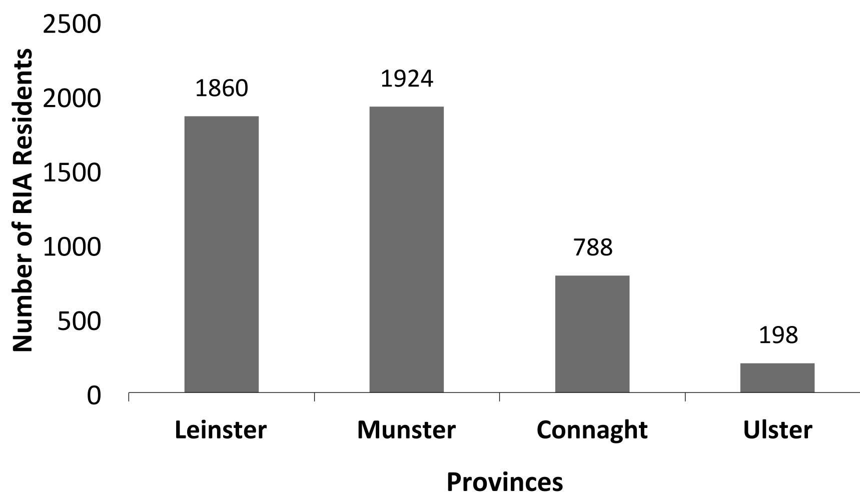
Because asylum seekers are spread around the country in the direct provision system, one would expect that the nonprofits that support them would be similarly distributed. While the field does span Ireland, its coverage of the areas where asylum seekers live is not complete.

When broken down by province, the distribution of nonprofits supporting asylum seekers across Ireland mirrors the distribution of nonprofits generally rather than the

distribution of asylum seekers across the country. In descending order, respondents were located in Leinster (60%), Munster (24%), Connacht (14%), and Ulster (Republic only) (2%) (see Figure 5)[4]. These proportions roughly match those found in two recent overviews of the entire field of nonprofits in Ireland (Donoghue et al., 2006; RSM McClure Watters, 2012).

Figure 5: Organisations by Province

Figure 6: RIA Residents by Province



This distribution of support does not reflect the high number of asylum seekers resident in direct provision centres in Munster at the time of the survey. As shown in

[4] For those organisations that did not provide information on their location, their county was identified through a web search and imputed into the data.

Figure 6, 40% of all direct provision residents were in Munster, followed by Leinster with 39%, Connacht with 17%, and Ulster with 4% (RIA, 2013).

This mismatch between the numbers of organisations and beneficiaries in Dublin might be due to resources and infrastructure already available from the non-profits that pre-date the field of asylum support. In addition, Dublin draws the bulk of the organisations, probably because advocacy is a major part of the work of the field. Most of the organisations and agencies these nonprofits must advocate to – be they governmental, press, or otherwise – are located in the capital. In fact, it is not the whole of Leinster that takes the lion's share of the nonprofit support. Of the 50 organisations that responded to the survey, over half (28) were based in County Dublin alone.

One final point worth noting is that there are four direct provision centres in towns around the country from which no organisation responded and no organisation was named as a collaboration partner. There are a few possible explanations for the apparent gaps. Organisations close to larger localities might reach out to those centres; statutory organisations might provide the bulk of the support; or relevant non-profits might simply not have chosen to participate in the survey.

5.1.3 What are the activities of the field?

The questionnaire asked respondents about a series of activities frequently cited in work supporting asylum seekers. A total of forty-three organisations indicated their main activities, and the results cover all five of the possible nonprofit roles.

The most commonly named activities were information services, integration support, and advocacy. Other activities specified by the organisations themselves included: homework and education support, volunteering opportunities, and training for staff[5] that support asylum seekers. The distribution can be seen in Figure 7. There is a range of supports available to asylum seekers across the field and within single organisations. In fact, the average number of activities reported per organisation is 7. These activities span all five social roles as identified by Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock (2000): service, innovation, advocacy, expressive and leadership development, and community building or democratisation.

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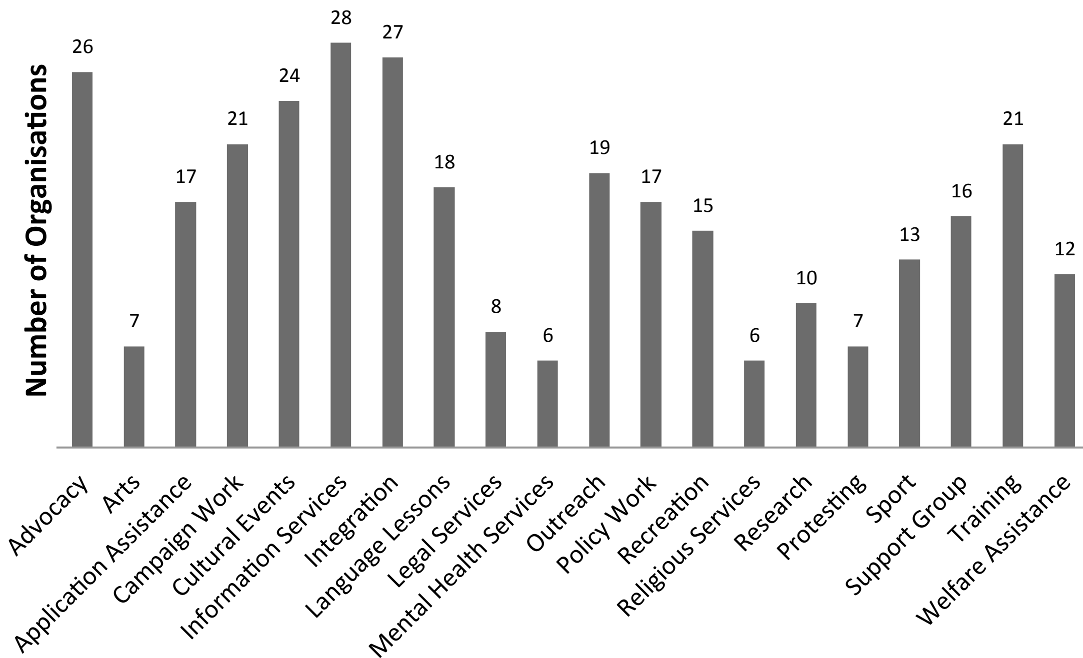
[5] In order to distinguish active and subscription based organisation members 'staff' will be used to denote paid employees, volunteers, and interns.

Figure 7: Organisational Activities



5.1.4 Who supports asylum seekers in this field?

The nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland tend to be small, with over half having ten or fewer employees or volunteers. Proportionally, more organisations have paid staff in this field of nonprofits than in the wider nonprofit community, which suggests that this field is more professional and formal than other nonprofit fields in Ireland. However, volunteerism remains a strong trend. Over four-fifths of all responding organisations report that asylum seekers or former asylum seekers participate in the organisation as paid staff, volunteers, or board members.

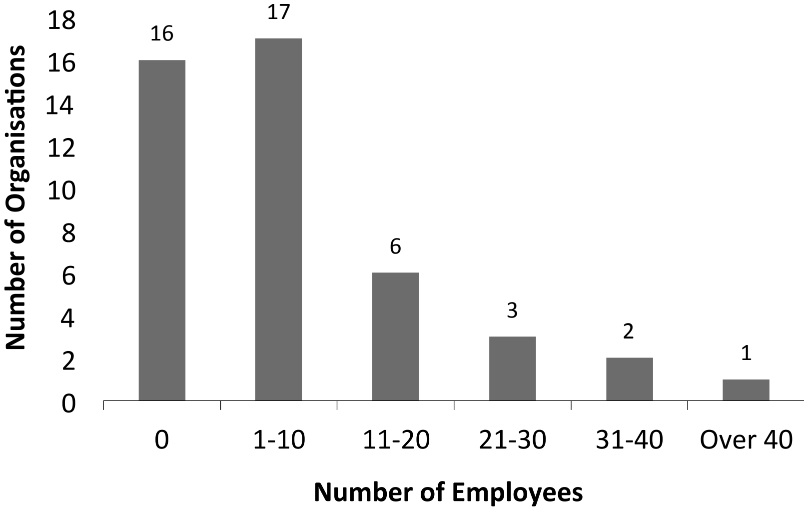
Employment

In total, 45 organisations answered the staffing questions on the questionnaire (see Figure 8). Just over two-thirds (29) of all respondents have paid staff. This is a much higher level of paid employment than that of the wider non-profit sector, where more than half (55%) of all organisations had no employees in 2012 (Mullen et al., 2012). The average number of employees per organisation in this field is 8.

The high proportion of organisations that pay their employees suggests that it is a heavily professionalised field. This professionalisation might partly be explained by the wide range of specialised needs that asylum seekers have. It might also be explained by the notorious difficulty with organising asylum seekers into a self-serving community organisation. While asylum seekers share a set of social problems, they are often divided

by language, culture, and family status. Furthermore, rumours that those who speak out will be deported or moved to another centre discourage activism in direct provision centres.

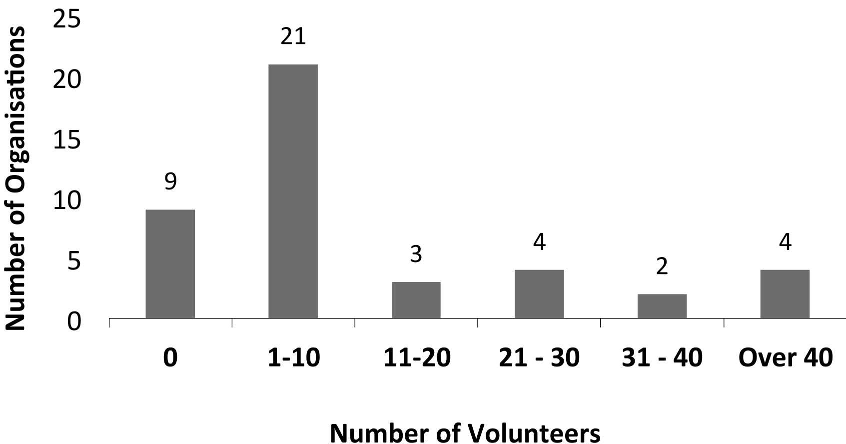
Figure 8: Total Number of Employees per Organisation (in 10s)



Volunteering

Nevertheless, most organisations have more volunteers than employees. Forty-three organisations reported on their volunteers (excluding board/managing committee members) (see Figure 9). The average amount of volunteers is 19, with only 9 organisations reporting no volunteers. It is worth noting that one organisation did not report any volunteers, highlighting in written correspondence the fact that activists, though unpaid, do not necessarily fit into the categories of staff or volunteers.

Figure 9: Volunteers per Organisation (in 10s)



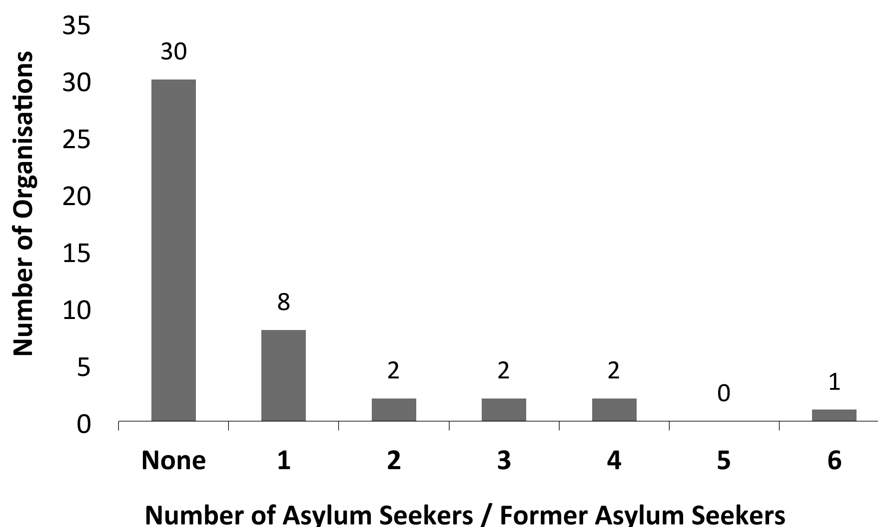
Volunteerism is one of the defining features of a nonprofit (Salamon & Anheier, 1992b), setting such organisations apart from state and private bodies. In Ireland, it is historically associated with the community sector (as opposed to the volunteer sector), which is distinguished by its self-help orientation to empowerment and rights as well as the participation of community members (Daly, 2007; Donoghue, 2003; Somers & Bradford, 2006). These qualities can be seen as a counterpoint to the formalisation indicated by the presence of employees. The presence of paid staff indicates regular funding, which has been found to lead to the adoption of aims and practices expected by external funders, such as philanthropic organisations and government bodies (R. Lentin, 2012).

Asylum seeker participation

To gauge beneficiary participation across the field, organisations were asked to report the number of known asylum seekers and former asylum seekers that make up their employees, volunteer base and voluntary board / managing committee (Figure 10). In total, over four-fifths of respondent organisations (82%) report participation by asylum seekers or former asylum seekers in some capacity – be it as employees, volunteer support or as a member of the voluntary board/management committee. The *Refugee Act 1996* prohibits the disclosure of an asylum seeker's immigration status, which means organisations might not be aware of asylum seekers and former asylum seekers in their organisation.

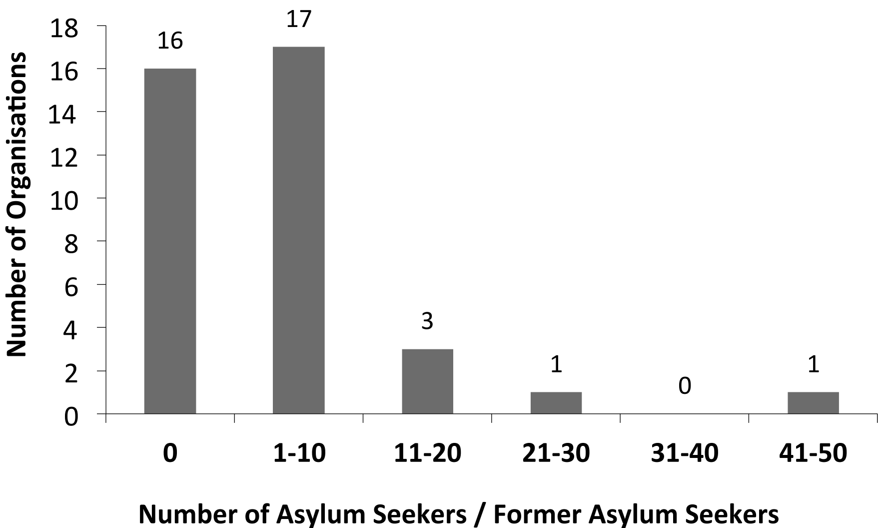
Two-thirds of reporting organisations (30) had no known asylum seekers or former asylum seekers on their payroll (Figure 10). The highest number reported was 6, and the average is less than one (.71).

Figure 10: Number of Asylum Seekers / Former Asylum Seekers Employed per Organisation



Compared to paid employment, volunteering by beneficiaries is far more common in the field, which might be because *The Refugee Act 1996* also prohibits current asylum seekers from engaging in paid employment while they await the decision on their status. There are 203 reported cases of asylum seekers or former asylum seekers volunteering with just over two-thirds (26) of reporting organisations (Figure 11). Overall, just over one fourth of all reported cases of volunteerism in the field are confirmed asylum seekers or former asylum seekers.

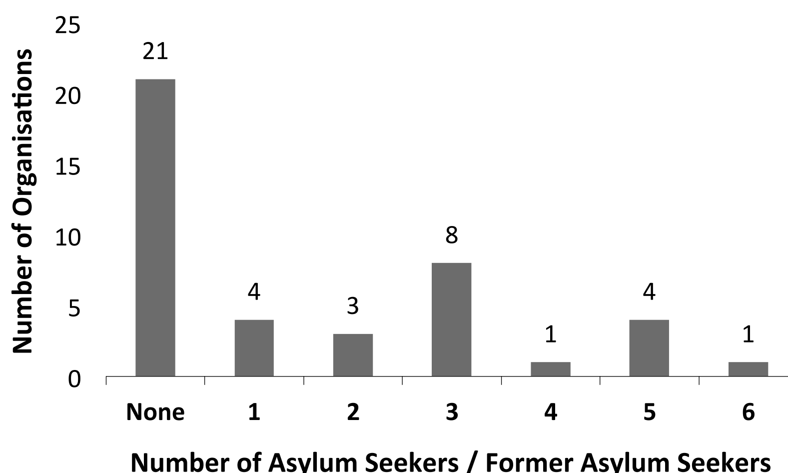
Figure 11: Number of Asylum Seekers / Former Asylum Seekers Volunteering per Organisation



Asylum seekers and former asylum seekers can also participate in the field by sitting on managing boards. There are 64 cases of beneficiaries reported to be sitting on the voluntary boards / managing committees of 21 organisations (Figure 12). The highest number of asylum seekers on a single board is 6, and the average number is 2.

Participation by asylum seekers and former asylum seekers in a non-profit can provide direct access for beneficiaries into the dialogue about the processes and policies that circumscribes their lives (Cullen, 2009). By working *with* beneficiaries, rather than working *for* them, non-profits can tread the fine line of highlighting and addressing asylum seekers' needs and rights while empowering them as active participants in their own fate (Donoghue, 2003; Hardy & Phillips, 1999). Previous research has questioned whether this participation is always genuinely empowering for the individuals involved (AkiDwa, 2010; Feldman, 2007). Asylum seekers' participation in and influence on case study organisations will be addressed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Figure 12: Number of Asylum Seekers / Former Asylum Seekers on Voluntary Board / Managing Committee per Organisation



5.2 – The Case Study Organisations

Two case study organisations were chosen for the comparison and validation of results – both between the cases and with the survey data. One national and one regional hub organisation were chosen for interviews, because their relatively high number of connections in the network indicates that they experience higher exposure to and influence on the institutional environment, as Chapter 6 will argue. Both organisations have a high proportion of asylum seeking beneficiaries, and both are over ten years old.

5.2.1 Migrant Information and Services Organisation

The Migrant Information and Services Organisation (MISO) is a Dublin-based human rights organisation that specialises in supporting new communities. As nonprofits go, it is established, professional, and formal. MISO is in the oldest quartile of nonprofits that support asylum seekers. However, like many organisations. It underwent major changes during the recession, which included an entirely new board and CEO. As a result, organisational memory is limited. In its current incarnation, MISO displays a strong legal influence in terms of both its activities and the educational background of many of its members.

MISO is one of the major NGOs in the migrant support field in terms of scope, size, funding, and relationships. Its reach is nationwide, whether for service provision or advocacy work. There were twelve employees on the books at the time of interviews, which places the organisation in the largest quartile of employers in the field. MISO also had three volunteers and a changing number of interns, two of which were interviewed.

The majority of its funding, like most major organisations in the field, comes from large philanthropic bodies (Prospectus, 2008), giving it a high degree of independence from governmental influence. EU grants constitute the next largest source of funding, which come to less than a quarter of its annual income. Other sources include membership dues, private donations, and programme fees.

Under Donnelly-Cox and Jaffro's (1999) taxonomy of Irish nonprofits, as discussed in Chapter 2, MISO is a professional, or social service voluntary organisation. As such, it provides services and lobbies on behalf of its beneficiaries, based on the organisation's specialist expertise. While these projects are executed by professionals under the supervision of a voluntary board, beneficiaries are included in the decision-making.

MISO's professionalisation is evident in the structure of its business model, management, and staff. It is an incorporated company, limited by guarantee. It is also a registered charity. Its actions are guided by a strategic plan, which the CEO executes, answerable to the board. The voluntary board of directors is elected at the Annual General Meeting. At the time of research, the board had seven members, who were a mixture of members of related nonprofits, academics, and legal practitioners. In addition to meeting with the CEO and treasurer, members of the board also form subcommittees that offer direct support to the staff of the organisation. These subcommittees allow staff to take advantage of board members' areas of expertise. The chairman of the board was interviewed for this study.

At the time of research, the organisation could be divided in to four different departments. Service provision and advocacy are spread across a range of departments in the organisation. In addition, MISO provides support to a grassroots collective of asylum seekers and former asylum seekers.

The information and referral services department works with adults and children. It consists of two employed staff members and a varying number of unpaid interns. The interns and staff run scheduled drop-in clinics, where beneficiaries come in with questions and problems. Information and referral staff members write letters and make calls on beneficiaries' behalf, clarify procedural questions, and refer beneficiaries to appropriate services when MISO does not have the capacity to deal with a particular issue. They also keep a log of presenting issues for analysis. The information and referral service also runs

programmes for children and young people, offering opportunities for socialising, integration, and education on rights and skills.

The law department provides legal support and advice to beneficiaries. It also works with members of decision bodies, such as ORAC and the RAT, helping to identify practices and procedures that can improve the decision making process. The department consists of a team of solicitors and barristers as well as a part-time administrator.

A small, separately funded team works only on the European Forced Migration Database[6] (EFMD). The database provides an EU-wide repository of information on forced migration. The team's activities include compiling and publishing information and, at the time of research, planning a conference on EU forced migration issues.

The administration of MISO is made up of the CEO, business manager, public relations team, and volunteer receptionists. The CEO acts as the manager of the organisation as a whole and as its spokesperson. She also offers support to the information and referral team when they are short of staff or need advice. The business manager handles accounts and payroll. The public relations team, which consists of an employee and an intern, manages MISO's public profile via social media, press releases, event planning. They also maintain relationships with members of the media and state representatives.

MISO also supports a separate but affiliated group of asylum seekers and refugees, known as the Asylum Seeker Activist Movement (ASAM). ASAM is a grassroots organisation with members and contacts in all of the direct provision centres. It aims to give asylum seekers and refugees the opportunity to speak for themselves. Its activities include protests, petitions, and consultations with state bodies. While ASAM is a separate entity from MISO, it receives extensive support from the nonprofit in terms of space, office facilities, and training. Two of its coordinators are volunteers at MISO and were interviewed as a part of this study.

The final indicator of MISO's prominence in the field is its relationships within the field and beyond. In the survey data, MISO is the most central organisation in both the service and advocacy networks. It is a member of a range of national and European networks and umbrella organisations. Furthermore, MISO coordinates the Migrant Support Platform (MSP), which provides an opportunity for nonprofits that support migrants to

[6] Projects are given pseudonyms.

come together and speak with one voice in their advocacy, whether through nationwide campaigns or joint policy documents.

5.2.2 Northwest Integration

Northwest Integration (NWI) is a small voluntary organisation that supports the asylum seekers who reside in the local direct provision centre, which will be called Stradbally House in this thesis. It falls in the second oldest quartile of organisations in the field. While some members come and go, a handful have been around since the inception of the organisation and the first arrival of asylum seekers in the area, giving the NWI a strong sense of history. It is a strictly voluntary organisation, and it is less formal than MISO. However, most of its members are professionals that come from the social services sector.

NWI is most similar to what Donnelly-Cox and Jaffro (1999) refer to as a second generation community development organisation. Firstly, it receives direct support from the local partnership organisation (DEVCO) in the form of a volunteer member and intermittent funding. Other relevant qualities are its inclusion of Stradbally House residents in decision-making, and its partner-like relationships with government bodies and other nonprofits and private companies in the community.

NWI is a smaller organisation than MISO, in terms of size, relationships, and scope. With only 12 volunteer members, NWI is small also in comparison to a national average of 29 members, including staff, volunteers, and board. In the network study, NWI maintains collaborative relationships located in the same large town in the northwest of Ireland. This town features a rich community of nonprofits providing a range of services and supports dating back to the famine era. These organisations are strongly enmeshed with each other and with local government agencies through a tapestry of board interlocks and a range of interorganisational networks that focus on various specific issues in the area. When it comes to issues surrounding Stradbally House, NWI is the hub that the other organisations link into for answers.

NWI is not a company limited by guarantee, nor is it a registered charity, but it does nonetheless have a formal structure. The officers of the organisation, including the chair, treasurer, and secretary, are elected each year at an AGM. NWI meets monthly, and each meeting runs according to an agenda under the leadership of the chair, while the secretary keeps the minutes. It is funded through a string of small grants from

governmental bodies and philanthropic organisations as well as private donations. It also receives support in the form of space and other office facilities through the organisations that send members as representatives. The chair and secretary make the bulk of the funding applications.

At the time of the research, eight NWI staff members were acting as representatives of nonprofits and agencies in the area. Relevant bodies include the local partnership organisation (DEVCO), the crèche serving Stradbally House, two nonprofits serving children and young people in the community, the local sexual violence support organisation, the local Catholic community support organisation, the medical arm of the HSE, and a non-denominational family support organisation. In addition, there are four volunteer members, including one former resident of Stradbally House.

Meetings serve two functions. Firstly, they offer members the opportunity to share information about relevant services, events, and funding, as well as issues and concerns relating to beneficiaries. Secondly, meetings are where decisions and delegation for organisational activities are made. The work of NWI also continues between meetings. Members execute plans and apply for funding. Some members meet or talk, informally or not, in order to make decisions or come up with ideas to bring to the rest of the group.

NWI offers a range of classes and support groups depending on the resources available to it at any given time. Past offerings include women's groups, parent-toddler groups, men's wellness classes, and fitness classes. At the time of research, members organised a gardening group and a children's library for Stradbally House. NWI also organises events for the residents of Stradbally house, including a Christmas party, an Eid dinner, and an Africa Day celebration, to which the wider community is invited. At times, NWI works with other organisations in the area to organise or gain access to services outside its own scope. Members work with the local Education Training Board to develop courses relevant to new communities. They also coordinate a paired reading evening for children in the centre with students from a local college. Finally, they liaise with other organisations, for instance youth clubs or sport facilities, to negotiate free or discounted access to services for asylum seekers.

NWI staff members also provide information, referral, and advocacy services. In most cases, these services are provided through the representative, or delegate, members' base organisations. Four members also run two clinics within Stradbally house, and the organisational ownership of these clinics is less clear. The first clinic is an information and

referral service that takes place two evenings a week. In these clinics, the chairwoman makes herself available in the dining hall of Stradbally House so that asylum seekers may come to her with questions about anything from their asylum application to local services. One of the chairwoman's evening clinics is part of her official duties at DEVCO. The other is a voluntary service provided under the banner of NWI, and on these evenings the treasurer is also present to answer questions. The second clinic happens one afternoon a week, and it provides medical and social work services. The HSE member and the social worker from Northwest Community Support (NCS) provide these clinics with the permission and backing of the two sending bodies, however, the instantiation and coordination of the clinics arose out of the professionals' shared membership to NWI.

NWI staff members largely see their work in terms of service, but they do advocate on behalf of asylum seekers and refugees, individually and as a group. The scope of the issues they address is local, and the organisation does not partake in protests. As an organisation, it is not seeking systemic change. However, members do lobby state agencies in the interest of making residents' stay in Stradbally House as positive as possible.

Conclusion

The picture of the field that came out of the field-wide questionnaire is one of a small, professionalised field, with a relatively well-mobilised beneficiary base. It is Dublin-centred, but nevertheless spans the nation. Figure 3 at the start of this chapter showed that these organisations remain fairly well connected by collaborative relationships. Within this field, this thesis focuses on two hub organisations. The first, MISO, is a nationwide hub, boasting the highest number of collaborative relationships and providing services for and lobbying on behalf of asylum seekers from all counties. MISO is a professional organisation with a broad programme of services and advocacy. The second, NWI, is a hub only in its locality. It is a voluntary community development organisation made up of professional representatives and individual volunteers. Its scope and resources are much smaller, but it too provides a rich palette of service and advocacy supports.

The following chapters will move back and forth between the case of the entire field and the two case study organisations, seeking to trace the interactions between relationship structures and institutional frameworks. The next chapter will address the field's management of service and advocacy roles. Chapter 8 will consider how the field simultaneously maintains the unity and diversity required for these two roles, and it will discuss the service-based interorganisational framework of referrals. Chapter 9 will present

the advocacy-based interorganisational framework of affiliation relationships and discuss how it structures the field. Finally, Chapter 9 will also address relationships with actors outside of the field.

Chapter 6 Reconciling Service and Advocacy

> I'm living in the basement, and I have the laundry near me. And two of the dryers making a lot of noise. And the door is broken. You know, the thing to close the door, the mechanism is broken. You know the thing that closes the door automatically? That's broken for six months, I think. I'm telling them; they don't want to fix. I don't know, so. What can I say? It's very bad. ... Every time they tell me like, 'Oh yeah, the mechanic is in the next county over, or he's coming. Blah blah blah. His child is sick.' Whatever. You know, they make their excuses for that. And one time, I met him, I told him, 'Why you not fix this?' He said 'No, I can't fix this. It's very expensive part broken from inside. So it's not worth it to put the part in. It's better to buy a new one.' So I told him, 'Just tell the manager.' He told him and then, 'I don't want one.' He said, 'Yeah, it's working. It's drying the clothes.' But if you're living next door to that, in the next room…
>
> Beneficiary, NWI

When a beneficiary population is summarily excluded from social life, it can be nearly impossible to tease out personal needs from group interests. Is a broken dryer a once-off problem? Or is it indicative of a wider issue? Or a series of wider issues? Why are people living in basement rooms in a direct provision centre? Is lack of action on the part of the management of the centre an endemic issue, as this beneficiary suggested in his interview? What is a nonprofit's role in mediating problems like these? These questions are at the heart of the difficult division of service from advocacy work as laid out in Chapter 2. Advocacy can be understood as connecting individuals to the broader public and policy making arenas, whether by providing avenues for civic engagement or by pushing for social or policy change in a particular group's interests (Salamon et al., 2000). Meanwhile, service provision addresses needs at the personal and community level. It can include a wide range of activities including, 'health services, education, personal social services, and cultural services of various kinds.' (Salamon et al., 2000, p. 5). Service provision tends to require more resources than advocacy, and thus, more external support

in maintaining 'official operating premises, greater investment of volunteer effort, and more professional program personnel' (Minkoff, 2002, p. 385).

Service and advocacy roles have been increasingly combined within nonprofit organisations since the 1960s in both the US and Europe (Combat Poverty Agency, 1981; Harvey, 2013; Lorentzen, 2010; Minkoff, 1994, 2002). The expertise gained through service provision lends legitimacy to those organisations that speak for otherwise unheard populations (Craig, Taylor, & Parkes, 2004; Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999). Meanwhile, advocating for social and political change allows organisations to address not only the symptoms but also the root causes of social inequalities. However, the marriage of the two roles is not always a happy one. As discussed in Chapter 2, this field faces a variety of challenges in combining service and advocacy work, including: financial limitations due to the recession and the withdrawal of major philanthropic organisations (Harvey, 2012; Prospectus, 2008); concerns regarding cuts to state funds in retaliation for public advocacy (Harvey, 2014); and the lack of clarity surrounding advocacy and charitable status (Elliot, 2013). It has been found that funding from governmental bodies can diminish political activity in an organisation (Harvey, 2014; Schmid, Bar, & Nirel, 2008). In addition, case studies have found that regular engagement with the state can result in the bureaucratisation and professionalisation of an organisation, running the risk of alienating beneficiaries from the nonprofit (R. Lentin, 2012; Somers & Bradford, 2006). Despite these limitations to their work, the nonprofits in this field persist in pairing service and advocacy work.

This chapter will consider how these two intrinsically connected but often conflicting roles are managed at the field level and within individual organisations. It will show that the structures of the service and advocacy networks within this field are shaped differently from each other so as to optimise for each social role. It will argue that the frames that organisations use to justify and direct their work encompass both social roles. These frames organise the understandings of the work, beneficiaries, and institutional roles of the case study organisations. The following section will introduce the concepts of cohesive subgroups, centrality, and institutional frames, and it will link them to the institutional order of a field. After that, the data from the field-wide questionnaire will be analysed, demonstrating the structuring effects of cohesive subgroups and the distribution of centrality. Then, the distinguishing characteristics and network effects of the case study organisations' organisational frames of will be discussed. Finally, the capacity for the organisations to effect change internally and at the field and refugee system levels will be

considered. The findings in this chapter counter the routine problematisation of combining service and advocacy work, opting instead to consider how the field accomplishes the admittedly delicate task. These findings demonstrate actors' ability to negotiate competing social orders over multiple networks and through inclusive organisational frames.

6.1 – Integrating Action Across Roles: Subgroups, centrality, framing, and intercultural capital

Three concepts will be used in this chapter to unpack the management of conflicting social roles in the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland: cohesive subgroups, centrality, and framing. The first two will be used to describe the topology of the service and advocacy networks respectively. These network measures reveal the way social roles structure relationships and ultimately the networks within the field. The concept of a frame will be used to unpack the case study organisations' institutionalised understandings of their work, beneficiaries, and roles. These institutionalised orders have implications for the content of their relationships as well as MISO and NWI's places in the emergent social networks within the field.

6.1.1 Subgroups as Institutionally Organised Structures

Cohesive subgroups are areas in the network where organisations are more densely connected to each other than they are to the rest of the network. The degree to which a network is dominated by such divisions has important implications for coordination of network activities. It is a widely-accepted part of network theory that actors will be attracted to others similar to themselves, such that 'cultural, behavioral, genetic, or material information that flows through networks will tend to be localised' and 'distance in terms of social characteristics translates into network distance' (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001, p. 416). In other words, similar actors will tend to fall into groups with one another. These groups then reinforce the transmission of values, understandings, and practices among their members. Previous literature has found that there are pros and cons to these formations at the network level.

Close groupings are often described as consisting of bonding or 'strong ties' that are marked by emotional intensity, intimacy, and exchange of services, as Granovetter (1973) argued in his seminal paper on strong and weak ties. Strongly tied alters are more likely to be willing to assist one another (Granovetter, 1973) and they are better able to transmit tacit, or complex, information (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Uzzi, 1997). Repeat interactions and the influence of reputation through shared alters also facilitate the

development of trust (Uzzi, 1997). The resulting groups are described by Granovetter (1983) as the endpoint of a diffusion process.

However, strong subgroup divisions can threaten the cohesion and functioning of the wider network. Based on a Boston neighbourhoods' inability to organise against an urban renewal project, Granovetter (1973) argued that coordination across a set of disconnected subgroups would be impossible. Bridging ties, which cross from one subgroup to another, can foster trust across the network and in network leaders, and they are also important for innovation and complex problems (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Granovetter, 1973). Such bridges are an important source of access to the benefits of diversity, including new information and resources (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Burt, 1992; Lin, 2008).

There are multiple algorithms to look for cohesive subgroups. The method used in UCINET and this chapter is the Girvan-Newman (2002) algorithm, which is well suited to small, sparse networks such as this one. In this method, important relationships that lie on a 'path' between many nodes are progressively removed, dividing the network into smaller components. The resulting network is assigned a modularity score, which measures the cohesiveness of the remaining subgroups (Newman & Girvan, 2004). Modularity scores indicate the number of within-subgroup relationships measured relative to the number expected at random. Scores vary between 0 and 1, and higher scores indicate more cohesive subgroups. The more cohesive the subgroup, the more likely the organisations within that group share norms and practices.

In considering the structure of a network, it is important to ask, firstly, to what extent it is divided into subgroups. This will give an indication of where shared institutions exist within the field. Next, the lines of division are an important consideration. What is it that distinguishes the various groups? Finally, in particular for this study, how does the topography of the field, as described by cohesive subgroups, differ for different social roles? The answers to these questions will help explain how the service and advocacy roles shape relationships in the field. This information combined with the distribution of centrality in the networks creates an effective model for understanding the different ways the field uses relationship structures to manage its conflicting roles. The next section will introduce the theory behind centrality measures.

6.1.2 Degree Centrality, Exposure, and Power

Centrality is a concept that is used to describe a single node's position in a network, and it is used to indicate the amount of importance or prominence an individual actor has in the network (Borgatti et al., 2009). There are multiple ways of measuring centrality, and each of these describes a slightly different relationship between an actor and the field. For instance closeness centrality measures the network distance between an actor and its peers, while betweenness centrality calculates how many pairs of alters must 'pass through' the actor in order to reach one another (Freeman, 1979). Most measures of centrality rely on data regarding the flow of something, whether information, resources, or otherwise, in the network, and are therefore not appropriate to a study on collaborative relationships that do not explicitly include transmission. The exception is degree centrality, which is a straightforward count of the number of ties an individual actor has. This is the measure that is used in this chapter.

In this case, degree centrality is a measure of how many collaborative relationships a nonprofit in the field maintains (Freeman, 1979). It is an indicator of how much exposure the organisation has to the rest of the network and how much exposure the network has to that organisation. Degree centrality also shows how well connected or active an organisation is in the network (Borgatti et al., 2013). Organisations with high degree centrality have been found to have more prestige, more exposure to beneficiaries, and access to more information (Cooper & Shumate, 2012). Central organisations are visible and perceived as important within and beyond the field (Borgatti & Foster, 2003; Diani, 2003a).

Of particular importance for this study, central organisations have the opportunity to shape the meanings that flow through the network (Hardy et al., 2003). This happens by virtue of the close, interpersonal interactions entailed by collaborative working, which are the site for the maintenance and creation of institutions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schütz, 1972). The distribution of centrality in a network can thus be an indication of the distribution of power within that network (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005), in this case to shape the institutional order.

It is important to take the nature of the ties into consideration when interpreting degree centrality measures. In this case, the ties are indicative of collaborative relationships in service and advocacy work. The nature of collaboration as found in previous literature indicates that there is a strong likelihood of information exchange

within these relationships (Hardy et al., 2003). Additionally, highly involved collaborations that involve organisations that are well connected in a network are likely to create and transmit new institutions to the network (Lawrence et al., 2002).

This chapter will consider the distribution of degree centrality within each network and its role in the management of conflicting social roles. This chapter will also consider the organisational frames that the case study organisations, which are relatively central in their respective catchment areas, use to manage the service and advocacy roles. The next sub-section will introduce institutional frames.

6.1.3 Framing as Institutionalised Ordering

At the intra-organisational level, this chapter will consider how the case study organisations manage their service and advocacy roles via the institutionalised framing of their work. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) name framing as 'the basic problem for social skilled actors' (p. 91) in which these actors use stories to induce cooperation. Frames prescribe taken-for-granted social institutions, i.e. roles and patterns of action. They draw connections between social events, creating meaning as context: 'By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organise experience and guide action, whether individual or collective' (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 464). A frame can be understood to be the legitimation of an organisation's work. Berger and Luckmann provide a succinct description of the process: 'Legitimation "explains" the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings. Legitimation justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 93). In other words, the stories used to explain social phenomena carry normative demands, or meaning as motive. When frames are legitimated they become institutions that shape social action.

In social movement literature, frames function by taking a phenomenon and recasting it as a social or political problem. In this way, a range of issues can be understood as linked, which in turn demands a set of solutions or new ways of working and working together (Della Porta & Diani, 1999). A successful frame can create a collective identity that draws disparate individuals or groups together, often while simultaneously casting other groups as opponents with conflicting interests (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Framing tends to be written about as a process in verb-form. Focussing on framing as a process in addition to frames as social artefacts creates space for change in and between fields. Frames, and the roles and norms that flow from them, do not simply exist independently of the individuals and organisations that enact and make use of them, rather they are re-confirmed or modulated with each enactment. The progression from linking social phenomena to linking actors is the crux of framing for the socially skilled actor, whether that actor is an individual or an organisation. As will be seen below, the way an organisation frames its work influences the relationships among its staff and with actors outside of the organisation, including other nonprofits, the state, the public, and asylum seekers. The frames MISO and NWI use to understand their work do not just draw together the disparate social roles of service and advocacy, they also situate the organisations within the wider field. The way these organisations orient and justify their activities has clear implications for their location in the field's network structures. The following section will turn to these network structures, drawing out the different topologies of the service and advocacy networks. First, the concept of intercultural capital will be introduced.

6.1.4 Intercultural Capital

While framing as an act can bring new meanings into a field, its real impact comes only when those meanings translate into new relationships and social actions. It will be seen below that the frames used by MISO and NWI both place asylum seekers at the centre of the meaning their work. Some of the most interesting social changes arise when the organisations are challenged to attend more closely to their relationships with their beneficiaries. In their extensive study on minority and ethnic led organisations in the Republic and North of Ireland, Feldman et al. (2005) flag this development as one of their seminal findings. They argue that working closely with migrant communities brings new principles and practices into the field as 'intercultural capital', in a process they describe as 'an exchange that brings about a mutual and fundamental transformation of the views, practices and institutions of all actors.' (Feldman et al., 2005, p. 73). Their respondents found that these working relationships effected change at the personal, organisational, and national levels.

Intercultural capital is a subset of social capital, which will be discussed more generally in the following chapter. It is not to be confused with 'interculturalism' as a social policy or discourse. Interculturalism dominated Irish migrant policy in the late 2000s, and its premise was that integration is a 'two-way street' requiring mutual

adaptations between the new and host communities (Office of the Minister for Integration, 2008). This policy has been criticised as inducing the co-optation of migrant led groups by mainstream organisations (Landy, 2015; R. Lentin & Moreo, 2012) as well as removing race and therefore racism from discussions of diversity and integration generally (R. Lentin, 2012) and direct provision specifically (R. Lentin, 2016).

While policy and discourse shape meanings as surely as intercultural capital does, this concept represents at bottom-up result from interpersonal and interorganisational exchanges, rather than a top down imposition of bureaucratically and financially led decision-making. Intercultural capital is a field-specific manifestation of the development of new institutions and meanings, which Schütz (1972) also argues takes place at close range, namely in face-to-face interactions. While the field of neo-institutionalism is better known for its homogenising and stabilising trends (David & Bitektine, 2009), these instances of re-institutionalisation provide examples of intersubjective interactions wherein 'Whatever patterns are introduced will be continuously modified through the exceedingly variegated and subtle interchange of subjective meanings that goes on' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 30). These changes to practices and principles, which begin in one organisation have the potential to reverberate through the field via the same network connections that the organisation uses to transmit issues and needs.

The changes happen specifically because of the beneficiary-centred frames the organisations take and the close work with asylum seekers that the frames demand. The knowledge and practices that flow from intercultural capital in this field clarify the necessity for service and advocacy work to proceed hand in hand. The next section will begin to delve into the data in order to tease out the management of these two social roles in the networks within the field.

6.2 – Managing Social Roles via Network Structure

An individual will entertain relationships with different people depending on the role he or she is enacting, for example, friend, parent, or colleague. However, some of these relationships can also overlap, for instance if colleagues become friends. When all of these personal networks are combined, a different network topology emerges. The same thing can happen for field of organisations when they enact different social roles.

This section will examine the findings from two analyses of the service and advocacy networks: cohesive subgroup analysis and degree centrality (see overview of

network measures in Table 5). In combination, these two measures begin to describe the shape of relationships in the field. The service network is divided into smaller groups largely on geographic lines, while the advocacy network displays a stronger tendency toward national unity. Meanwhile, the distribution of degree centrality between the two networks indicates that the service network features a more equal distribution of relationships than the advocacy network, which is more heavily dominated by a few key players.

Table 5: Network Measures

	Service Network	Advocacy Network
Number of Organisations	40	35
Number of Relationships	49	44
Components	5	3
Cohesive Subgroups	10	7
Modularity Score	.590	.502
Average Degree	2.45	2.514
Standard Deviation of Degree	1.947	2.65

6.2.1 Service Network Subgroups

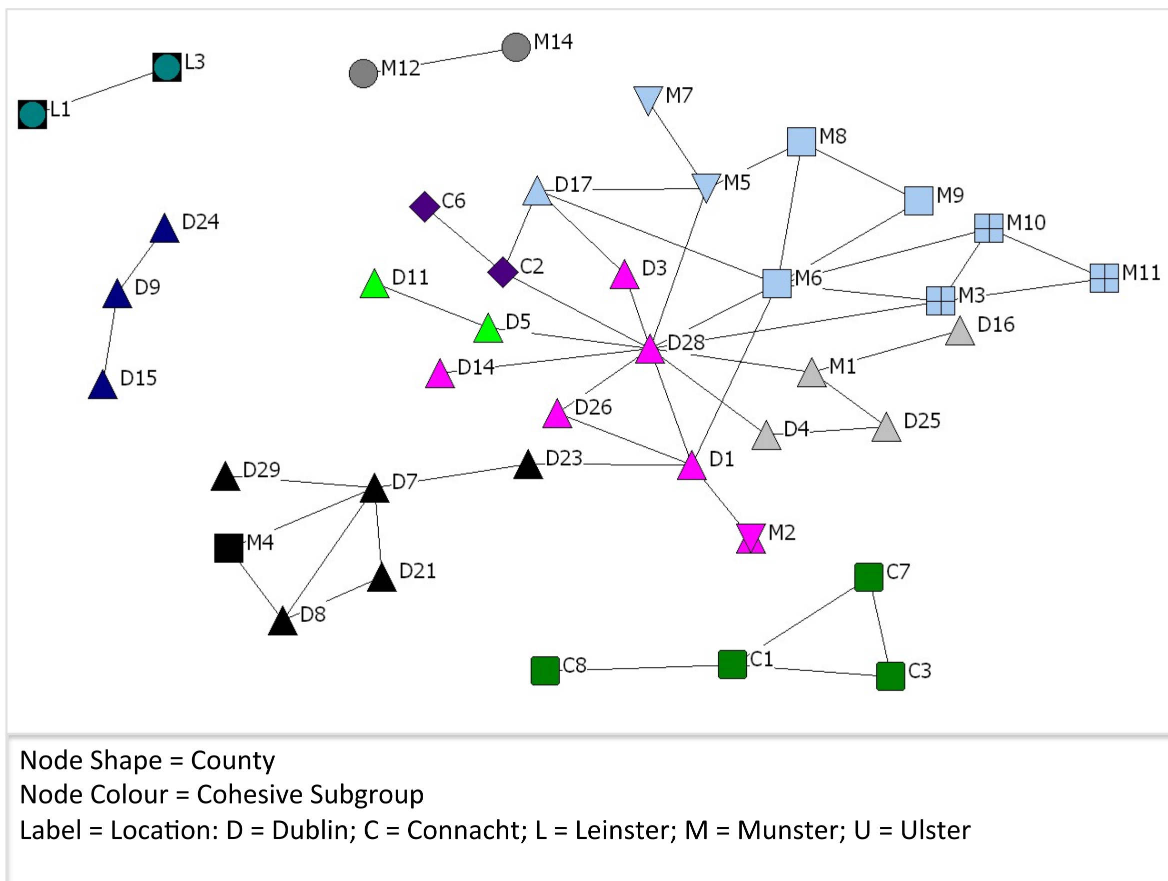
The service network is larger and more disparate than the advocacy network, with forty organisations spread out over five separate components. Nevertheless, the cohesive subgroups within the network are smaller and more cohesive, because organisations are more likely to seek local partners. The service network (see Figure 13) divides best into 10 subgroups, with a modularity score of .590 shows the service network divided into 10 subgroups (see Table 6).

Table 6: Service Network Modularity Scores

Subgroups	Modularity Score
6	.480
7	.537
8	.552
9	.554
10	.590
11	.588
12	.571

Seven of the ten subgroups are cohesive along geographical lines, whether by county or by province (see Figure 13). There are three notable exceptions: the black, light purple, and light blue subgroups. The black subgroup is the social movement organisation (SMO) community in the field. It contains one organisation (M4) that is not based in Dublin. That Munster-based organisation, like the most of the group, describes itself as an advocacy organisation. All of the organisations that gave qualitative descriptions of themselves only in terms of their advocacy work are in this subgroup.

Figure 13: The Service Network with Cohesive Subgroups



The second exception is organisation M2 in the light purple subgroup. Organisation M2 is the only nonprofit in this network from the southeast. Failing local partners, it makes sense that it would choose a collaboration partner from the capital (organisation D1). As will be seen in the advocacy network, organisation D1 collaborates with other non-Dublin organisations.

Finally, the light blue subgroup consists entirely of organisations in the west and southwest, with the exception of Organisation D17, which is based in Dublin. Its subgroup

placement and connections to a variety of counties suggest that it provides access to some resource or resources available only in the capital.

To sum up, while there are exceptions, geographic propinquity appears to explain most subgroup cohesion within the service network. Those exceptions that do exist are explicable either through the limited number of co-collaborators, and thus also resources, in a given area, or the strong shared sense of purpose among SMOs.

6.2.2 Advocacy Network Subgroups

The advocacy network (see Figure 14) is smaller and more compact than the service network. It divides best into seven subgroups, with a modularity score of .502 (see Table 7). This score, which is slightly lower than that of the service network, indicates that the subgroups are less cohesive overall, suggesting that in the advocacy role, norms are more likely to be shared across geographic lines.

When the advocacy network is divided into seven subgroups, four are cohesive on county lines, and three are not. Most conspicuously of those that are geographically diverse, the red subgroup takes in fifteen of the thirty-five organisations and includes six counties. The light brown subgroup, which contains the SMOs, includes the same organisations as the black subgroup in the service network, minus organisation D29, which does not appear in this network. Finally, the pink subgroup includes rural organisations connected to the main component via one Dublin-based organisation, suggesting that organisation D1 offers access to resources unavailable in the rural organisations' vicinity. In the previous section, D1 was shown to draw a southeastern organisation into an otherwise Dublin-based subgroup.

Table 7: Advocacy Network Modularity Scores

Subgroups	Modularity Score
3	.129
4	.330
5	.388
6	.488
7	.502
8	.490
9	.502

Figure 14: Advocacy Network with Seven Cohesive Subgroups

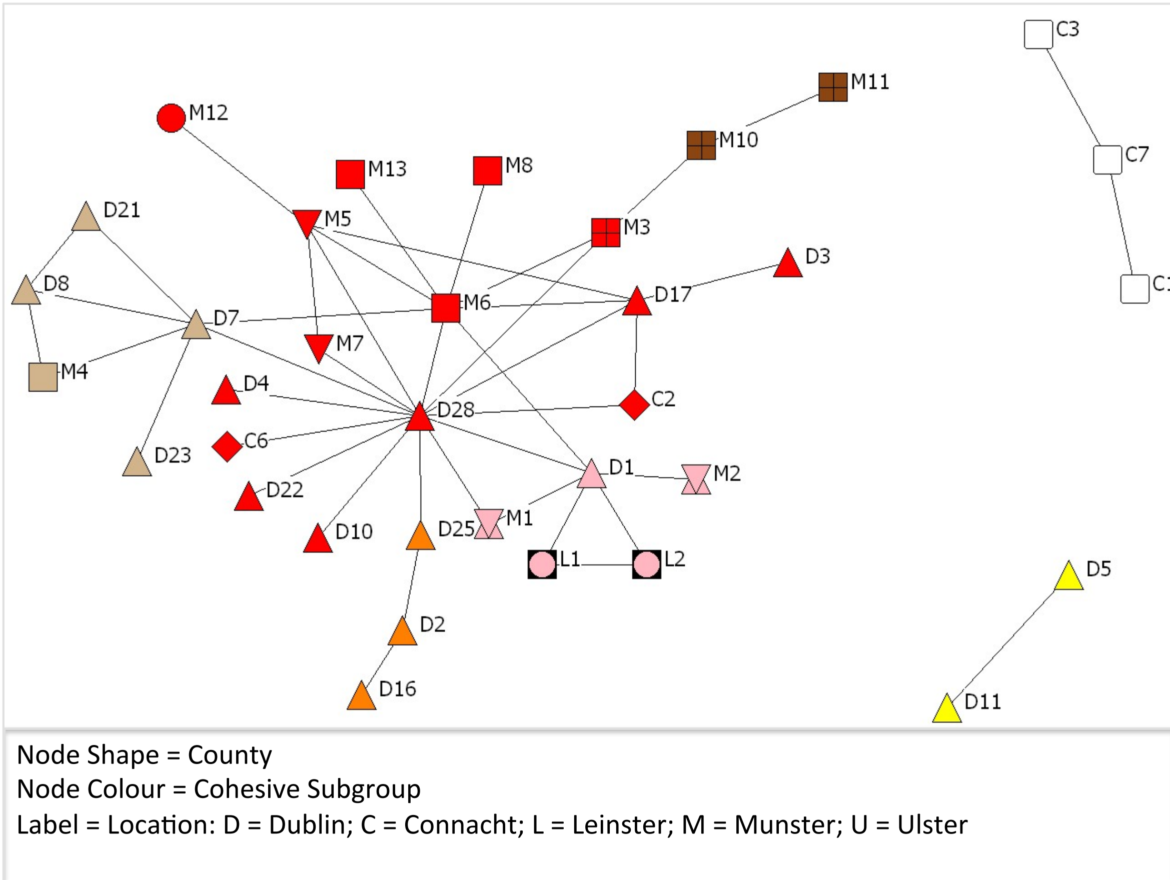
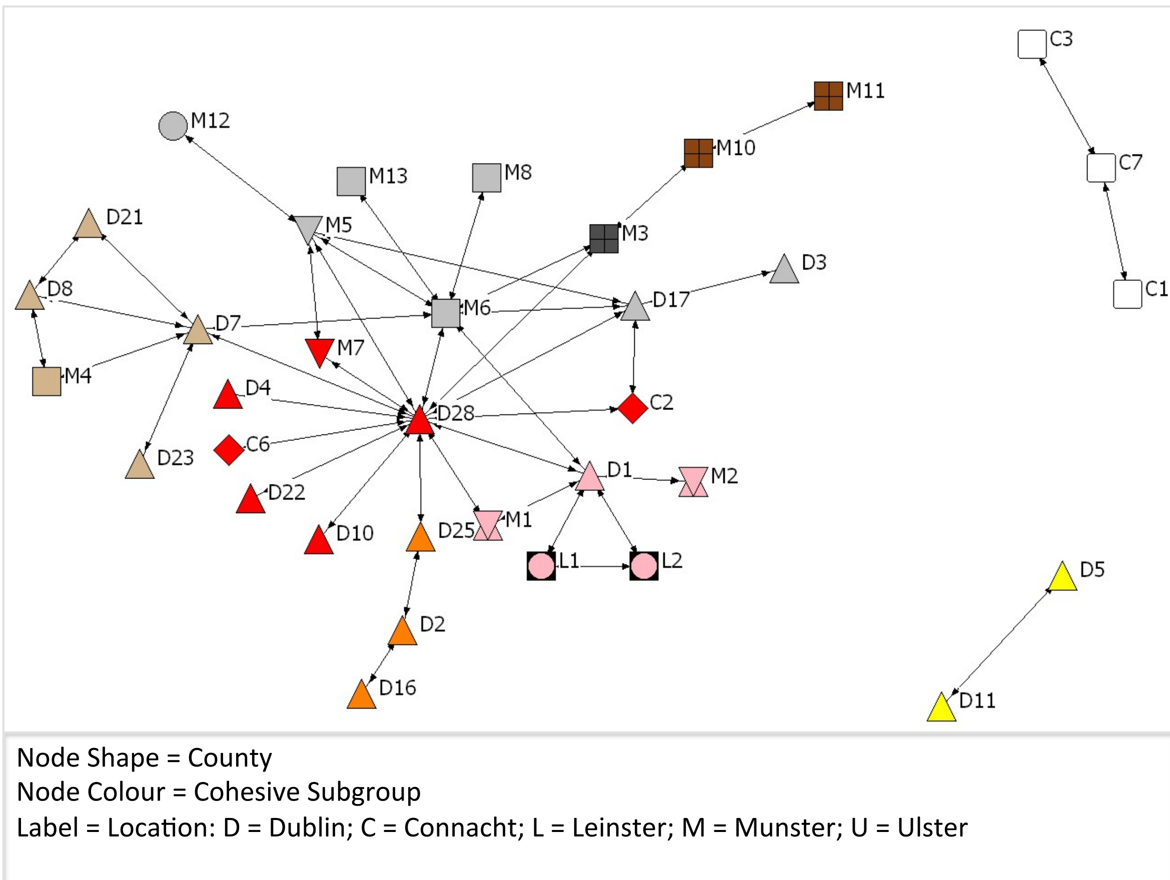


Figure 15: The Advocacy Network with Nine Cohesive Subgroups



Dividing the network into nine subgroups (Figure 15) delivers the same modularity score, however, this division makes less sense for two reasons. Firstly, organisation M3 is left in a subgroup of its own. Secondly, the topology that emerges with seven subgroups, in which over two-fifths of the field is drawn together, corroborates the analysis of other measures, including the distribution of degree centrality and the centralisation of the network. These other measures indicate a greater extent of field-wide unity in the advocacy network, as would be suggested by the breakdown of the network into fewer subgroups.

Overall, in the advocacy network, geographical propinquity remains relevant, but it is undermined by the draw of the most central organisations, which will be discussed below. The results are fewer components; fewer, less cohesive subgroups; and a larger, more diverse central group. Interestingly, despite its overall specialisation in the advocacy role, the group of SMOs remains independently cohesive within the main component. This suggests that these organisations strike an independent path in their advocacy work.

6.2.3 Centrality Distribution

In this field, the distribution of degree centrality, or the number of relationships an organisation has within the network, supports the finding that the advocacy network is less subject to geographic divisions than the service network. The advocacy network has a slightly larger average degree (2.514) with a higher standard deviation (2.65) than the service network (degree: 2.45, standard deviation 1.947). These suggest a more even distribution of collaborative relationships in the service network, with a few organisations dominating the relationships and dragging up the average degree in the advocacy network.

Figure 16: Degree Centrality Distribution

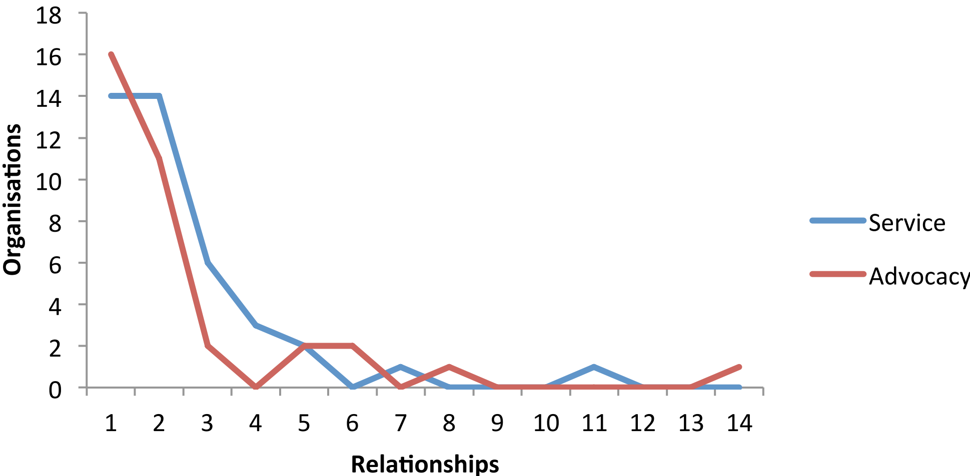


Figure 16 shows the distribution of degree centrality measures in the two networks. In both networks, most organisations have only one or two relationships. However, the number with only one relationship is slightly higher in the advocacy network. This is despite the fact that the service network includes four organisations that did not participate in the questionnaire, as compared to only one in the advocacy network. These non-participating organisations have not named co-collaborators and would thus have a centrality measure of 1. After a steep drop-off, the degree centrality scores for the most central organisations in the advocacy network are higher than those in the service network. Despite there being fewer relationships among fewer organisations, the highest degree measures in the advocacy network are 14 and 8, as opposed to 11 and 7 in the service network.

The difference between the centrality distributions in these two networks is linked to the subgroup structures in each of the networks. In this field, organisations tend to opt for local collaborations for service relationships, leading to more and more geographically cohesive subgroups. In contrast, advocacy relationships, while still largely local, tend to collect more around a few central hubs, which resulting in the large and diverse red subgroup.

Table 8: Organisations with Above-average Degree Centrality

Organisation	Service	Advocacy
M1	3	2
C1	3	1
D8	3	3
C2	3	2
M8	3	0
M10	3	2
M3	4	3
M5	4	5
D17	4	5
D1	5	6
D7	5	6
M6	7	8
D28	11	14

The same organisations dominate collaborative relationships in both networks. As seen in Table 8, organisations D28, M6, D7, D1, D17, M5, and M3 hold the highest number of relationships in both networks. In each case, the organisations enjoy more collaborative relationships in the advocacy network than in the service network. The

details of these organisations and their particular roles in the field will be discussed in depth in the following chapter's discussion on the centralisation of the networks. For now, the main takeaway is that there is more of a tendency for organisations to cluster around a leader in the advocacy network, while in the service network, local grouping dominate the topology of the field.

6.2.4 Managing Roles via Topology

The above examination of cohesive subgroups and degree centrality shows that the same field displays measurably different topologies depending on its social role. Where do these network structures come from? And what do they mean for the field as a whole? This section will locate the sources of these structures in the context of the field as well as the nature of the work associated with each role. It will also outline some of the potential benefits of the two network structures for the field.

Contextually speaking, these different structures mirror the intended structures of social partnership in Ireland. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are two levels of social partnership. Nationally, the now-defunct Social Partnership discussions were centralised conversations between the state and representatives from the so-called Four Pillars: employers, agriculture, labour, and civil society. While these discussions have ceased for the time being, their influence on the nature of advocacy and the structure of advocacy relationships in this field, as well as others, doubtless continues. In this case, it can be seen in the prominence of a handful of well-connected nonprofits.

Social partnership also refers to local relationships between government, civil society, and business. These relationships are channelled through local, statutory social partnership organisations. Local partnership organisations have been delegated the tasks of disbursing funds and connecting local groups with one another. Their goals are to implement rather than change policy, for instance on issues such as integration and social inclusion (Kirby & Murphy, 2011). This government-sanctioned localised working arrangement encourages the kinds of relationships seen in the geographically bound service network subgroups. As a result, even nonprofits that specifically support asylum seekers or new communities are likely to build ties with local organisations that have a history of dealing with other forms of social exclusion in Ireland. Indeed, fifteen of the fifty organisations that responded to the questionnaire reported supporting beneficiaries beyond asylum seekers and other migrants.

However, the shape of the field is not simply determined by government policy. The nature of the work at hand in each social role also has its part in conditioning emergent network structures. Previous community case studies have argued that service provision for asylum seekers tends to be coordinated locally, and this finding confirms those arguments at the national level (Faughnan et al., 2002; MacFarlane et al., 2009; Pieper et al., 2011; Wren, 2007). With exception of certain specialised needs, it makes sense to provide services locally. Counselling, language lessons, and cultural activities all need to be nearby for a population whose mobility is limited by poverty and restrictive accommodation policies.

Meanwhile, advocacy work that aims to change national policies lends itself towards collaborative relationships that span the nation. The need for a single voice to speak for the field is reflected in the collection of nearly half of the organisations into one cohesive subgroup. The presence of a unified voice is not only easier for the government to negotiate with, it also lends legitimacy and strength to the message from the field (Yanacopulos, 2005). However, the tendency for advocacy relationships to reach to the political centre of the nation raises issues for those organisations that are not based in Dublin as noted by one questionnaire respondent in the open-ended comments on relationships: 'It is sometimes difficult to access other organisations as so many are based in Dublin. There is a dearth of information and support to grass roots NGOs operating in the provinces. This of course includes funding and other resources.' This disconnect could result in a sort of snowball effect, whereby organisations outside the capital lose out on resources and then engage less in political activity or lose other taken for granted contacts or roles as a result (Oliver, 1992; Schmid et al., 2008). This sort of poor-get-poorer, rich-get-richer effect would explain the domination of the advocacy collaborations in the field by a few organisations. Additionally, the impact of the recession on political activities might account for the smaller size of the advocacy network.

The persistence across both networks of the SMO subgroup and the domination of degree centrality by a handful of organisations raises the possibility that there is more than one way that the work of the field is framed within the field. Advocacy collaborations in particular require that participants share definitions of both the problem at hand and the means to solve it (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Yanacopulos, 2005). As argued in Chapter 3, such framing is inevitably contested, with challenger groups always trying to displace the dominant players (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). One study on this field found that some SMOs 'explicitly reject the terms of the migrant field, setting themselves up against the

perceived accommodations of the major pro-migrant NGOs, a refusal that can serve to delineate the limitations and parameters of the existing field' (Landy, 2015, p. 5). A diversity of frames and framing need not be a bad thing, however, as contention within a field can lead dominant groups and the field at large to take wider interests on board in their social actions (Hardy & Phillips, 1998).

Additionally, the centrally oriented structure of the advocacy network might also be an advantage in combination with the more locally divided service network. Because most organisations collaborate on service *and* advocacy work, the differing network structures allow the cross-pollination of strategies and values across localities via the more centralised advocacy network. This cross-pollination could mitigate the disconnect highlighted in an overview of asylum seeker support between integrationist local and exclusionist national migration policies (O'Mahony, 2003), with advocacy relationships passing 'up' information gleaned from local service relationships. In his seminal work on the embeddedness of organisational relationships, Uzzi writes, 'The optimal network structure to link to is a mix of arm's-length and embedded ties, because each type of tie performs different functions: Embedded ties enrich the network, while arm's-length ties prevent the complete insulation of the network from market demands and new possibilities' (Uzzi, 1997, p. 59). Pursuing a range of roles allows these nonprofits to develop closer ties with those organisations in their area or others that they link up with on a range of activities, while also providing opportunities to reach out to novel partners, based on their specialty in a specific area.

This section has shown how different social roles result in different network structures within the same field. On the one hand, service provision encourages local relationships among organisations, resulting in smaller, more geographically cohesive subgroups. On the other hand, advocacy work promotes a larger, more diverse subgroups focussed around a few central organisations, in addition to some locally based groups. These structures are rooted in the wider context in which the field is embedded, as well as the nature of the activities required by the social roles. These foundations raise interesting questions for future research: How are similar networks shaped in different jurisdictions, with different legal and financial contexts? What do the networks engendered by other nonprofit roles – namely expression, innovation, and community building – look like? The next section will investigate how the case study organisations balance the service and advocacy roles within themselves via the framing of their work.

6.3 – Managing Social Roles at the Organisational Level

The two case study organisations, MISO and NWI, perform a range of activities that can fall under the social roles of service and advocacy. The way that these two organisations frame their work defines the problems they address in such a way as to accommodate both social roles. In this study, semi-structured, exploratory interviews with the case study organisations allowed participants to make their own connections between these frames, the work they do, and the relationships they maintain. The following two sections will consider these organisational frames and their capacity to create institutionalised order for the organisations. This section will focus on their defining features and the network locations they effect. The section after that will turn to the roles engendered by these frames and their impact on inter-field relationships.

In MISO, members take an issue-based approach, centred on the human rights of asylum seekers. Meanwhile members of NWI describe their activities in terms of a needs-based service. These two frames encompass overlapping activities, but they imply different priorities and different relational values and structures, which are laid out in Table 9 and will be unpacked throughout the chapter.

Table 9: Issue- and Need-based Frames

	Issue-based Frame	Needs-based Frame
Rhetorical strategy	Universality	Objectivity
Understanding of beneficiaries	Asylum seekers as rights holders	Asylum seekers as community members in need
Professional context	Law, particularly international	Human services fields
Relationship with beneficiaries	Representation, empowerment	Consultation, empowerment
Organisational knowledge	Frontline expertise	Hands-on experience
Network reach	National	Local

The two frames have notable differences, yet they are not entirely dissimilar. Nor, indeed are they incompatible. Issue- and needs-based frames are both what Frumkin (2002) refers to as demand-side orientations, which is to say, they both address a perceived

gap in society. In placing social gaps at the centre of their work – as opposed to supply-driven, donor-centred aims – these two frames also place the asylum seeker at the centre of their work. Given MISO's department structure and the variety of professions within NWI, this beneficiary-centred approach to organisational framing is a crucial element to intra-organisational relationships.

6.3.1 Framing Support as a National Issue

When members of MISO discuss their motivation or give an overall description of the work of the organisation, they speak in terms of issues and problems at the national level, largely in terms of human rights. For example, one member of the information and referral team came back to the organisation after 5 years working in other human rights domains. While she described the hiring process, she reflected on the project of the organisation:

> So, I just applied and I think particularly, they were particularly pleased, you know, that, that somebody who had been with the organisation before would come back, so, you see, you know you have a familiarity with the issues and also I think it shows that you are quite passionate about the area. Which you can really sense from the staff in there. Everyone who's there is really, I think, dedicated to the issues, you know, and it's, it's, to be honest, most days I even forget that I'm there as an intern and not getting paid. You know, you're just so into the work. You know, I'm quite happy to do it.
>
> *Information and Referral Intern, MISO*

As a national organisation, MISO acts as a service provider to individual asylum seekers, but its overarching goals are systemic and conform to the role of advocate. It is actively and publicly working to change the practices, policy, and legislation that create the individual problems that arise. In explaining how her current role relates to her previous career in legal practice, the CEO draws out the advantage of advocating for asylum seekers in policy development:

> Well, with legal practice, you can succeed in individual cases, but you only, that's generally only a benefit for that individual case. Very rarely do you have something which impacts beyond the individual. So you always almost go back to starters. Go back to scratch, starting again. Whereas with policy, at least,

> there may be the possibility that if you can get a change in policy or practice or law that may be of benefit across the board or for a wider group of people.
>
> *CEO, MISO*

This description of the CEO's personal career trajectory encapsulates the organisation's view of asylum seekers a constituency within Irish policy context. The assumption is that as a group, asylum seekers have rights within Ireland, which current policy is not protecting.

The human rights frame is used by nonprofit organisations and advocacy networks to convey a sense universal justice violated, often with the state at the centre of campaigns for change (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). The 'normal' order of human rights interventions would see western nations pressuring developing states (Wilson, 1997). Indeed, in Ireland, human rights have long been at the centre of foreign policy (Ward, 2002). In this instance, MISO is using Ireland's own international human rights agenda to highlight national cultural contradictions as a reason for action (Zald, 1996).

Since the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights after World War II, human rights work has generally been carried out by legal professionals, although the last few decades have seen a rise of non-legal campaign activity (Cmiel, 2013; Ife, 2012). Accordingly, most of MISO's staff members have some kind of legal background. The CEO explains the link between law and policy as it is seen within the organisation:

> I think those that'd been involved in the organisation had seen that the legal system is really deficient and therefore you need something that can address that specifically that understands it. And there's so much connection between law and policy when it comes to legislation that it actually probably made sense to do that.
>
> *CEO, MISO*

Those staff members who do not have a degree in law tend to have a background in non-legal human rights work.

Because MISO frames its projects in terms of national issues, its relationship with beneficiaries is that of a representative. MISO's job is to identify the issues of the group and convey them to those parties that can affect change, be they state agencies, policy

makers, or the public. This role was confirmed by a beneficiary turned volunteer and activist:

> Why did I go to the AGM? I've been a member of MISO since I arrived in Ireland. And I've been volunteering, involved with some of its activities. Because being asylum seeker at the time, it was the only NGO for me which was there to advocate my right and to stand for me.
>
> *Volunteer & Former Client, MISO*

This volunteer initially came to MISO for assistance with personal needs, yet he values his relationship with the organisation because of its role as representative of his rights as a member of the group of asylum seekers in Ireland.

When members of MISO described its work in terms of national, human rights issues, they use Ireland's self-conception as leverage for change. By universalising beneficiaries, this framework puts MISO in a position of representation in relation to asylum seekers. The next sub-section will consider the characteristics of NWI's needs-based frame.

6.3.2 Framing Support as Addressing Community Needs

Where the issue-based frame sits at the foundation of MISO's staff's motivations, the needs-based frame shapes the story of NWI's origin. One representative member explains:

> I think it started in the original direct provision centre in the area that time. That interested citizens and a doctor in the health board came together to look after people because they had certain needs. Like they were pregnant or they had complaints about the place they lived in, and because we are [a] Sexual Violence Support [organisation], we know a lot of people have issues there with sexual violence in the past. So we got involved to see like what do people need.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

In interviews, members of NWI consistently describe their work in terms of addressing needs or providing a needs-based service, whether they were speaking of information and referrals, running programmes, or engaging with state bodies or policy makers.

Taking needs as the central framework for collaboration has some advantages. On the one hand, 'need' has objective undertones. Its association with needs-assessments in social service work suggests it is determined by trained professionals using established frameworks for decision making (Ife, 2012). On the other hand, 'need' is often ill-defined, even within specific professions (Asadi-Lari et al., 2005; Parry-Jones & Soulsby, 2001). This vagueness allows for a situated understanding of what need actually is (Asadi-Lari et al., 2005). This advantage is tied to a strong disadvantage of the need-based frame – its definition can be limited by factors including eligibility for and availability of services, perceptions that a claim could be successful, and the background of the professional performing the assessment (Parry-Jones & Soulsby, 2001). The final rhetorical advantage is that a needs-based frame keeps the discussion of service or advocacy focussed squarely and apolitically on the beneficiary as a member of the community in need. For better or for worse, the deficit is in the beneficiary's circumstances (Ife, 2012), even if its amelioration must come from somewhere else in society.

The language of need is strongly rooted in needs assessment of both social work and nursing language (Parry-Jones & Soulsby, 2001). Most members of the NWI staff come from social service related backgrounds – social workers, social care workers, educators, and medical professionals – which place the beneficiary at the centre of the work. One volunteer member describes how the needs-based orientation shapes the work of NWI:

> But what I really think about it, that I think is really good, is that it's needs-based, and it's beneficiary-based. And it's like, I was in education, and good education is child-centred. And the starting point is the child and you move from there. And I think that NWI does actually address the starting point of those residents.
>
> *Volunteer Member, NWI*

The needs-based frame fits in not only with the individual members' backgrounds, but also with the base organisations that they represent. When asked how her work in NWI fits in with her full-time job, one representative member said:

> So, if you like, there's a history of involvement with asylum seekers and that fits in very well with our mission statement of the organisation, which is to look at emerging needs in the communities and to respond to them in the best possible way we can. In many ways, you know. Through actually directly

> assisting physically, and also to offer counselling services or, you know, other services through the social work department and the other areas we have.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

As NWI is composed of representatives from a variety of organisations from a range of professional backgrounds, this needs-based approach allows members to begin at the same starting point – that of the asylum seekers' needs. Working from there, they are able to collectively develop programmes to address those needs, drawing on their own skills, priorities, and expertise.

This idea of beneficiary-centred service prescribes a consultative relationship with asylum seekers. The asylum seeker member explains how the process of consultation began:

> Initially, Northwest Integration, when they were organising programmes, they would just throw things on us. And I said to them, 'We are the ones who need these services. I think it's high time we have to stop doing things for them, and ask them what they want.' Because sometime you'd find, they'd organise a programme and very few people would attend. And it wasn't because they didn't want to, but because that was not what they wanted. So, I just said, 'I think we need to take a step back. And then we'll go and find out.' Some were saying, 'No, it's going to take a long time.' I said, 'But it's for the best of us. Because it's us who want this. It's not you. You think what you want, and here we are asylum seekers. You've never been an asylum seeker. You've never been through some of this country's, some of these programmes are Irish, and they don't match whatever nationality other people have. Of course we have to look at how many nationalities are there. And we look at the majority. So I think if we work that way.' So that was taken on board, and most of the programmes. I remember there was a meeting. They had to call the residents and then they had to tell them this is what we want. And they got the men, this is what men want. And there were programmes which were tailored towards men, towards women. And maybe together.
>
> *Volunteer Member & Former Beneficiary, NWI*

As this quote illustrates, consultation is necessary to address needs appropriately – particularly in a group as diverse as the residents of Stradbally House. By taking on a consultative relationship, NWI provides residents the opportunity to determine the use of funds raised on their behalf.

Both the issue- and needs-based frames serve to organise the activities of the organisation in a way that unites a range of activities. Remarkably, there is very little overlap in framing between the two organisations, despite their similar ranges of work and shared beneficiaries. Human rights only arise in one NWI member interview as shown in Section 6.4.2. Meanwhile, needs tend to arise in the MISO interviews when members are talking about each other's needs. Allusions to asylum seekers' needs are rare in MISO. Yet both frames function similarly, organising understandings of the beneficiaries and determining relationships with them.

6.3.3 Frames and Social Structure

In addition to organising the work and unifying the staff of the MISO and NWI, these frames also influence the organisations' locations in the network maps. The introduction to the data chapters showed that MISO is deeply embedded in the main component of the field, acting as a hub for the national network. In contrast, NWI is only central in its own county. In fact, it is on a separate component from most of the other organisations in the field. The way each organisations frames their work calls for relationships with a different set of organisations within the field of asylum seeker support.

MISO's location in the network depends upon its framing of asylum seekers as a population whose human rights are a national issue. In order to build a picture of this group and find out what its most salient issues are, MISO does outreach work across the country, thus building up ties on a national level while strengthening its position as frontline expert, as will be discussed in the next section. In addition, its continuous engagement with state bodies allows it to develop a separate kind of expertise, based on its practical knowledge of state policies and processes, which other organisations can benefit from. The next chapter will discuss how MISO has developed the role of a steward of knowledge, which organisations across the nation can access. Based on its expertise in both the beneficiary population and the statutory landscape, MISO cements its role as a national representative of asylum seeker interests and maintains relationships with nonprofits around the country.

In contrast to MISO's issue-based frame, NWI's needs-based frame draws the focus onto specific asylum seekers and their concrete needs as community members. The ties entailed by that frame are largely local, so long as there is an organisation to meet a given need locally. As NWI is situated in a non-profit rich community, its most important co-collaborators are all in the same county. The interviews revealed very few ties outside of its county, most of which were with statutory agencies. This isolation is not necessarily a disadvantage. In fact, it seems to be an indicator that the organisation currently satisfies the imperatives of its needs-based frame with minimal investment in long-distance relationships.

There are presumably as many approaches to framing as there are organisations in the field. However, the frames these two cases use to organise their work are pre-existing schemes that are likely to be re-produced and re-purposed across the field. NWI represents the locally oriented community development model of working, while MISO is an example of a nationally representative professional organisation. In each case, the organisation's choice of frame does not pre-determine its network location, but is a necessary precondition for its collaborative relationships to reach that span that they do. The next section will more closely consider the roles that emerge from these frames, and the impact they have on relationships beyond the field.

6.4 The Impact of Organisational Framing: Institutionalised roles and social change

The framing of an organisation's projects outlines its role in the field, including the knowledge it has a claim to (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). As will be shown below, both the issue- and needs-based frames entail knowledge claims that give primacy to asylum seekers themselves. These types of knowledge – frontline expertise for MISO and hands-on experience for NWI – provide legitimacy to the organisations, shaping their relationships with beneficiaries and the state. The prime place allocated to asylum seekers proves to be a crucial element to effecting change within and beyond the organisations' boundaries.

6.4.1 The Issue-based Role: Frontline expert

For MISO, both of the social roles under study here, service and advocacy, play a part in the knowledge cultivated through their organisational frames. The frontline expertise that arises from their issue-based approach to supporting asylum seekers turns service experience into advocacy expertise. This expertise was shown in interviews to be

beneficial in relationships with key policy players, including statutory actors and intergovernmental agencies.

Service activities are an important part of MISO's advocacy aims. Firstly, the problems that are brought up in individual casework can inform the policy-oriented work. At times, this happens in the form of intra-organisational research. Members map the trends in presenting issues and bring them together in policy documents, providing data-driven evaluations of the issues at hand. In addition, concerns that arise in casework can inform the public campaigns in a more ad hoc, but immediate way. Secondly, the drop-in services provide opportunities to get to know asylum seekers who can actively participate in the campaigns and education programmes of the organisation. One information and referral services member commented, 'Well, you can't actually develop policy and do research without working with the stakeholders.' Beneficiaries participate in research studies, give interviews to the media, and develop and deliver educational materials. In addition, the Asylum Seeker Activist Movement that MISO supports grew out of conversations with beneficiaries.

On-going and extensive contact with asylum seekers lends MISO legitimacy, allowing it to make use of the 'promoting change by reporting facts' tactic in 'information politics', which Keck and Sikkink (1998) found to be part of the success of the women's rights movement of the 1990s. This tactic was also found to be key to the effectiveness of the two of the largest international human rights organisations, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (Welch, 2001). Frontline expertise does not just sway public opinion, it also shapes MISO's relationships with other stakeholders.

Frontline expertise gives MISO the status of an expert organisation, which members can draw on in their relationships with the state, international bodies, and other nonprofits in the field. Staff members report receiving positive results on behalf of beneficiaries as a result of their authority on asylum seeker issues, as in this description of a relationship with a member of RIA:

> We met him and I kind of talked to him quite frankly about the situation, the problems that I saw, and how I felt that the MISO has a role, because we have relationships with asylum seekers. And they could, you know. It might actually help them to understand what the issues are and since then, I wrote a letter of complaint about a hostel and he rang and said they were investigating it, so that

> was kind of a big step, because they normally don't acknowledge anything.
>
> *Information and Referral Officer, MISO*

In another anecdote, the CEO explains the give and take between MISO and a major intergovernmental organisation in the field, INTERGOV. INTERGOV offers support, occasionally on individual cases, but more often with behind the scenes lobbying of statutory actors. In exchange, MISO can give INTERGOV insight into issues on the ground. The CEO attributes MISO's broad access to important members of INTERGOV to the good relationship that came out of this give and take, based on MISO's frontline expertise.

Donnelly-Cox and Jaffro (1999) highlight expert status as a distinguishing characteristic of a professional service provider. In both of the stories above, MISO's issue-based framing allows staff members to turn first-hand knowledge of individual asylum seekers through service work into benefits for the wider population through its advocacy role. MISO's position as expert in the field is also the source of many of its relationships with other organisations in the field of asylum support, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

6.4.2 The Needs-based Role: Hands-on experience

In contrast to the advocacy-centred aims of MISO's frontline expertise, NWI uses the knowledge gained from first-hand experience to improve and legitimate its role as a community development organisation. Those with first-hand experience with individual beneficiaries are able to identify and flag needs for the rest of the organisation and for interlocutors in other fields. One representative member uses the phrase 'hands-on' to describe this quality. In describing the public health nurse who until recently had been working in Stradbally House, the asylum seeker member explains exactly what kind of information hands on knowledge includes:

> And as a result she could bring information to the committee of how children are living. And she, most of the time, when we needed the numbers, where we had, how many people in Stradbally House, she was the one to contact. How many males, how many females. And any problems they are facing with the children. Or any, a lot of the issues, she was the one that was at the forefront.
>
> *Volunteer Member and Former Beneficiary, NWI*

The more 'hands-on' a staff member is, the better the assessment and addressing of needs NWI is able to do.

This emphasis on first-hand relationships with asylum seekers underscores the situated nature of need, which is different across populations, depending on variables such as gender, culture, or even the duration of an asylum seeker's tenure in the host country (Asadi-Lari et al., 2005; George, 2002; Ife, 2012). The residents of Stradbally House come from a wide range of backgrounds and have an accordingly wide range of problems and requirements. Hands-on experience allows members to work closely with these fine-grained differences and excel in its community development role.

Hands-on knowledge is not only valuable for service provision; it also plays a part in the advocacy that NWI undertakes on behalf of individuals as well as of the residents of Stradbally House collectively. This is one of only two instances in which a member of NWI speaks of the work in terms of rights:

> There might be something to do with management or to do with the service within the HSE for example. You know, we have in the past written letters, to sort of, heads of service in relation to a matter that we're not happy about. Or that residents have complained about on the ground that has come to our attention. … You know, so it's, in Northwest Integration, we play an advocacy role as well. You know, and also very much looking at people's rights.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

Even in these moments of rights-oriented advocacy, the end goal is a change at the local level within the existing policy context. In the quote above, the speaker highlights that the grounds for advocacy work come directly from feedback from the residents themselves through their consultative relationship.

In another example, a representative member describes how her base organisation passes statistics to its national office for compilation in research and policy documents. Again, even though the end goal is to lobby the government, she still describes the activity in terms of the needs of asylum seekers:

> So they pull together all the information. And they would work on a national level and lobby for the interests of people. Even to look into the difficulties

> asylum seekers have. And, to see that they speak up in, in public meetings or in meetings with ministers or something to lobby for their needs and interests.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

In this instance, rather than feeding the beneficiary input out into the national policy debate, NWI uses the information in order obtain appropriate services and supports for its beneficiaries.

Because of the emphasis on specific needs rather than universal issues, hands on knowledge positions NWI not as an expert, but as an informant in its relationships with state bodies or policy-makers. While both MISO and NWI petition various state agencies on behalf of asylum seekers, NWI does so with less generalised authority.

However, hands-on knowledge does place members at an advantage in relationships with other nonprofits in the area. Those members' whose work is particularly 'hands-on' are included in more frequent and more specific discussions of beneficiary issues than those who are not. For example, the chairwoman uses this distinction to explain the difference between two other representative members:

> And she sees clients and we can name clients and we can talk about clients, which I can't do with [one member]. Because [she] goes into Stradbally House, but [the other member] doesn't.
>
> *Chairperson, NWI*

Having hands-on knowledge of beneficiaries imbues members with privilege to otherwise confidential information, increasing the number of links to other nonprofits in the area and the potential for problem-solving on individual cases.

The development of first-hand knowledge is a key element of both MISO's and NWI's overarching projects of issue- and needs-based support. These types of knowledge both entail service and advocacy social roles. Nevertheless, they have also been shown to create distinct roles for each organisation that go on to influence their relationships outside the field. The next sub-section will discuss the path to social change from these first-hand forms of knowledge.

6.4.3 First-hand Knowledge and Social Change

Despite operating under institutional frameworks that place the rights and needs of asylum seekers at the centre of their activities and relationships, MISO and NWI had both identified reputational problems within the asylum seeker community in the recent past. The organisations' responses to these problems demonstrate the potential of meaningful first-hand relationships with beneficiaries to shape the practices and norms of an organisation and potentially the field and the wider refugee system.

Members of MISO report that an SMO falsely warned asylum seekers that MISO works on behalf of the state. Meanwhile in NWI, the asylum seeker member explained that when she joined, there were stories circulating through Stradbally House that the organisation was pocketing funding rather than using it for the benefit of asylum seekers. These rumours illustrate the difficulty highlighted in Chapter 2 that professional nonprofits face in providing a professional service without losing touch with beneficiaries (Cullen, 2009; R. Lentin, 2012; Tomlinson, 2005). Independence from the state is of particular importance for organisations that support asylum seekers in Ireland, as many asylum seekers are distrustful of powerful state institutions (Ní Raghallaigh, 2013) and fearful of repercussions for voicing their complaints (AkiDwa, 2010). Nonprofits must be able to vouch for their non-state status in order to maintain access to beneficiaries. For both organisations, demonstrating their independence from the state is an on-going task that relies on a continued commitment to engaging directly with beneficiaries.

In each case presented here, that commitment is illustrated through organisational change. In the case of MISO, the organisation moved from solely representing asylum seekers to providing supports to asylum seekers so that they could represent themselves in the form of an affiliated grassroots group. In NWI, the organisation began to formally consult with residents of Stradbally House to provide more appropriate, need-driven activities and supports. The consultation necessary for those changes resulted in greater transparency with the residents. In both cases, the change came about at the suggestion of an asylum seeker.

In retrospect, these changes seem like the logical conclusion of the beneficiary-centred frames that the case study organisations apply to their work. They are nevertheless radical outcomes that challenge the terms of the frames and of the field. For the organisations themselves, the changes resulted in new relationships and processes within the organisational boundaries. For MISO in particular, supporting the independent efforts

of asylum seekers meant relinquishing some of its claim to privileged access to knowledge about asylum seekers. In both instances, the changes meant the further inclusion of asylum seekers themselves into the field, and ultimately, into the wider refugee system. While the case study organisations continued to play their service and advocacy roles, their new activities and structures insured the progressive acceptance of asylum seekers as legitimate players in the field, with the potential to re-shuffle the balance between dominant and contending actors and to change relevant institutional orders (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Hardy, 1994).

Conclusion

Because of its wide range of aims, the field of nonprofit organisations that support asylum seekers in Ireland provides an ideal case study for how organisations collaborate when acting in their different roles. Combining social network analysis with qualitative interviews allows the relationships between the network structure and the social roles of the field to be drawn out. The network data from the study show that service and advocacy networks within a single field take shapes that suggest local and national normative unity respectively. Qualitative interviews revealed that the institutional framework of each case study organisation frames implies a specific relationship to beneficiaries and demands a particular type of knowledge, which in turn determines the organisation's relationship structures.

While the geographic scope of their work may differ, these two organisations also engage with many of the same agencies, and they face some of the same problems. One of the main obstacles that nonprofits supporting asylum seekers face is providing services and promoting the interests of weak communities while empowering them (Cullen, 2009; Donoghue, 2003). Both the issue- and needs-based frames run the risk of creating overly professionalised organisations that unilaterally decide which issues and needs to address on behalf of asylum seekers. Yet, both organisations see themselves as working to empower their beneficiaries by informing them of and giving them access to the rights, entitlements, and supports that address the gaps left by the state and market. Changes brought about within the organisations based on asylum seeker feedback suggest that maintaining close relationships with beneficiaries allows MISO and NWI to develop the necessary intercultural capital to overcome legitimacy issues while also making valuable changes to the practices and norms of the field.

The next chapter will move onto the next major challenge facing this field: balancing the needs for diversity and unity among organisations. It will also delve into questions of social structure and social capital, further exploring the ways that relationships between both individuals and nonprofits in the field engender creative approaches to seemingly intractable problems.

Chapter 7 Stewarding Knowledge

> Well, I suppose my agenda always is that I have a patient that needs help. So that's the bottom line for me. I don't, I don't have many sides on that. Okay? So when I approach somebody, it's because I know they have the skills, that they can help me. And I say, you know, 'I have this problem, and I need your assistance in it.' So, I'm going in, I'm open-minded. I have a clear, em, reason for my consultation or my conversation with them. And I won't go up to them unless I think that they can help. So I would be aware of their role.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

How does someone working in this field know whom to turn to for the all different problems or questions that can come up when working with such a vulnerable population? And if the field is as diverse as has been argued throughout this thesis, how do people in it manage to overcome their differences in order to collaborate? In this chapter, I will consider how the divergent structures of the service and advocacy networks within this field of nonprofits help these organisations to meet these two challenges. I will also look at how referral relationships tread the balance between diversity and unity in service collaborations.

The concept of social capital, or the notion that there are resources inherent in relationships (Burt, 1992; Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2008), highlights the opposing benefits of diversity and unity in a network. These resources can be anything from information to solidarity, and the structure of a network can encourage or inhibit their circulation in a field. Analysis of the service and advocacy networks revealed that the networks are 'semi-cephalous', in that they share a subset of core organisations that have high degree centrality, but are densely interconnected.[7] This subset is also distinguished from the rest of the network by its age, expertise, and funding structures. This moderately centralised leadership group maintains efficiency in both networks without undermining the direct

[7] This term is based on Diani's (2003b) typology of network structures, in which a social movement network with a segmented core is referred to as 'policephalous'.

relationships between peripheral organisations that maintain a coordinated referral system and unified set of norms.

In addition to structure, the institutionalised forms of relating also help this field include a wide range of organisations. This chapter and the next will discuss the main interorganisational institutional templates that enable service and advocacy relationships: referrals and affiliations to umbrella organisations. This chapter will focus on referrals. Referral relationships are dyadic, or between two organisations, by nature. At the level of the field, they distinguish core organisations as stewards of knowledge about the field. Furthermore, in this case, core organisations consolidate their position by skilfully creating networks around themselves and by capitalising on existing relationships through an improvisational approach to their work. In this way, they develop social capital for themselves and for the wider field at once.

The next section will introduce the concept of social capital, its relationship to network structure, and social skill's role in developing it. Then, the core-periphery structure of the service and advocacy networks will be analysed, and the cores of each network will be described. After that, it will be argued that referral relationships sustain the network structure as the most common form of relationship in the field. Finally, it will be shown how core organisations skilfully use these relationships to build social capital. It will be argued that a strong core surrounded by a well-connected periphery allows this field to remain diverse while maintaining homogeneity where necessary. This chapter contributes to a neo-institutional theory of organisations, by demonstrating the value of cross-referencing network structure with institutionalised meanings in order to unpack the function of roles in a field.

7.1 – Theorising Resources and Relationships

'Social interdependence and systemic functioning arise from the fact that actors have interests in events that are fully or partially under the control of other actors' (Coleman, 1990, p. 300). In the field under question, these events include resources, such as funding, space, or service, as well as advocacy in the form of lobbying or public campaigns. These overlapping interests are at the heart of social capital. The structure of a given network can enable or constrain the exchange and sharing of resources. Furthermore, an individual organisation's skill can impact its ability to access and to promote social capital in the field. This section will unpack the relationship between social capital, network structure, and social skill.

7.1.1 Social Capital as a Network Benefit

The discussion of social capital in the social networks literature offers good purchase for understanding how organisations benefit from relationships within a field (Burt, 1992; Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2008). The theory of social capital suggests that an actor has something to gain through investments in relationships, for instance information, material resources, prestige, or power. Social capital can benefit both an individual actor and the network in which the actor is embedded.

Social capital does not inhere in either actor, but in the relationship between them, and unlike other forms of capital (e.g. human or economic), it is not directly fungible. Whether the actor's aims are instrumental (such as solving a beneficiary's problem or securing a change to policy) or expressive (such as fostering solidarity among organisations or asylum seekers), relationships provide means to those ends (Lin, 2008). For instance, dense structures in which actors have strong ties, over which resources and information are routinely shared are conducive to expressive ends, while bridging ties that draw together otherwise unconnected groups can be more important for instrumental ends. Because actors tend to surround themselves with similar others (McPherson et al., 2001), these bridging ties allow an actor to introduce diverse information into its stock (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2008).

Information exchange is one of the most significant kinds of social capital. In fact, Burt (1992) refers to the network as an 'information filter'. This filter is valuable, firstly, for delivering incoming information on opportunities that will allow an actor to make use of other kinds of capital. In this regard, it is important that actors have reliable access to diverse and timely information through their adjacent network. Secondly, the network allows the dissemination of outward information, specifically an actors' reputation, which can result in new referrals. Burt suggests that network size is important for maintaining diverse contacts and assuring reliable, timely transfers of information – what he calls effectiveness. However, this must be balanced with the high cost of maintaining these relationships. His solution is to achieve efficiency by avoiding redundant contacts, or ties with others who have access to the same social resources.

Burt's discussion focuses on individual actors within a competitive field, but this project investigates a principled field working towards a collective aim, which also includes a certain amount of competition. Coleman (1990) argues that those who invest in social capital do not only benefit themselves, but also the wider field by fostering norms of

trust and reciprocity. This is especially true when actors have a shared stake in the success of the field. He writes that the development of social capital takes conscious work, 'Like other forms of capital, social capital requires investment in the designing of the structure of obligations and expectations, responsibility and authority, and norms (or rules) and sanctions which will bring about an effectively functioning organisation' (Coleman, 1990, p. 313). In this case, the question is how the field as a whole maintains and manages diversity while promoting trust and shared norms including reciprocity. Part of the answer to that question will come from the structure of the networks in the field.

7.1.2 The Effects of Network Structure

The last chapter demonstrated that in both the service and advocacy networks, and in the latter more than the former, a small number of organisations have more relationships than the majority of the nonprofits in the field. This chapter will investigate how effectively those central relationships pull the network together. In other words, to what degree are these networks centralised? This chapter will focus on how those organisations structure the field, asking to what extent they form a unified core at the centre of it.

According to the literature on social capital (Burt, 1992; Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2008), different network structures are more or less suited for different types of goals (Diani, 2003b; Lin, 2008). Motives for action are divided between instrumental and expressive aims. Instrumental aims refer to means-end actions. Expressive aims are those in which the relationship is an end in itself. The division between expressive and instrumental activities appears in both the social network theory of social capital (Lin, 2001) and theories of nonprofit organisations (Frumkin, 2002; Knutsen & Brower, 2010).

These ideal divisions pose a conundrum for a network of nonprofit organisations that partakes in both instrumental and expressive activities. At the level of the network, an open, star-shaped structure with a strong core and loosely connected periphery is theoretically the most efficient structure, best suited to instrumental aims (Burt, 1992; Lin, 2008). Meanwhile a dense network is best suited to expressive aims, such as promoting trust and shared identities (Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2008). The field under study is diverse in terms of projects, activities, and structures, while simultaneously working towards the single goal of promoting the welfare of asylum seekers in Irish society. These multiple aims raise the question of which structure is more suitable.

The overall structure of a network has implications for its effectiveness, whether the aims are to solve problems, share knowledge and information, or to develop a shared identity among independent actors. In their comprehensive monograph on transnational advocacy networks, Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue that dense networks with high levels of reciprocity are best for advocacy work. However, over-exposure to other network members can reduce network diversity via isomorphism processes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lazer & Friedman, 2007). Networks with a high concentration of overlapping, strong ties can be good for promoting solidarity, but they can be detrimental to meeting instrumental aims at the network level (Lin, 2008).

Previous studies have found that a dense core surrounded by a less-well connected periphery facilitates collective learning and coordination (Diani, 2003b; Ernstson et al., 2008) without risking the high costs of homogeneity. The heterogeneity of roles (i.e. leaders and followers) has been found to be important to network performance in settings as disparate as an isolated Antarctic over-winter camp (Johnson, Boster, & Palinkas, 2003) and an urban ecological movement (Ernstson et al., 2008). A centralised network allows members to access resources of the whole network via a limited number of selective relationships with core members (Diani, 2003b).

The structure of the core is also important to the network's effectiveness. Authors caution that when the information to be transferred is complex or subject to frequent change, strong ties are better able to deliver than bridging ties (Aral & Van Alstyne, 2011; Uzzi, 1997). This suggests that in these cases, strong cliques make for better leadership than highly centralised individuals.

Centralisation also provides insight into the distribution of power and influence in a field of informal movement relationships (Diani, 2003b). Core organisations have been found to reinforce their position through their self-perpetuating influence on field-wide frames and goals (Ernstson et al., 2008) and their ability to consolidate knowledge amongst themselves (Giuliani, 2007).

This chapter will analyse the core-periphery structure of the service and advocacy networks, demonstrating that a kernel of well-connected organisations dominate the cores of both networks, ensuring the efficiency of the field without undermining its unity. This chapter will also unpack how referral relationships constitute service structures and how the core organisations skilfully make use of the social capital available in those relationships to consolidate their position.

7.1.3 Using Social Skill to Develop Social Capital

While social capital is not explicitly mentioned in the neo-institutional theory of social skill, it dwells implicitly in the idea that some actors are better able than others to mobilise resources in their field. Fligstein and McAdam (Fligstein, 2001; 2012) argue that the hallmark of a skilled actor is the ability to induce cooperation and to help others attain their own ends, while also benefiting themselves. It is also an accepted aspect of the nature of social capital that both parties involved will benefit, albeit not always equally (Svendsen & Waldstrøm, 2013). Skilled actors will encourage an environment of trust and reciprocity, thereby developing social capital for themselves and for the network in which they are embedded.

This chapter will explore how MISO and NWI deploy the skill of 'bricolage' to develop social capital for themselves and the wider field by engaging directly with network connections. Fligstein and McAdam use Lévi-Strauss's (1966) term to describe how an actor takes advantage of whatever opportunities come their way, even when the benefits might not be clear at the outset. These actors have a knack for sensing possibility in ambiguous situations, and they take an improvisational approach to social action. Central actors are exposed to a wide range of information and resources that are available in the network, which gives them a unique opportunity to deploy the skill of bricolage.

As will be seen below, they can enhance this capability by taking advantage of another social skill that explicitly engages with the networks in the field: bringing in outliers. In this way, central actors actively shape the structure of the network around themselves. They increase the amount of information and other resources that they can access, while they shift the balance of the field in their own interests (Hardy, 1994).

Leading from behind is another social skill that can augment these benefits, by increasing those outliers' stakes in the field while adding credibility to the central organisations' claims and actions. In this way, the central actor still directs the institutionalised understandings of the field without having to be the only one to claim those interests, thereby allowing the field to speak with a unified voice.

This field features a diverse array of organisations working towards common ends. These organisations must rely on resources inherent in their relationships in order to meet their instrumental and expressive aims. The field's success relies upon a balance between having a strong, skilful core and a periphery dense enough to sustain shared norms and commitments. The next section will consider the extent to which this field meets those

requirements.

7.2 – Balancing Aims Through Structure: The semi-cephalous field

In order to delineate the centralisation structures in the field, the service and advocacy networks were fitted to a core-periphery model in UCINET. The ideal core-periphery model is a network in which members of the core all have relationships with each other and members of the periphery only have relationships with the core (Borgatti & Everett, 1999). This model is visualised in Table 10 below. The upper left hand quadrant shows that each member of the core is tied to each other member, with relationships signified by a ‘1’. The upper right and lower left quadrants show that each periphery member has a relationship with each core member, while the lower right quadrant shows no relationships at all between members of the periphery. As this structure is exceedingly unlikely in real social networks, UCINET uses a genetic algorithm to fit the actual relationship matrix to the ideal structure over a series of iterations (200 in this case). The program then measures the extent to which the best fit of the actual relationship matrix correlates with the ideal matrix. This fitness measure is presented as a number between 0 and 1, with 1 being a perfect fit (Borgatti et al., 2002).

Table 10: Ideal Core-Periphery Structure

	Core			**Periphery**		
Core		1	1	1	1	1
	1		1	1	1	1
	1	1		1	1	1
Periphery	1	1	1			
	1	1	1			
	1	1	1			

In addition, UCINET also reports on the density of each of the quadrants. The higher the core-to-core and core-to-periphery densities, and the lower the periphery-to-periphery density, the stronger the core-periphery structure. It is important to note that UCINET will find the core that provides the best fit available to a network, even if that network has no core at all. The fitness and density measures allow the analysis of whether and how much of a core-periphery structure there is.

7.2.1 Core-Periphery Structures in this Network

When the service and advocacy networks were submitted to a core-periphery test, it was found that the advocacy network presents a moderate core-periphery structure (fitness measure: 0.559). Meanwhile, the service network has, at best, a weak correlation to the ideal model with over a quarter of the organisations included in the core (fitness measure: 0.335). These results corroborate the findings of the previous chapter that network hubs dominate the relationships of the field in the advocacy network to a greater extent than they do in the service network. The relative densities of the four quadrants of the network also illustrate the extent of the network's similarity to the core-periphery model.

Table 11: Service Network Core-Periphery Densities (Overall density: 0.063)

	Core	Periphery
Core	0.327	0.038
Periphery	0.038	0.047

Table 12: Advocacy Network Core-Periphery Densities (Overall density: 0.074)

	Core	Periphery
Core	0.667	0.138
Periphery	0.138	0.025

Taking the relative densities into consideration, the core-periphery tests reveal centralising tendencies in both networks. Tables 11 and 12 show that in both networks, the connections within the core are the densest, followed by core-periphery ties, and finally by relationships within the periphery. This drop in density is steeper in the advocacy network. These results defy a common-sense understanding of service as an instrumental activity and advocacy as an expressive undertaking. In this field, the structure of the service network is governed less by its core than the advocacy network. This is because the approach to relationships for each of these social roles is inversely defined by its activity. For service, which is a means-end activity, interorganisational relationships, particularly referral relationships, are an end in themselves. The next section will unpack the primacy of the referral relationship for service work. The more democratic nature of these relationships will be shown to be invaluable for maintaining shared understandings of the work in the field. For advocacy, relationships are a means to an end. Actors engage in relationships in order to attain some goal. Even if the goal is shared, the relationship is still instrumental to its attainment. The previous chapter demonstrated the important role of central organisations in leading the advocacy network, and these centralisation measures corroborate those findings.

Figure 17: Service Network with Core Partition

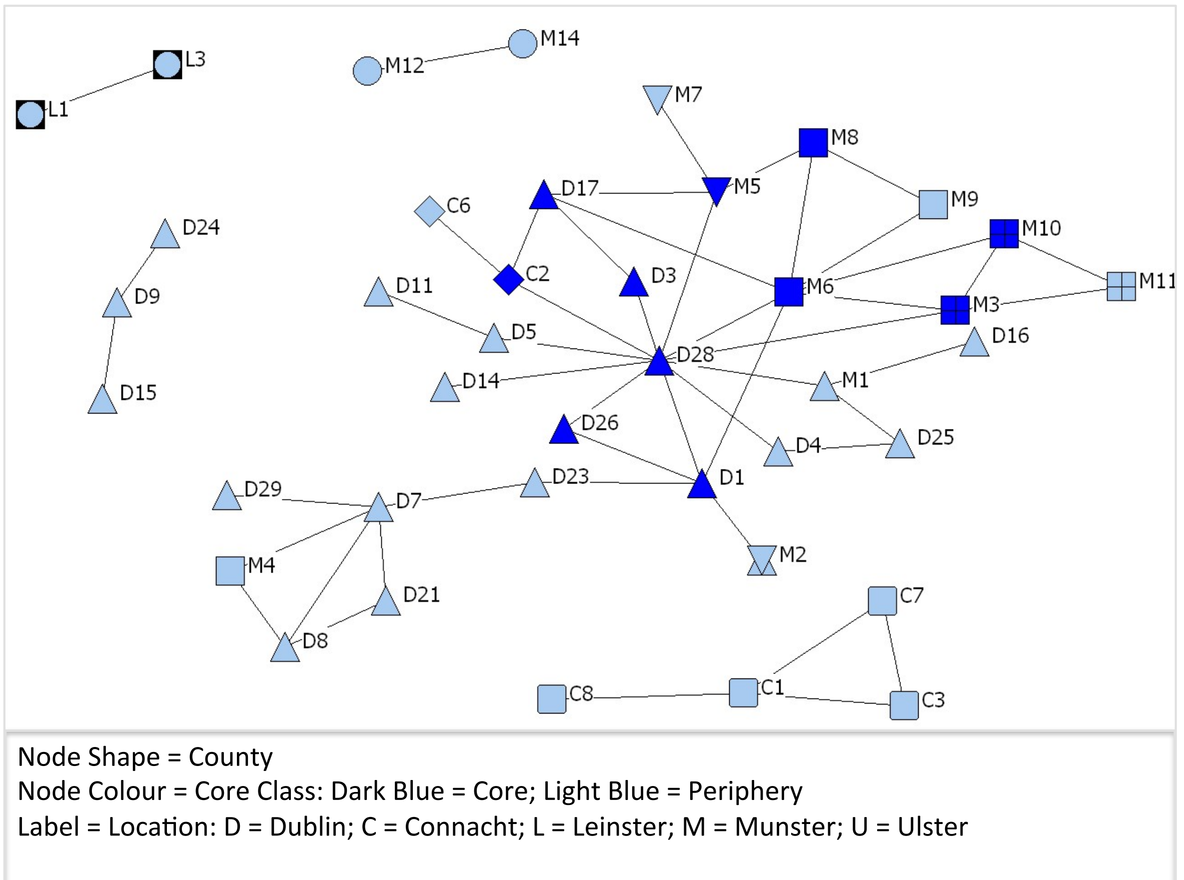
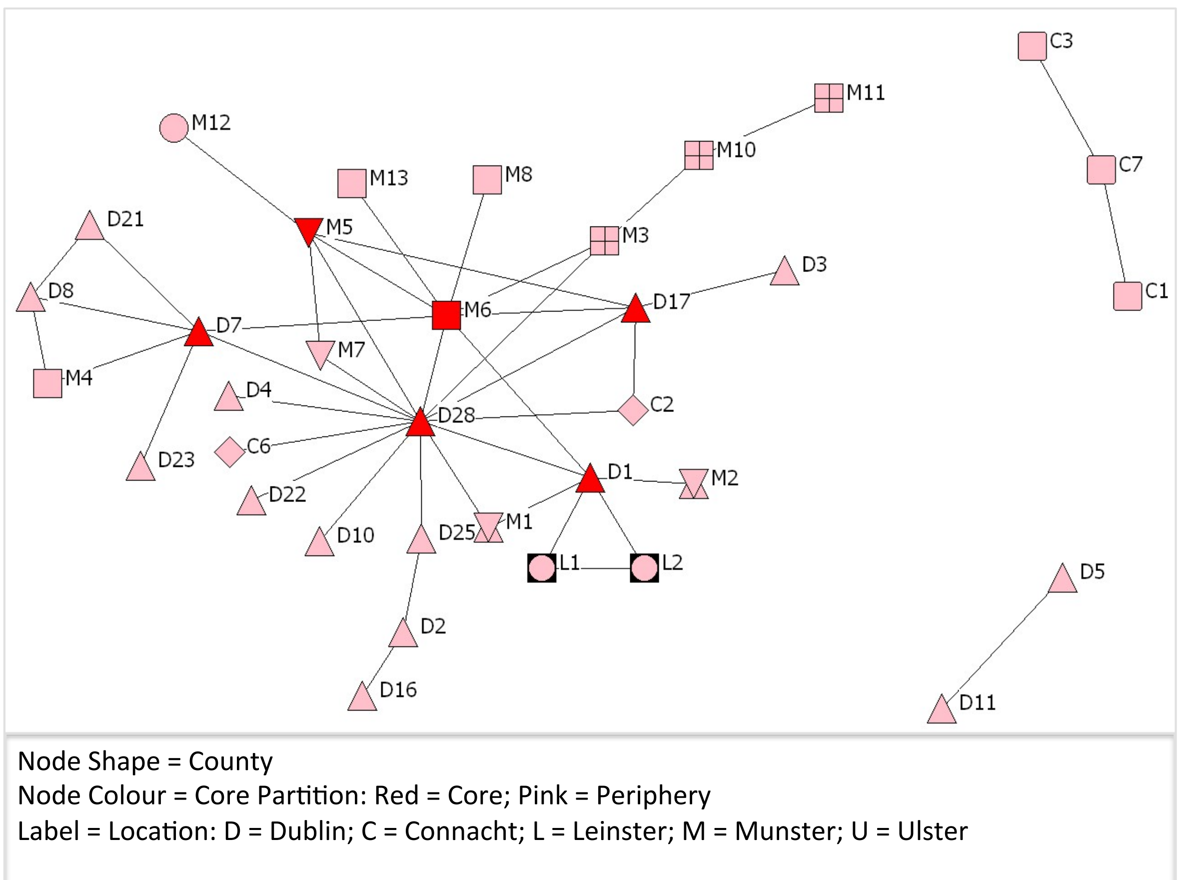


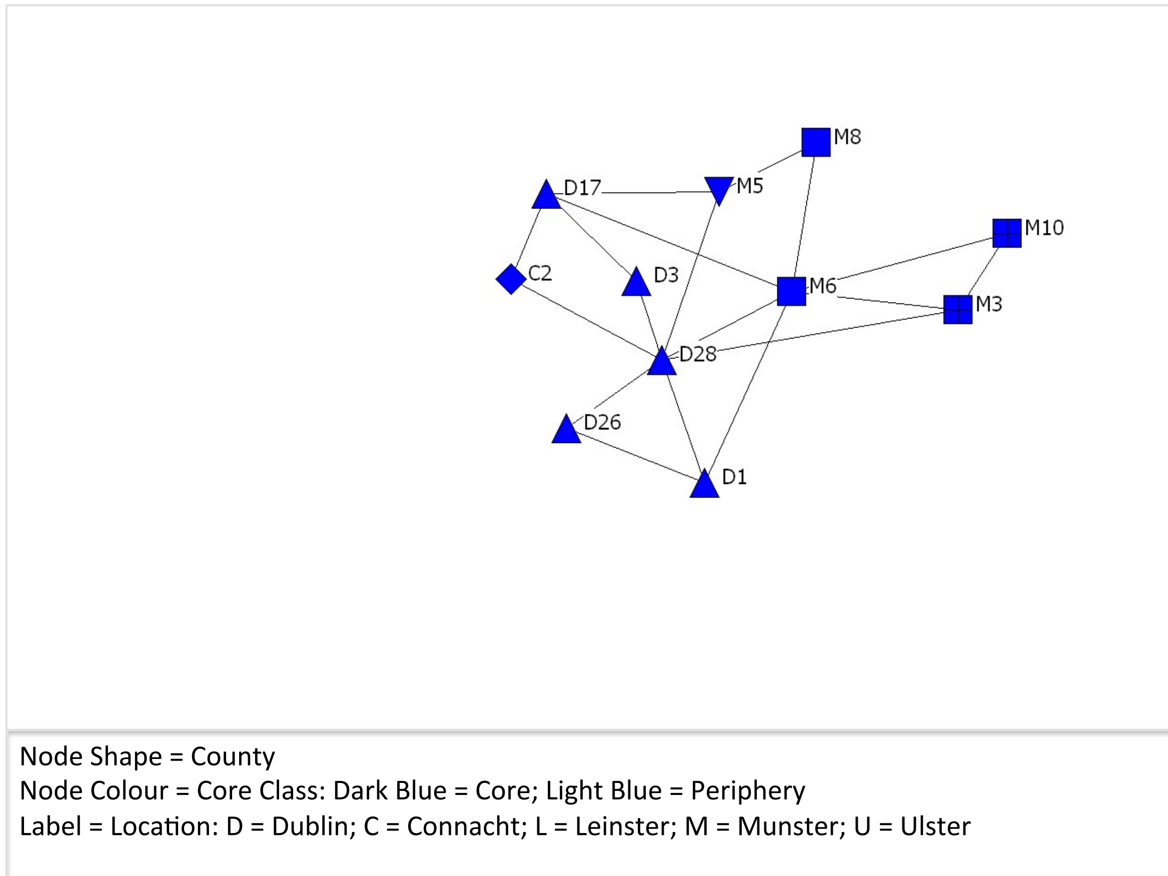
Figure 18: Advocacy Network with Core Partition



7.2.2 The Structures of the Service and Advocacy Cores

Having established that the networks do display core-periphery structures, albeit to varying extents, the next thing to consider is the structure of each core. Figure 17 and Figure 18 show the entire service and advocacy networks with the cores appearing in darker blue and red respectively. Figure 19 and Figure 20 show each core on its own.

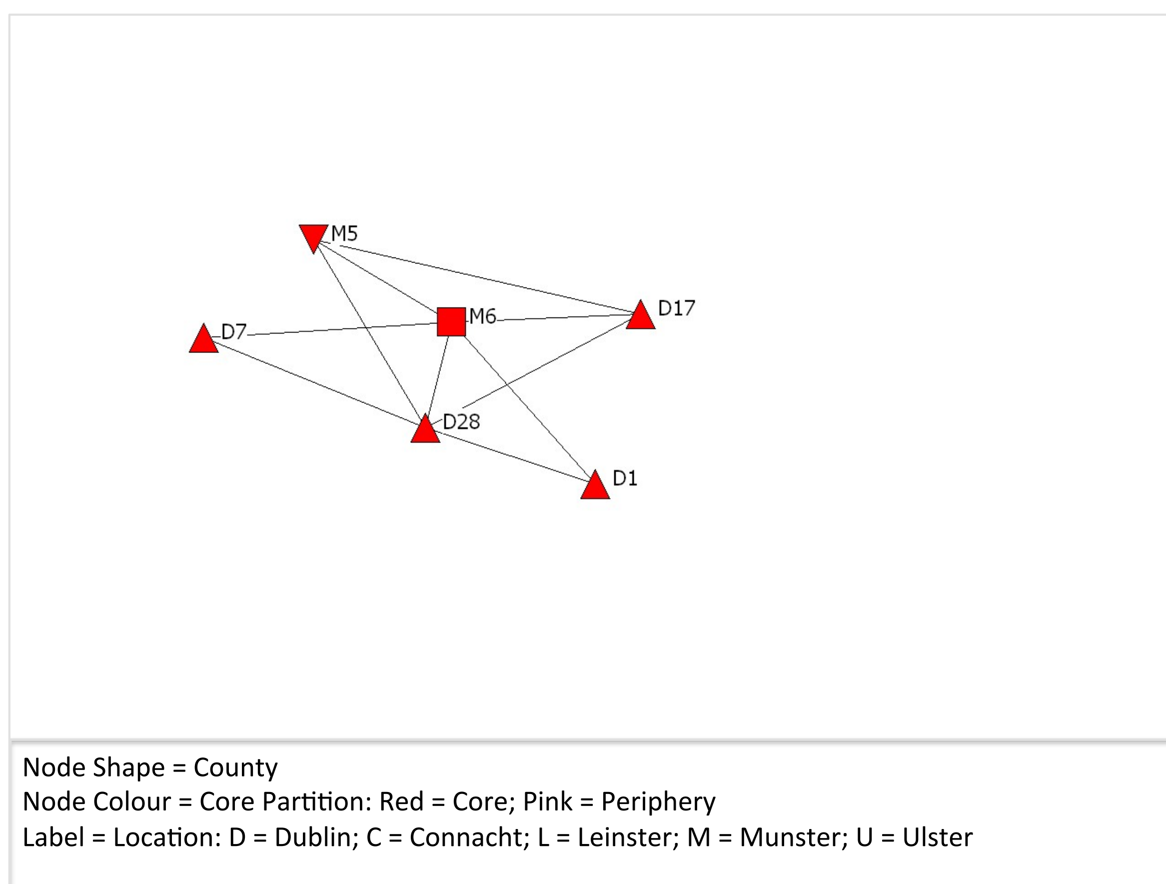
Figure 19: Service Network Core



The service core sprawls the main component, underscoring the flatter distribution of ties in the network. It consists of eleven organisations, or more than a quarter of the network. These organisations come from three of the cohesive subgroups found in the last chapter (See Figure 13) – five each from the light blue and pink subgroups and one (C2) from the purple subgroup. All of the organisations in the core, with the exceptions of D3 and D26, host an above average number of ties. These two exceptions each have only two ties. They are in the core because their relationships are only with other core members. As in the wider network, organisations M6 and D28 maintain the largest number of ties in the core – six and seven ties, respectively. The dense connections between the organisations in this core draw the main component of the field together, suggesting multiple lines for the creation and reinforcement of institutions between subgroups.

The advocacy core is much more compact than the service core, showing the larger impact of a few well-connected organisations on the structure of the network. This core is founded upon a clique of four organisations that are all connected with one another: D17, D28, M5, and M6. The presence of this clique within the core is significant, because such heavy overlap of relationships suggests that the ties between these organisations are strong one over which complex knowledge and values pass (Aral & Van Alstyne, 2011; Lin, 2008). The dense collaboration ties within the core suggest that they are able to coordinate their advocacy actions and leverage their respective relationships in the wider field to take the lead on campaigns and other meaning-constructing activities.

Figure 20: Advocacy Network Core



Node Shape = County
Node Colour = Core Partition: Red = Core; Pink = Periphery
Label = Location: D = Dublin; C = Connacht; L = Leinster; M = Munster; U = Ulster

Again, as in the wider network, organisations D28 and M6 have more relationships within the core than the others. Within the core, organisations D1 and D7 are both exclusively connected to these most central organisations. All of the members of the clique come from the single, dominant subgroup in the advocacy network, while organisations D1 and D7 are from separate subgroups (see Figure 14 in the previous chapter). Organisation D7 is the most connected member of the SMO subgroup, while organisation D1 is the only Dublin-based member of its east/southeast subgroup.

Five of the six organisations that appear in the advocacy network core also appear in the service network core. The reappearance of these organisations suggests that while the core-periphery analysis may not have thrown up the most decisive core-periphery structure, its results are indicative of something salient happening at the centre of these networks. For this reason, the next section will consider wider context of these relationship structures via the descriptive statistics that apply to both cores generally, and to those repeat organisations specifically.

The only organisation within the advocacy core not to appear in the service core is D7, which maintains the highest number of relationships in the SMO subgroups. D7 entertains a high number of ties in the service network as well, but it does not have any ties with other core organisations in that network. Considering the sprawling nature of the service core, this segmentation underscores the separate interests of the SMO subgroups within the field. The next section will more closely consider the characteristics and context of the members of each core.

7.2.3 Core Attributes: The role of philanthropic funding in network structure

The following charts show the characteristics of each of the cores in comparison with the rest of the field (see Figures 21-26). While it is difficult to make precise comparisons between groups with such small numbers, the bar charts suggest that the two cores are fairly representative of the rest of the field in terms of location (Figure 21). However, there are interesting differences when it comes to beneficiaries, leadership by asylum seekers or former asylum seekers, age, amount of paid staff, and sources of funding. Those characteristics that distinguish both cores from the network peripheries raise serious questions about the role of philanthropic funders in the field. In combination, the age, source of funding, and number of employees in core organisations suggest that these organisations enjoy a more reliable and larger set of resources. In turn, this resource-richness enables them to exert more influence on the field (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

The service and advocacy cores features relatively more organisations that specialise in working with migrants than 'other' populations (see Figure 22), suggesting that they offer particular expertise on migrant, and therefore asylum, related issues to the field. The service core in particular enjoys relatively more organisations with asylum seekers or former asylum seekers in leadership positions than either the advocacy core or the general population (see Figure 23). This is possibly tied to the unique requirements of providing services to asylum seekers. It might also indicate a high value of first-hand

knowledge in service provision. In contrast, advocacy work can draw on knowledge and experience from a more generalised stock of campaign and lobby experience.

Figure 21: Organisation Location (by province)

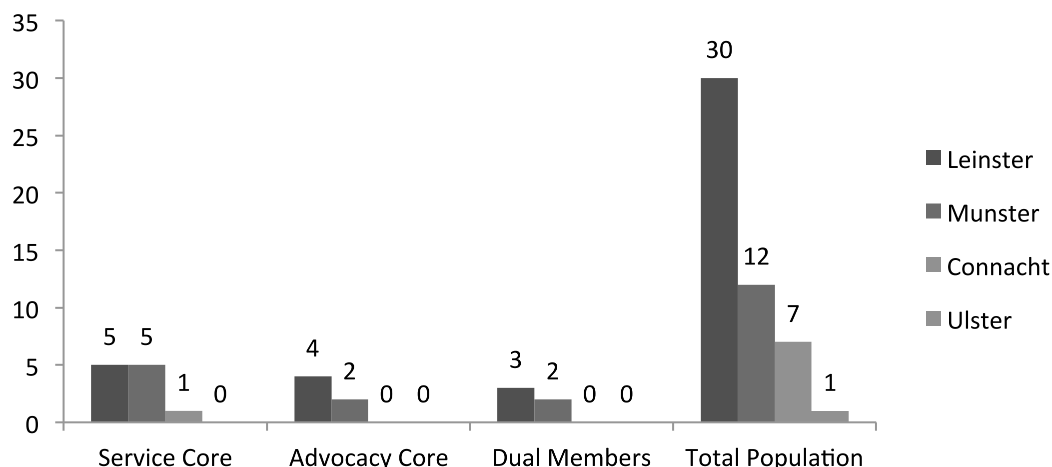


Figure 22: Organisation Beneficiaries

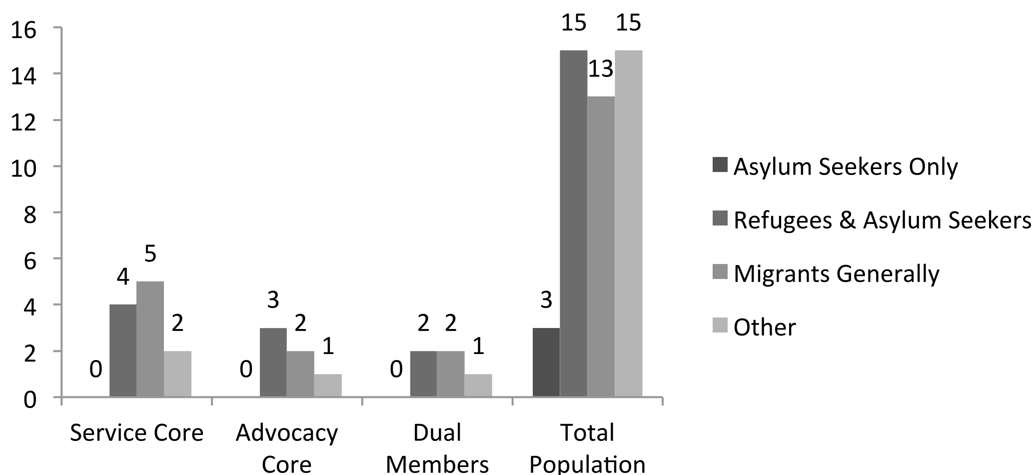
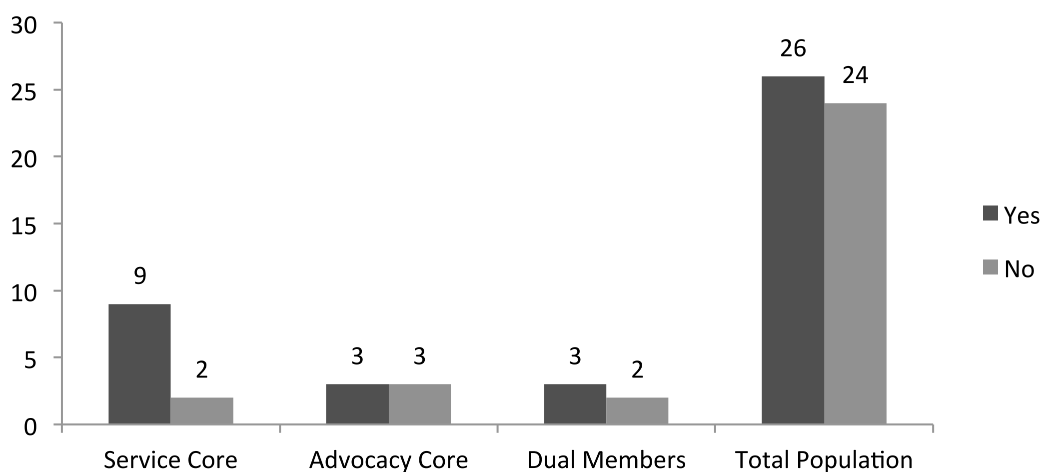
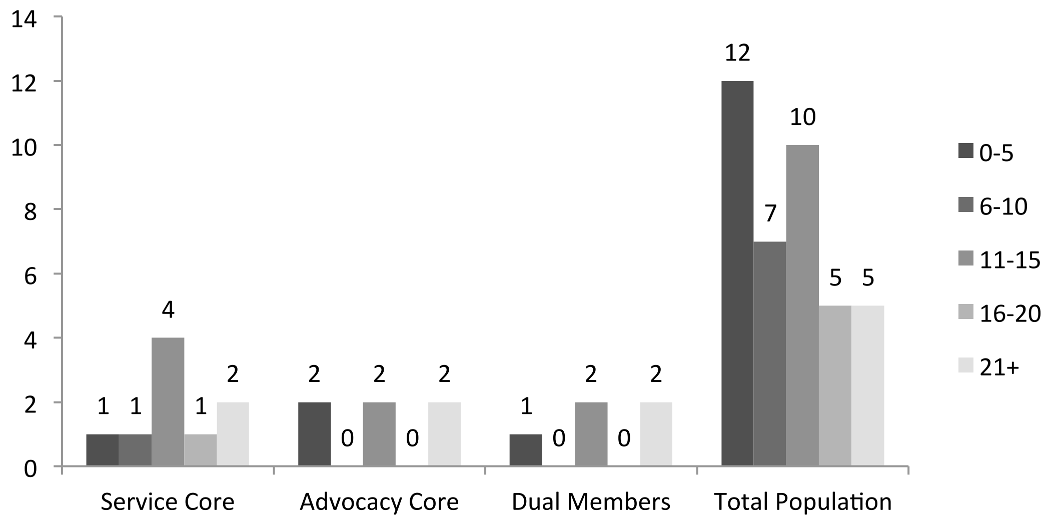


Figure 23: Presence of Asylum Seekers/Former Asylum Seekers on Paid Staff or Board



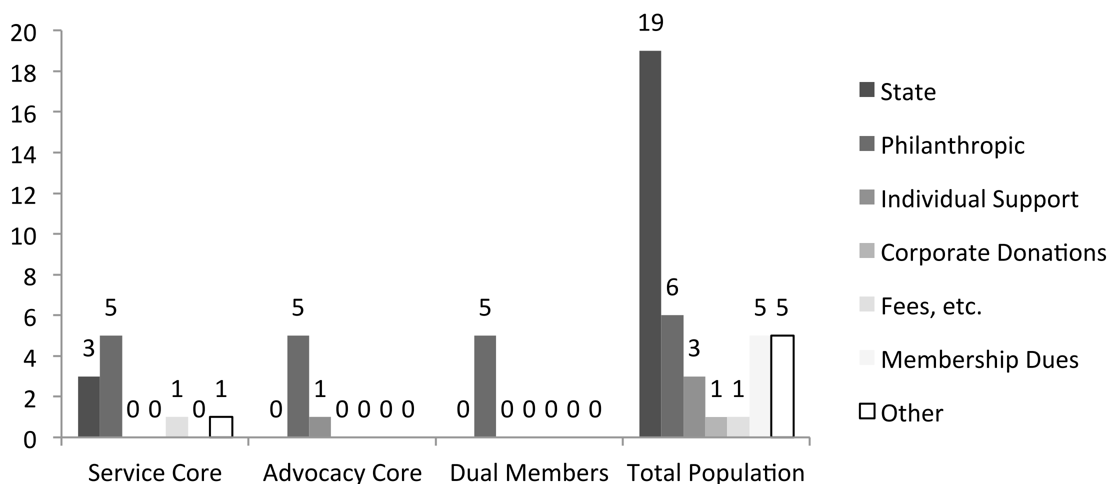
Both cores are relatively older than the wider field. Two-thirds of the advocacy and service cores and four-fifths of the repeating core members are over ten years old. Only about half of responding organisations in the wider field have been around for over a decade (see Figure 24).

Figure 24: Organisation Age (in years)



While the largest funder of the wider field is the state – whether at the local, national, or EU level – the largest source of funding to the cores is private philanthropic donations from other nonprofits (see Figure 25). Three of the eight service core members that reported on funding cited the state as their largest figure, but *all five* organisations that appear in both cores were predominantly philanthropically funded. As argued in Chapter 2,

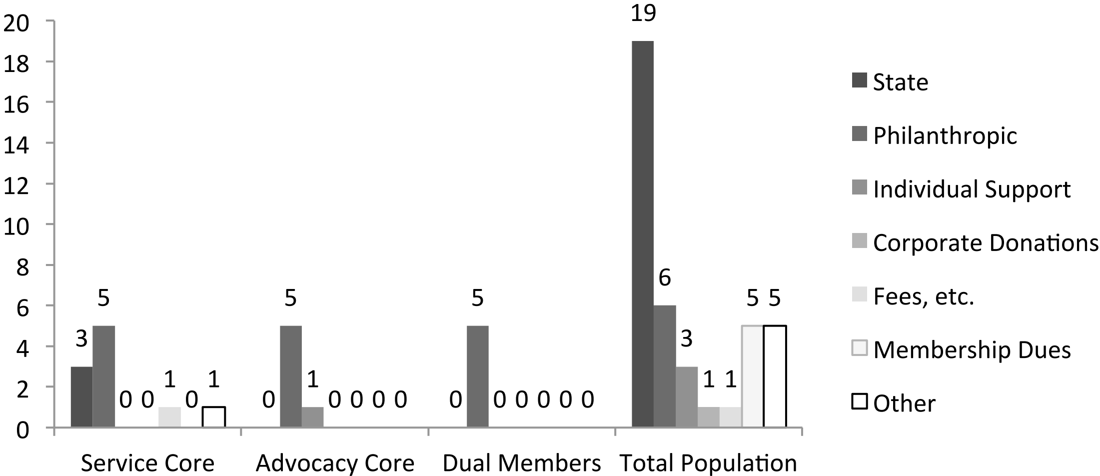
Figure 25: Largest Source of Funding



reliance on state funding can curtail organisation's advocacy. This external source of funding offers core organisations the opportunity to lead advocacy efforts on behalf of the field without fear of financial repercussions for public dissent.

Finally, there are proportionally fewer organisations without paid staff in both cores (Figure 26). Furthermore, all five organisations that appear in both cores have more than ten employees, whereas well over half of the field has less than ten. In fact, nearly one-third of all of the organisations in the field have no paid staff at all. The ability to pay staff allows the core organisations to pursue their aims on a full-time basis and to recruit staff with professional levels of skill and expertise.

Figure 26: Total Number of Paid Staff



The age of the organisations that appear in both cores suggests that this field is subject to the influence of preferential attachment, in which older organisations have had more time to build more relationships and are seen as a good collaboration partner by new organisations due to their pre-existing prominence (Réka, Hawoong, & Barabási, 1999). It is not clear from this cross-sectional study whether these organisations have endured due to the backing of philanthropic bodies, or if they are so backed because of their age and prominence. Whichever came first, the longevity or the funding, the two seem to be working in tandem to keep these organisations front and centre in the field. It also enables them to hire more staff relative to the rest of the field. These economic and human capital advantages allow the core organisations to invest further in their relationships with other nonprofits in the field, thereby consolidating their dominant position.

While the over-all fitness of the networks to the core-periphery structure is moderate at best, the outstanding attributes of the cores relative to the rest of the field

suggest the cores are nevertheless important. Chapter 2 argued that this field faces complex and often-changing challenges in terms of information. As such, it is likely to benefit from such a strongly connected core as well as strong relationships in the periphery in order to meet its instrumental and expressive needs. The next section will investigate the degree of NWI's coreness in its own peripheral component.

7.2.4 NWI's Periphery Structure

As explained in the Chapter 5, NWI is in an isolated component within both of the networks. As such, it falls in the periphery. However, within its county, NWI is a hub organisation for the work of supporting asylum seekers. As seen below in Figure 27 and Figure 28, NWI (Organisation C1) appears in both the service and advocacy network. As discussed previously, there are at least five more organisations that have representatives participating in NWI's work, which were excluded from the survey due to their statutory status. Taken together, these pared down, non-statutory-only networks show firstly that within the field of asylum seeker support, local nonprofits in this county are well connected via the different networks. Secondly, they suggest that within each network, one organisation acts as a sort of mini-core between the others.

Figure 27: NWI's Service Network Component

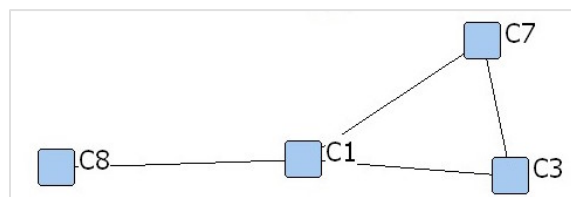
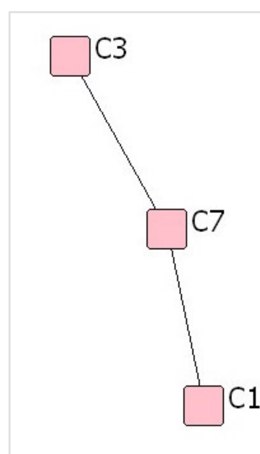


Figure 28: NWI's Advocacy Network Component



In the service network, NWI is at the heart of the component, with connections to three organisations. In the advocacy network, it is less central than organisation C7, Northwest Community Support (NCS). However, interviews revealed that only one member of NCS is active in the field, and she is a member of NWI. For this reason, this study considers NWI as the peripheral core nonprofit organisation in its local nonprofit field of asylum seeker support.

Both MISO and NWI draw organisations together, from across the nation and the county respectively. The core-periphery analysis of the service and advocacy networks both show that while the networks do not strongly correspond to an efficient structure, core organisations nevertheless stand out as having a persistent role and a distinctive set of characteristics. The following section will consider the relationships that place NWI and MISO in their respective network locations, and how these relationships maintain diversity and homogeneity in the field.

7.3 – Referral Relationships as Interorganisational Templates

Referrals emerged in the interviews as the most valuable resources to be gained in a relationship. Referral relationships represent emergent social capital, i.e. dyadic relationships that structure the entire field. The referral relationship is the bread and butter of the field, and as such, it is an interorganisational institutional template that simultaneously homogenises processes between organisations while preserving the diversity required for their work. At the level of the field, referrals represent the most fundamental way that organisations can coordinate service delivery, and they are also an indicator of the complexity (Long, 1973). Referral relationships are an acknowledgement of the role a particular nonprofit plays. For example, some organisations are mental health experts, while others are legal experts. This section will unpack the how just referrals connect an organisation with the rest of the field. It will argue that referrals are a form of social capital that allows the organisation to expand its reach and access further social capital, such as information and prestige. Organisations that are high traffic referral centres take on a role including the stewardship of knowledge of which organisations are specialists in what.

Traditionally, neo-institutional theory emphasises the homogenising nature of institutional templates, such as management and organisation structure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), or, more recently, the capacity for organisations to introduce new templates (Fligstein, 2001; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Even in its new

emphasis on change, neo-institutional theory to date has accounted for the homogenising powers of institutional templates *within* organisations. In this field, referrals act as an *inter*organisational template that allows organisations to enact homogeneity in the form of norms and aims while simultaneously underscoring existing differences between organisations.

7.3.1 Accessing Hard to Reach Beneficiaries via Referrals

Inward referrals function as interorganisational templates that expand a nonprofit's access to otherwise hard to reach beneficiaries. This extended reach can strengthen an organisation's case for funding (Spencer, 1993). As explained in the previous chapter, access to beneficiaries also provides frontline or hands-on knowledge to organisations. In the language of social capital, inward referral relationships allow the organisation to use its existing human and economic capital for further gain. Accordingly, inward referrals were widely acknowledged in the interviews as crucial to the on-going existence of various services.

MISO's legal department provides a good example of how referrals can reach asylum seekers who would be otherwise difficult to make contact with. Members of the legal department spoke highly of their relationships of two people in particular who work in Balseskin, the reception centre in the north of Dublin. The referrers have different roles in Balseskin: one is HSE employee, and the other works for a nonprofit that has a regular clinic in the centre. Both of these contacts refer asylum seekers that the legal department targets in its services. In lieu of its own clinic in Balseskin, MISO has reliable contacts on the ground to channel asylum seekers to the legal services available.

These contacts are not only valuable because they are in contact with newly arrived asylum seekers, but also because they understand MISO's operations enough to make appropriate referral. One legal officer described the relationships as positive as a result:

> Just that they, they get us. They know what we're looking for. We have a referral form that we give them. Particularly Maria. Aisling, she doesn't use it so much, because she's working by phone, often. They know that we can't help every case. They know that we are a limited service. And they know that we want particular information and we need that information to be given to use before we can make a decision as to whether we can help somebody.
>
> *Legal Officer, MISO*

Because the referrers are so familiar with the needs and capacity of MISO's legal department, they function almost as a proxy for the organisation's own clinic. Having reliable contacts in Balseskin allows the legal department to take advantage of all three of the information capital benefits that Burt (1992) identifies: access, timeliness, and, ultimately, referrals. These referrals are successful because of agreed upon understandings of the roles of the organisations involved and the norms of exchange, i.e. the referral processes, between them.

Inward referrals can also allow the organisations access to asylum seekers who might not otherwise make use of their services because of the high level of trust that is often necessary for them to relay their problems in the first place. It is a common phenomenon for asylum seekers to not report trauma, particularly sexual abuse, even if it is important to the outcome of their case (Bohmer & Shuman, 2008). Often, disclosure happens only after an applicant builds a relationship with a professional. A representative member of NWI explains how referrals to the local Sexual Violence Support organisation take place:

> Because I suppose in order to avail of [the sexual violence support organisation representative's] services, you need to have a very good relationship with the person who's referring you as well. You're not going to tell your story to the first person you meet, so you need to build up a relationship first, and if there is no one working from Stradbally House, it's going to be very difficult for the residents to build up relationships.
>
> *Secretary, NWI*

Once a beneficiary trusts an individual, that person is able to transfer both the beneficiary and a degree of that trust over to the receiving organisation.

As shown in these examples, an on-going referral relationship signals a reliable understanding between two organisations. It is recognised by both beneficiaries and other organisations as an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the receiving organisation's work (Spencer, 1993). This taken-for-granted meaning marks the referral relationship as an interorganisational institution, precisely as it extends the reach of the receiving organisation.

7.3.2 Expanding Capacity Through Outward Referrals

In addition to expanding an organisation's reach, referrals, when they are directed outward, help to expand an organisation's capacity in terms of beneficiary numbers,

accessible services, and relevant knowledge. Again, the legal department in MISO provides a good example. This time, a legal officer is describing how his referral relationship with the state legal aid body expands their effective capacity:

> But I think RLS (Refugee Legal Services) is important in that, you know, if we don't have the capacity to see somebody with a two hour appointment or it's not appropriate for our service or if we can't add value [to their case] then we have to say, 'Well, here's the details for RLS, and why don't you go.' And we have to do that quite a bit if we don't, if we just don't have the capacity or the case isn't appropriate.
>
> *Legal Officer, MISO*

Because MISO is able to point beneficiaries directly to a service that will be able to offer support, they are able to turn people onward rather than away. This sort of signposting is a service in itself, which benefits the organisation while helping the client. Signposting also allows the organisation to track beneficiaries' presenting issues in its data gathering. Additionally, outward referrals expand a nonprofit's service capacity, allowing organisations to support an asylum seeker whose requirements do not fall under their mission. A reliable referral relationship allows the organisations to extend their service, providing what one member of NWI refers to as a 'fall back'.

Finally, referrals can extend the knowledge available to an organisation, while simultaneously marking out those nonprofits in the field that preserve an overview of the services available in the field. In one example, the social worker from NWI explains the how she acts as a surrogate referrer in relationship to the public health nurse:

> Where she would see that there's a need for social work intervention, or, alternatively that she's not sure what the need is, and would refer them to me to see, well, what does this person need.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

In this case, the social worker might provide support, or she might refer the beneficiary onward. In either case, the initial referral was not for a specific service, but for knowledge of what service is necessary in the first place. This knowledge of the social distribution of knowledge within a field is a role in itself (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), particularly in a field as complex and diverse as this one. Both case study organisations are referral centres

within their respective scopes (i.e. national and local), which steward that knowledge. This particular role is important to the overall efficiency and effectiveness of the field. It allows other organisations to access that knowledge without having to maintain it. Core organisations accept and make referrals, like any other organisation, but they do so with more frequency on both counts due to this unique role.

7.3.3 Delimiting Institutionalised Roles Through Referrals

Outward referrals not only extend an organisation's capacity, they also delimit that organisation's institutionalised role in the field, as signalled by quote above in which the legal officer describes a beneficiary as 'not appropriate for our service'. The extent of a single asylum seeker's requirements surpasses the boundaries of any one organisation's purview. Referral relationships delineate where participating organisations agree that one's mission ends and another's begins. Every time a type of referral is repeated, it reinforces that organisation's institutionalised role (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). As an interorganisational template, referral relationships preserve the diversity necessary to maintain an on-going influx of novel information and resources.

Depending on the confidentiality and complexity involved in a situation, some referrals are simple handoffs, and some result in ad hoc teams where members of different organisations come together to address an asylum seeker's needs. The latter represent a kind of problem-solving that is enabled by strong ties between organisations (Uzzi, 1997). In both cases, valued on-going referral relationships exhibit a high level of understanding between organisations, as argued above, as well collaboration in the form of commitment to coordinated support. This collaboration is built upon a shared understanding of organisations' roles in the field.

While many respondents rated inward and outward referral relationships as important or positive, there are also instances where respondents rated a relationship as neutral because it was based purely on referrals. This suggests that referrals are sort of a baseline ingredient for a relationship in this field and that more is expected for a truly collaborative exchange. Indeed, there were many cases where respondents discussed referrals in the same breath as the trade of information. There does not appear to be a recipe for which comes first – the referral or the exchange of information. Regardless of the beginning, positive and important relationships are often those in which both are exchanged, almost as currency for one another. For instance, one member of the information and referral service at MISO describes how an inward referral from a private

solicitor's office turned into an exchange of information and a new outward referral relationship:

> She had a client who had some difficulty and I had helped, kind of worked with the client a bit. And she had quite severe mental health issues. And Odette kind of rang me up and asked for my opinion on a couple of things and I gave it to her, and she just kind of said, she was saying that she found it really helpful. And I said, 'Well, can I ask you something?' (laughing) And then I asked her for some information. Just general information. And then after that, then she rang me again, kind of saying, 'Okay, so how would you get into DP?' And it's just kind of, there quite a good open line of communication and I've kind of referred people now to her, because, you know. Because I can get information easily, and she's very willing to see clients.
>
> *Information and Referrals Officer, MISO*

This quote shows how the initial referral acts as a gateway for wider ranging conversation and exchange. In this case, a single successful referral grew into a reliable relationship, providing a referral outlet and source of new information.

Both NWI and MISO are nearly textbook cases of actors building up strong relationships over a series of successful exchanges and translating those positive relationships into benefits for their beneficiaries. Members take advantage of these relationships to gain access to services that would ordinarily be unavailable. For instance, the medical officer in NWI is able to secure appointments on short notice with local GPs:

> Because I will have to phone them occasionally and set up appointments for people. I would be kind of depending on their goodwill to see them, I think. You know? … I'm around long enough for them to know me and to know that if I send somebody it's genuine. So there's a fair, a fair level of trust there. You know. ... But then I might, you know. They'd say, 'Is it very urgent?' And I'd say, you know, I could say it is when it isn't. And that's going to annoy them because, you know. But they're, you know, they're fair enough.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

Spencer (1993) describes these kinds of referrals, in which the organisation is able obtain services that would be inaccessible to a beneficiary on their own, as advocacy work. The

success of this kind of individual advocacy[8] often depends on trust between organisations, or organisation members, as the medical officer describes in this case. That trust comes of a history of appropriate referrals tied to accurate information about the beneficiary and his or her needs. What began as a single referral or request for information based on an organisation's known role in the field can turn, over time, into a reliable relationship of trust, support, exchange, and collaboration.

Referrals take place between two organisations, but considered from the level of the field, they represent an emergent system of collaboration and coordination. As seen here, a referral relationship also involves the exchange of information, trust, and sometimes support between organisations. As interorganisational institutional templates, referrals reinforce the diversity of roles in the field, while they simultaneously encourage homogeneity in terms of the understanding of those roles and the norms of exchange between them. In addition, they distinguish some organisations as stewards of the knowledge of the field. The next section will show how these core organisations creatively cultivate new relationships, building the social capital of the field and reinforcing their own prominent positions.

7.4 – Accessing Social Capital with Social Skill: Bricolage, including outliers, and leading from behind

Social capital does not just automatically benefit the actors in this field. They need to be able to engage with relationships in such a way as to make use of it. MISO and NWI both take advantage of the social capital available to them through the skill Fligstein and McAdam (2012) refer to as 'bricolage'. This section argues that the knack for bricolage comes from the organisations' ability to make use of the information available to them through rich networks and turn it into a vision of what is possible, combined with a willingness to take risks and bend rules. MISO and NWI both bring an attitude of bricolage, or improvisation, to their work. Its foundation can be seen in the organisations' approach to projects, and it has direct network benefits found in their application of two other social skills named by Fligstein and McAdam (2012): leading from behind and bringing in outliers. The ability to turn information into possibility is an ability to make the most of social capital, and it places both case study organisations at the heart of their networks.

[8] This thesis uses 'advocacy' without qualification to refer to public advocacy.

7.4.1 Creating Possibility out of Social Capital

In their seminal work on social capital and knowledge production in organisations, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), following Schumpeter (1934), argue that knowledge, or what they refer to as intellectual capital, is created in one of two ways: combination or exchange. This argument echoes social capital theory with its implicit requirement that there be diverse information resources to be combined or exchanged. MISO and NWI are able to exchange and combine information internally due to their internal professional diversity. The result is the knowledge of what is possible, which is necessary to take advantage of whatever social capital is to hand.

While the organisations differ, both displayed a high degree of differentiation in terms of the professions they include: activist, advocate, public relations officer, lawyer, accountant, social worker, medical professional, and teacher. Each profession carries not only substantive knowledge, but also 'the knowledge of norms, values and even emotions' of its associated field (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 76). Having ready access to a range of professional worldviews affords the organisations a wide palette from which to construct a vision of the possible. Meanwhile, the inclusiveness of the organisational frameworks described in Chapter 6, advocating on human rights issues and delivering a needs-based service, gives those diverse professions a common ground for conversation. Overcoming professional differences is key to the work of the organisations:

> I've kind of see it a bit like conducting an orchestra. There are brilliant people in MISO, absolutely superb, who are, you know, fine soloists in what they do. But if you can bring them together then you get something that is more creative, and is even more special than what they're doing on their own. … But there are huge, not huge, there are a number of significant ways in which we could improve communication, collaboration. And that's always a struggle. Because you're talking about people who are working very intensely in their own field. And they don't always see where the collaboration might come, or they don't have the time to do it.
>
> *CEO, MISO*

In both organisations, the challenges that come from a managing a range of professions within a single organisation are outweighed by the benefits of access to the expertise of their colleagues, not to mention their colleagues' social networks. An organisation as such allows for the enduring institutionalisation of reliable relationships, to

varying degrees of formality in these two cases. In both organisations, structural mechanisms allow members to get to know and benefit from each other's resources with minimum costs (Small, 2009). For MISO, pre-determined departments allow members work with professional peers, while staff meetings and internal referral processes foster cross-departmental interaction. In NWI, chairperson and the social worker from Northwest Community Support act as points of contact for the whole group, coordinating advocacy and service activities respectively. Both organisations support Parry-Jones and Soulsby's (2001) finding that over time cross-professional teams allow successful referral relationships to develop. In much the same way as at the level of the field, referral relationships within the organisations demonstrate unified norms of exchange while underscoring role diversity.

This diversity under unity is precisely what allows the combination and exchange required to develop knowledge of the possible. Speaking of her approach to fostering collaboration within the organisation, the CEO of MISO explains the attitude behind those combinatorial leaps:

> And they don't always see where the collaboration might come, or they don't have the time to do it. And so it's a case of trying to sometimes go back to the board and say 'Hold on a minute, let's just try this, and see whether this works.' And I'll be very honest with colleagues. If I say I don't know the answer or I can see the problem, but not immediately the solution, then I'll say, but then I'll come up with something and say 'Let's go with it. Let's see whether this can work.
>
> *CEO, MISO*

In this quote, the CEO does not just see a lack or a problem, she also sees *that there is* a solution, even if she cannot outline it just yet. Furthermore, she is willing to try, and she enjoins both the board and staff members to experiment as well.

Indeed, one of the key elements of realising possible solutions is enlisting the collaboration of others by building on existing social capital. In MISO, the development of a national protest movement is a good example of members taking advantage of existing contacts to create something that had not previously existed. In order to organise a nationwide protest, an information and referral officer built on contacts from her information and referral work:

> But I suppose I got kind of more, I suppose I was, I started, maybe it was more that I created the role for myself, but it was more that I felt I couldn't kind of just let it happen without kind of making sure that it would be good and there would be loads of people involved so I just started kind of using the contacts, like, the people I had met already. I keep using the word 'using' but you know what I mean, working with people I knew already or ringing up Wendy and trying to get Wendy on board, and you know, being in contact with the people in Galway and trying to link people.
>
> *Information and Referrals Officer, MISO*

In this instance, the information and referral officer changes dyadic exchange relationships into a collective network of individuals and organisations collaborating at a national level on a single advocacy event. Those that participated are no longer simple colleagues in a web of relationships. Instead, they become members of something beyond the sum of their relationships. In taking an improvisational approach to her existing information and referral exchange partners, the information and referral officer creates an organised collective where there previously had not been any.

In addition to creating social capital, this knack for bricolage allows organisation members to create services and facilities that they would not be able to afford otherwise. In NWI, the building of a children's library in Stradbally House provides a good example. In this case, an office in the centre was vacated by an HSE officer due to cuts. NWI members appropriated the space and turned it into a library for the residents:

> And it was something that we thought we could do. And it's been very successful. And they started doing a reading, um, you know, this kind of shared reading. Some kids from, some students from the local college, and some kids from. So, you know, it was a kind of like an extension to that in a way. So, and we got a, there was a room, an office there that hadn't been used. So we kind of managed to. And everything's voluntary. All the books are donated, so it costs nothing.
>
> *Volunteer Member, NWI*

The members saw possibility in the open space, and they relied on existing relationships to access the books and shelves that were necessary to turn it into a library. In addition, they developed a relationship with one of the charity organisations in the local college, creating

a shared reading programme. With these extra supports in place, an empty office was transformed first into a library, then into a centre that provided literacy and integration support to resident children.

In both examples, respondents are taking what is already available, particularly pre-existing social structures (Coleman, 1990), and making more out of it, without waiting for specific permission, funding, or a clear indication that their plan will work. In fact, both organisations also had examples of experiments and plans that did not succeed. For instance, around the time of the interviews, NWI received a tranche of funding for a reading programme that members could not make use of and had to return. And MISO tried to institute support structures for staff, such as working groups and scheduled meetings that did not always come to fruition. Despite setbacks, both organisations are willing to take risks and invest their social capital in the possible. When it works, the organisations increase their returns by improvising on existing relationships.

NWI and MISO have a particularly large amount of incoming information on which to build due to their central positions. Their willingness to take risks and to envision the possible allows them to build programmes and services that would be unfeasible without the support of their wider networks. As a result of their bold uses of social capital, they are able to continually update their programmes, redirect their advocacy work, and make creative use of tranches of funding.

7.4.2 Creating Social Capital for the Field

The core organisations' capacity to manage diversity into possibility also has benefits for the field at large when the core organisations invest in developing social capital out in the field. In these cases, the organisations improvise on their surrounding networks, demonstrating the social skills of leading from behind and including outliers. The results are an increase in social capital available in the field and to the core organisations themselves.

Both organisations have worked to create networks of support for beneficiaries that are separate from themselves. MISO directly supports its volunteer migrant members and indirectly supports their organising efforts through the Asylum Seeker Activist Movement (ASAM). NWI has in the past supported the Stradbally House Residents Committee and more recently took part in the development of the Local Intercultural Board (LIB), which provides a venue for local migrants to come together and organise around issues they

identify. Members of NWI put together the initial application for funding for the LIB, and one member was instrumental structuring the first few meetings, but it is an organisation unto itself. One of the members of NWI explains:

> But technically, I'm not really representative of a cultural minority, so technically I shouldn't even have been there but I went, you know, I suppose as the organiser in the first, and facilitated with Akim. But I'm also quite conscious of the fact that I shouldn't really be there.
>
> *Secretary, NWI*

LIB is a prime example of an investment in the field's social capital that does have some benefits for NWI, but has a lot to offer to other members of the field, namely the ethnic and cultural minorities who can take advantage of the new social structure. Like ASAM and the former residents' committee, LIB provides an appropriable social structure (Coleman, 1990), which local migrants and asylum seekers can take advantage of to their own ends. This is particularly beneficial to the residents of Stradbally House, as their ability to build social capital is undermined by ever-present threat of being moved to another centre. It also gives asylum seekers an avenue through which they access the local community, but which is perhaps easier to initiate contact with because of the concerns they share with other migrants. Meanwhile, LIB organises the needs and concerns of the local migrant community, including the residents of Stradbally House. As such, it provides a ready-made source of input from which members of NWI can potentially make service and advocacy choices, thereby potentially improving NWI's quality of work.

Core organisations can also create social capital in the field to the benefit of fellow organisations. For instance, when the information and referral officers at MISO do outreach work around the country, they find and connect local organisations, particularly in areas where there are service gaps.

> So, I would have, like, every time I do outreach, I would try to engage with the community, so I kind of map local supports for asylum seekers. It's the first thing I do. And then I would try and make contact to see who would be the best person to help organise it locally. So we organise outside the hostel, in a community space and that way, it's quite good, because I think it means that you probably don't get as many asylum seekers. But the people that do come, the ideas that, they will be in a position then to actually self-advocate or

> advocate for others. And then it also means, like in the case of a county in the northwest, like it was there for the women who attend Connacht Women's Support, but then like the local priest and a nun and a number of other people who just wanted information came.
>
> *Information and Referrals Officer, MISO*

By organising the support in areas outside of Dublin, MISO's information and referral officers are able to improve supports for local asylum seekers without having to invest in permanent, costly outreach plans. Local service providers benefit in being better able to do their jobs because of the network of support and referral partners that emerges from these initial meetings. Meanwhile, MISO also benefits in the form of a structured information filter, which means that its social network remains effective but also efficient (Burt, 1992). This happens because these new networks allow members to trade information and referrals with each locality, without having to maintain contacts with every organisation in the area. Such investments in others' social capital mark off the end of the core organisations' roles while also creating organised social structures with which they can engage for their own purposes.

This section has shown just how core organisations can consolidate their network position by inducing cooperation through social skill. By 'setting up situations in which others are subtly encouraged to take the lead' (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 52) and by including outliers, MISO and NWI both create supports for asylum seekers that had not previously existed while simultaneously creating a more efficient information and referral structure around themselves. In both cases, the organisations jumpstart relationships outside themselves, giving the initial investment that is vital to the self-reinforcing development of social capital in the field. These self-conscious network creation activities combine with on-going engagements in referral networks to consolidate the core organisation's locations in the network, while also ensuring the on-going efficiency and effectiveness of the network for the wider field.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn out the mechanisms of social capital in the field of nonprofit support for asylum seekers in Ireland. First, it was argued that the semi-cephalous structure of the field, including a strong and distinctive core, emerges from the conflicting instrumental and expressive aims of the field. This structure allows core organisations to have access to a large amount of complex information from the field. This

chapter also introduced an interorganisational institutional template: referral relationships. Referral relationships are main source of social capital in the field. They allow diversity to flourish in the field while providing a taken-for-granted form of exchange between organisations. As such, they encourage the norms of trust and reciprocity necessary for the exchange of social capital. They also distinguish the role of core organisations as stewards of knowledge about the field. Finally, this chapter systematically applied the neo-institutional concept of social skill to demonstrate how organisations in a field can take advantage of social capital and make the most of their social network, to the benefit of that network and to themselves. It was shown that core organisations take an improvisational approach both to their own programmes and to their wider social networks. In sum, this chapter has shown the importance of understanding the structure, content, and context of relationships in a field in order to unpack its optimisation of social capital.

This chapter raises as many questions as it addresses. The first, most obvious question is what has happened to the structure of the field and its social capital since the withdrawal of the major philanthropic funders. This chapter also raises the question of what kinds of interorganisational templates encourage the exchange of social capital in fields where beneficiary referrals are not a feature. Finally, while it was shown that referral relationships provide social capital for advocacy work, the question remains whether advocacy relationships enjoy their own interorganisational templates. The next chapter will address this question in its consideration of affiliation relationships in the field.

Chapter 8 Umbrella Organisations

> I love love love working with them. Because there's no politics. It's just genuine collaboration in the best interest of children and we all come from the same perspective, same ideology. And we work together very well.
>
> *Information and Referrals Officer, MISO*
> *on an EU Umbrella Organisation*

Direct, collaborative relationships are only one way to approach understanding the structure of the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland. Organisations in this field also come together as collectives to work on advocacy issues. Umbrella organisations provide member organisations a platform from which to speak with a shared voice on issues pertaining to their beneficiaries or to the organisations themselves. If referral relationships are an interorganisational template for service relationships, then such affiliation relationships offer the counterpart template for advocacy relationships. Whereas referrals create an emergent structure of social capital out of dyadic relationships, membership and affiliation networks offer social capital in the form of collective organisation by design (Coleman, 1990). Formal networks are often created with a specific purpose in mind, but these social structures are what Coleman (1990) describes as appropriable. Like referral relationships, these forms of interaction represent institutionalised forms of social capital, providing benefits to participants and the wider field alike. The pathways they create provide benefits beyond their initial purpose, and their effects can be felt not only in the resulting affiliation network, but also in the dyadic relationships that persist between individual pairs of organisations.

Literature on the affiliation networks that result from organisations joining umbrella organisations is limited but growing. The first section of this chapter will give a review of key points from the existing body of research, highlighting the costs and benefits of joining umbrella organisations and focussing on their role at the Irish and European levels. The next section will argue that, based on quantitative data from the questionnaire, membership in umbrella organisations per se is a recognizable institution in the field.

However, the spread of umbrella organisations to which participants belong demonstrates a lack of institutionalisation of the defining issues for advocacy work. The affiliation data also underscore the presence of a section of peripheral nonprofits working to support asylum seekers. The last two sections will draw on qualitative data from the case study organisations to show that for central organisations, there are two templates for umbrella organisation participation, both of which reinforce their role as leaders. At the level of their own catchment area, they are the coordinator of affiliation. At the level of larger geographic areas, they are members. Both templates allow central organisations to exercise social skill in the form of agenda setting (Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), which facilitates the promotion of their own plans and interests. The effects of the recession on the institutionalisation of umbrella organisation membership are also considered, showing that resource cuts and changes to context can destabilise institutions in the field. This chapter contributes to the study of affiliation networks by providing a unique overview of the impact of all relevant umbrella organisations on the structure and institutions in a field. To date, most studies have focussed on the efficacy and experiences of single umbrella organisation. Additionally, this chapter unpacks another layer of social order in the field that is available to actors as a site for social change.

8.1 – Theory on Affiliations and Umbrella Organisations

One of the most common themes in the literature on umbrella organisations is the lack of literature on umbrella organisations. That said, over the last forty years, strides have been made towards understanding what these organisations are and what they do, both for their members and for the fields they organise. This section will review previous findings, beginning with the definition of umbrella organisations, followed by their costs and benefits, and finishing with a review of their roles in Ireland and the European Union.

8.1.1 Umbrella Organisations Defined

Umbrella organisations, as they are called in Ireland, are known by a number of different labels in the literature: federations, peak bodies, interest groups, coalitions, meta-organisations, intermediary organisations, and trade associations to name a few. These organisations are member-serving nonprofits, but their members are other organisations rather than individuals. With varying degrees of formality and diverse roles, umbrella organisations serve to organise fields of organisations. Some are broad, issue-based coalitions, while others are narrowly focussed single issue networks (Melville, 1999; Yanacopulos, 2005).

Organisations tend to come together in order to address a problem that has been identified (Selsky, 1998). At times, these problems are contextual changes that impact on nonprofits. For instance, in her cross-national review, Melville (1999) noted that Australia saw a steep rise in peak organisations in the 1980s and 1990s, when governmental streamlining and neoliberal policy changes forced nonprofits to recalibrate how they interact with the government and with each other. Similarly, in the U.S., the Great Depression was met by an upsurge in umbrella organisations in the States. In other instances, the problems are community-based issues that require interorganisational collaboration, such as suicide or local environmental degradation (Selsky, 1998).

Member organisations exchange a certain degree of autonomy for the benefits of membership, including the bargaining power of the central organisation and the reduction of network complexity. The aims of the association impact the structure of the umbrella organisations and the balance of power with members in turn. Coalitions allow the highest degree of autonomy to members. In a coalition, there is no central organisation, and decision making depends on persuasion and consensus building (Young, 2001). As the umbrella organisation becomes larger and more powerful, the degree of direct interaction between members decreases and the umbrella organisation's capacity to regulate the behaviour of its members increases (Provan, 1983; Young, 2001).

8.1.2 The Benefits and Costs of Membership

Umbrella organisations offer a wide range of potential benefits to members in terms of exchanges with external environments as well as within the field. External benefits are best seen through economic and political lenses. On the economic level, umbrella organisations can provide clout in bargaining to a field, with the umbrella organisation accessing better value for money for goods and services needed by its members (Selsky, 1998). Similarly, these meta-organisations can organise capacity building efforts for a field via training, workshops, and conferences (Balassiano & Chandler, 2010). Formalised interorganisational coordination also allows members to decrease costs through specialisation on certain tasks (Yanacopulos, 2005). At a political level, umbrella organisations allow members to influence policy processes by speaking with one voice (Selsky, 1998; Yanacopulos, 2005). The more diverse an umbrella organisation's membership base, and the more powerful the members it has, the more clout that organisation is likely to carry, giving it access to more policy makers and community leaders (Balassiano & Chandler, 2010). In addition, umbrella organisations can also

perform research relevant to all members, which they can use, in turn, in their economic and political dealings. In all of these cases, an umbrella organisation is able to provide these benefits without the costs and inflexibility of hierarchical ownership structures (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Meanwhile, umbrella organisations also allow interdependent organisations to stabilise their relationships with one another and to form new relationships with previously unknown peers. Umbrella organisations provide regular and reliable avenues for communications between members. These interactions allow members to gather information on one another's activities, provide channels for negotiation and persuasion, and create opportunities for problem-solving and canvassing for support. Over time, members can reduce uncertainty in their interactions, as trust is built and shared norms are developed (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). The norms and standards developed by and within umbrella organisations facilitate more and better communication between members and have the potential to influence other organisations in their field even if they are not affiliated themselves (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2008). Finally, umbrella organisations can also reduce the complexity of interactions among members, not only through the standardisation of rules of interaction, but also by creating a single access point from which to reach the rest of the members (Provan, 1983).

The overarching gist of these benefits – reduced environmental uncertainty, organisational flexibility, and normative governance – echoes the benefits of general network forms of exchange (W. W. Powell, 1990). However, there are some key differences from the interorganisational networks of the previous chapters in the ways that umbrella organisations structure a field. The first is that, with the exception of coalitions, umbrella organisations consist of a separate, central organisation that manages the members, promotes their mutual interests, and provides a unified platform for campaigns (Provan, 1983; Yanacopulos, 2005). Depending on the structure of the umbrella organisation, members agree to relinquish a certain amount of control on their decision making in return for the benefits of affiliation (Provan, 1983). Next, to a greater or lesser degree, interactions among organisations are formalised through the terms of membership. Umbrella organisations also formally mark out members as similar to each other in some way and draw a boundary between those affiliated and those who are not (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2008). Finally, umbrella organisation are not only about exchange, but their raison d'être is to create value and construct beneficial contexts for members and for the wider environment (Selsky, 1998; Yanacopulos, 2005).

Just as informal network exchange relationships come with costs, so do affiliation relationships. Contributing to the building of social capital in a field takes time, human resources, and investment in the relevant processes (Yanacopulos, 2005). Furthermore, it is an inherently fraught project. Any umbrella organisation is a potential source of conflict – between the organisation and vested interests in society, between the umbrella organisation and its members, and among the members. Conflicts within the umbrella organisation are more likely when it is unclear on its identity and aims or when these are in flux (Young, 2001). Conflicts can be exacerbated by an uneven distribution of size and resources among members or when the activities of the umbrella organisation overlap with those of members, creating competition. Likely topics for disagreement are the allocation of activities, the existence and severity of standards and sanctions, and the balance of power between the umbrella organisation and its members. Solving conflicts can be tricky, because of the co-dependency of an affiliation relationship. The more autonomy the members retain, the more likely the solution will rely on soft tactics, such as consensus building and persuasion, rather than harsh sanctions or potentially fraught voting processes (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2008).

Despite the risk of tensions, the benefits often outweigh the costs, and umbrella organisations have become a staple of representative democracy. The next section will turn to the role these federated organisations play in linking local nonprofits to policy processes at the national and EU levels.

8.1.3 Promoting Cohesiveness at National and EU Levels

Whatever the structure of the umbrella organisation, one of its core benefits to both members and the environment is the cohesiveness it promotes. These organisations often connect the public, private, and community sectors via local interpersonal and institutional exchanges, while also drawing together local, regional, national, and international levels of decision making (Selsky, 1998). At the national and EU level, umbrella organisations provide a platform for nonprofits to advocate for their interests, while also lending policy makers legitimacy through their consultation with representatives of a variety of often excluded constituents.

Literature on umbrella organisations in Ireland is sparse. This is despite the fact that the state flagged the value of umbrella organisations in its White Paper, *Supporting Voluntary Activity* (Department of Social Community and Family Affairs, 2000). In particular, the authors noted the value that these organisations add through capacity

building and their ability to present cohesive perspectives in policy-making processes. They also flagged existing governmental support for such organisations through statutory funding. In their study on migrant-led organisations, Feldman et al. (2005) found that MLOs in particular can benefit from the increased coordination and unified voice offered by umbrella organisations.

In their 2005 survey of the Irish nonprofit sector, Donohue et al. (2006) found that 5% of their respondents were umbrella organisations. More recently, in their overview of nonprofits for The Wheel, RSM McClure Watters (2012) argue that not only does Ireland have a dearth of umbrella organisations, but that such organisations could be of assistance in alleviating the effects of the recession for their members. Donoghue (2003) noted that the nonprofit fields would be less prone to particularism, i.e. the exclusion of many through the promotion of limited interests, if there were more umbrella organisations.

Until the recession, umbrella organisations were most prominent in their participation in the now defunct Partnership talks. Members of the Community and Voluntary Pillar represented a range of interests, from children to the labour market to nonprofits themselves. However, as will be seen later in this chapter, umbrella organisations in Ireland still bring members together on issues and interests without necessarily having a formal channel of communication with the government.

Some Irish nonprofits and umbrella organisations also participate in policy making at the EU level via Europe-wide umbrella organisations. It has been argued that these organisations are valued for their ability to decrease the EU's current democracy deficit by bringing often opaque policy making structures closer to national constituents. It has also been argued that the success of these umbrella organisations in this regard hinges on a degree of legitimate representation that is not always present (Cullen, 2010; Kröger, 2013). Despite this lack of involvement from local affiliates, Cullen (2010) argues that NGOs operating at the EU level do project voices that would otherwise not be heard at all, and they also manage to put pressure on policy makers, even if they have not secured any major policy shifts.

In their monograph on meta-organisations, Ahrne and Brunsson argue that the spread of umbrella organisations is not a result, but a precursor to globalisation. Despite the ever-present threat of conflict 'between a local cultural homogeneity and a global cultural heterogeneity' (2008, p. 158), these organisations facilitate the transfer of cultural elements and norms through the channels and standards of communication they create.

While none of the umbrella organisations found in this study are active on a truly global scale, the following sections will explore the extent to which such normative transfers can penetrate the further reaches of this field and which institutional templates are operational in their work.

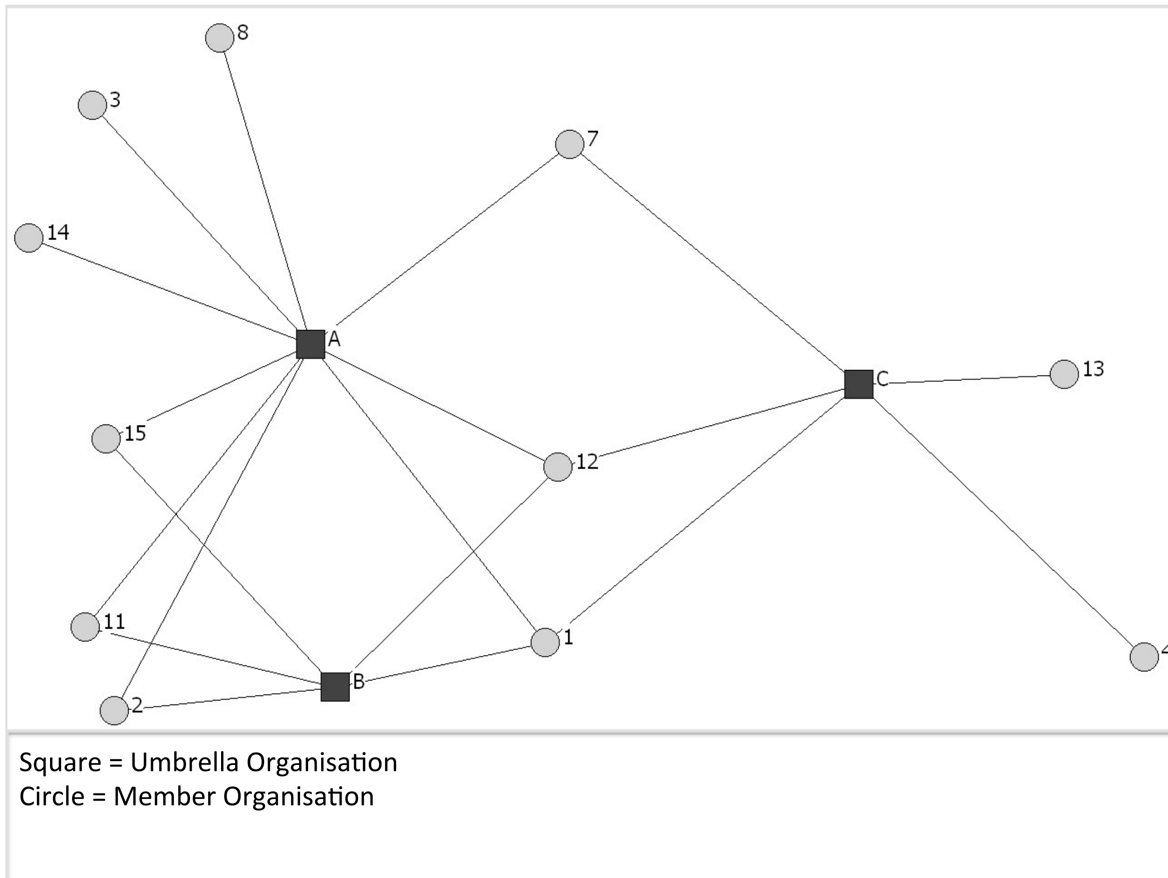
This section has given an overview of what umbrella organisations are and how they function. It has been shown that these organisations can reduce environmental uncertainty, introduce organisational flexibility, and provide a framework for normative governance in a field. It has also been shown that membership in these organisations can be costly and prone to creating new tensions. While previous studies have touched on the role of umbrella organisations, generally speaking, in Ireland, and the efficacy of particular umbrella organisations in the EU, there has not yet been a study that reflects on the implications of a collection of umbrella organisations in a field. This chapter fills that gap by looking at the structural and institutional impacts of umbrella organisations on the field. The next section will address the structural questions by unpacking the quantitative data on umbrella organisation membership from the questionnaire.

8.2 – The Structures Created by Umbrella Organisations in the Field

Membership of umbrella organisations in a field can be represented by a 2-mode network map, in which organisations are joined directly to umbrella organisations and indirectly to each other (see sample in Figure 29). This differs from the networks seen in the previous two chapters in significant ways. Firstly, such networks represent actors as collections rather than as dyadic pairs (Wassermann & Faust, 1994). Secondly, the indirect nature of affiliation relationships means that co-membership cannot be assumed to indicate direct collaboration or interaction.

In this section, 2-mode networks, also known as affiliation networks, will be introduced. Then, an overview of the results from the questionnaire will be laid out. Finally, centrality and subgroup measures will be used to describe the field as structured by umbrella organisations. This section will argue that participation in affiliation networks is an institutionalised template for interorganisational advocacy relationships in the field. Additionally, the range of umbrella organisations available suggests that no single platform or issue has been institutionalised as the organising principle in the field.

Figure 29: Sample 2-Mode Network



8.2.1 Introducing Affiliation Networks

In order to measure the extent to which nonprofits in this field participate in umbrella organisations, participating organisations were asked to indicate their membership in a range of relevant umbrella organisations. In this section, this membership information will be introduced and analysed as network data. In particular, this section aims to identify which umbrella organisations are important to the field.

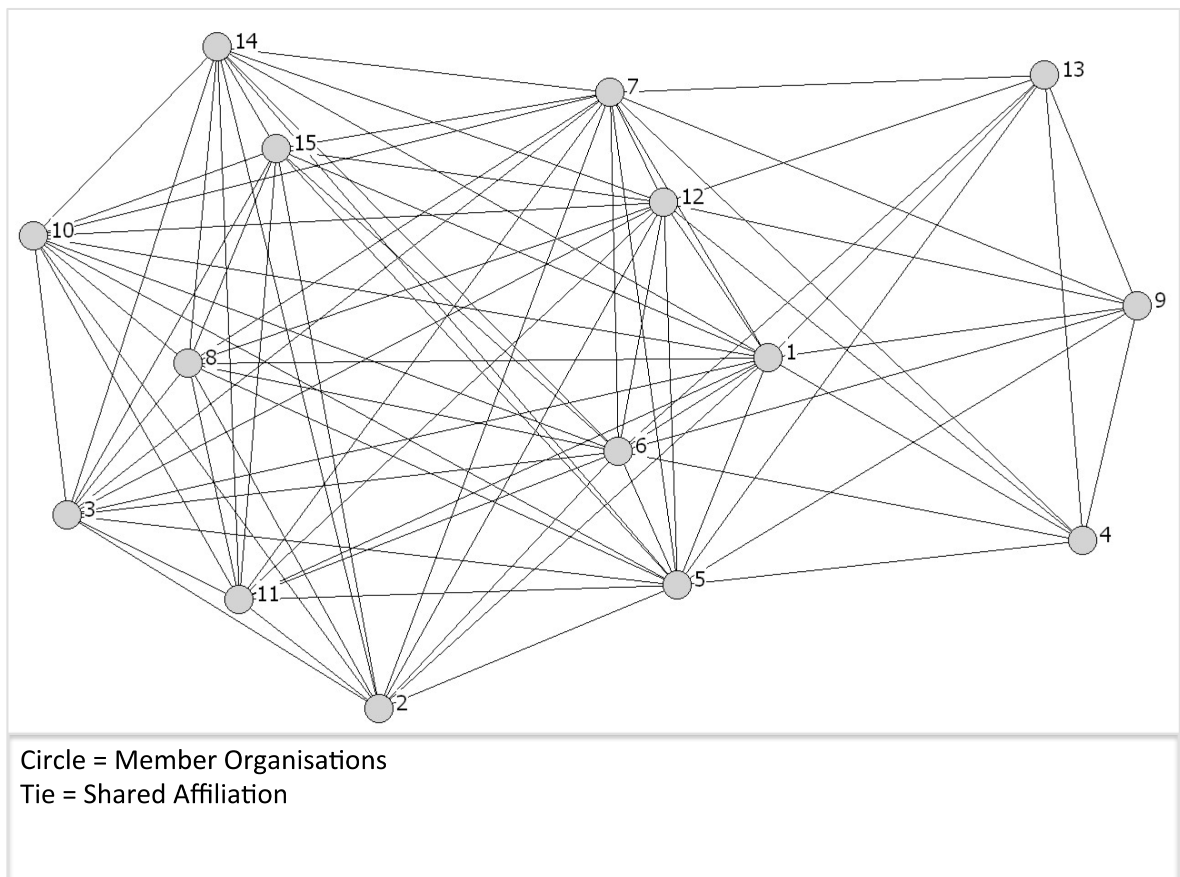
The total number of organisations participating in each umbrella organisation can be seen in Figure 32 in the following sub-section[9]. It is possible to draw the network that shows which participant organisations are connected to which umbrella organisations, as in Figure 29. In this network map, square nodes identified by letters are umbrella organisations, while circular nodes identified by numbers are member organisations. In order to protect the confidentiality of participant organisations, the 2-mode network of this field is not shown. However, the relationships that make up this network can be converted into two 1-mode maps, which will be displayed below.

---

[9] In this section 8.2, umbrella organisations are given their actual names.

In the first converted 1-mode network, only participant organisations are visible (see sample in Figure 30). Connections between them indicate shared membership in one or more umbrella organisations. The value of the tie indicates the number of memberships the two organisations share. This value can be shown by tie thickness, but is not in this case, due to the density of the member-by-member networks. The value of 1-mode organisation-to-organisation relations indicates social proximity of organisations (Borgatti & Everett, 1997), in this case suggesting how many opportunities two organisations have to interact or share institutions, whether directly or indirectly via the umbrella organisation.

Figure 30: Sample 1-mode Member-by-Member Network

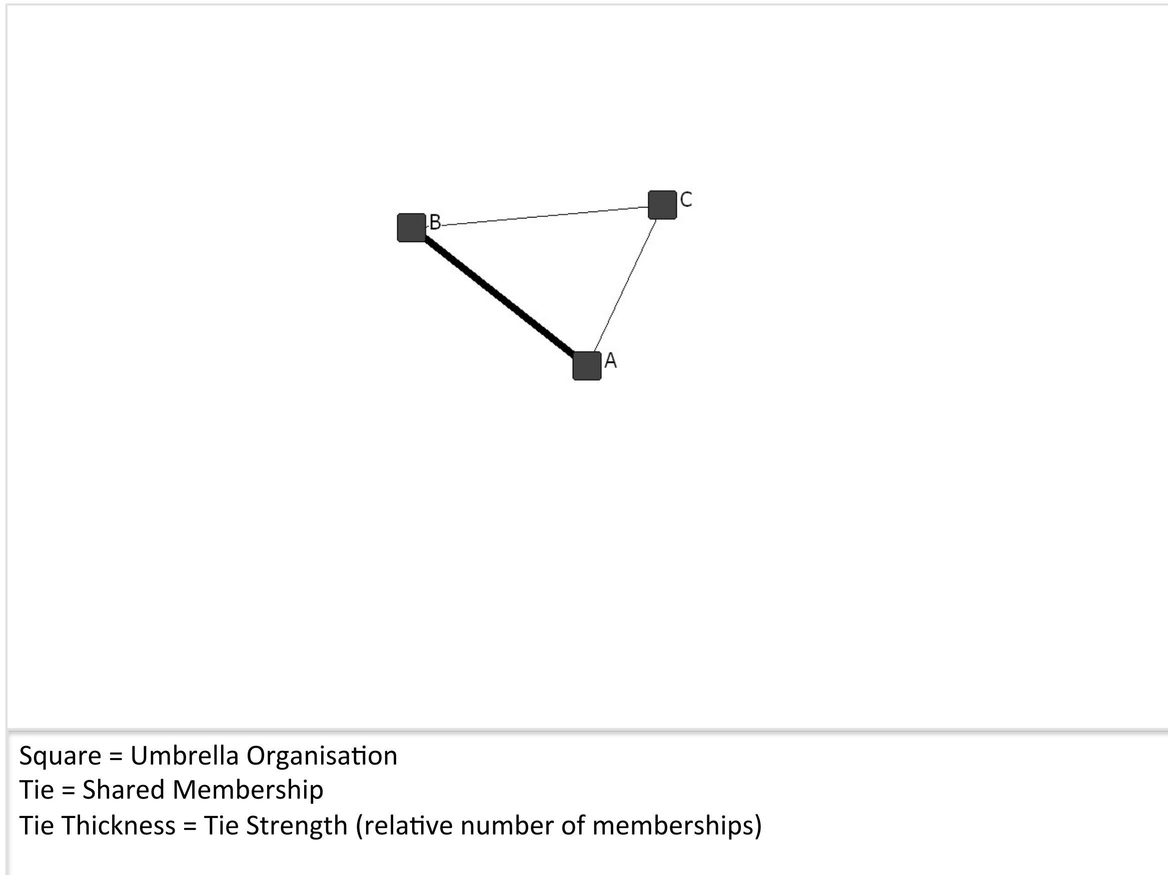


In the second sample network (Figure 31), only umbrella organisations appear. Ties thickness indicates the number of members that are shared between two umbrella organisations, demonstrating the social proximity of the pair. In both networks, the resulting relationships, whether actor to actor or umbrella to umbrella, are symmetric, because co-membership is a mutual relationship (Breiger, 1974).

In addition to protecting the confidentiality of organisations, converting the 2-mode data to two 1-mode graphs allows the application of a wider range of mathematical techniques, and using the two resulting datasets together ensures that data will not be lost

regarding the influence of one mode on the other (Everett & Borgatti, 2013). As Breiger (1974) argues, the 1-mode conversions of the original 2-mode data are closely related to one another, and therefore both conversions must be considered in tandem.

Figure 31: Sample 1-mode Umbrella-by-Umbrella Network



Square = Umbrella Organisation
Tie = Shared Membership
Tie Thickness = Tie Strength (relative number of memberships)

In the following analyses, both 1-mode networks will be taken into account. Firstly, centrality measures from each network will be analysed to reveal the underlying preferences within the field (Borgatti et al., 2013). Next, subgroup analysis will be performed on each of the networks in order to investigate the clustering of norms and aims in the field (Everett & Borgatti, 2013).

8.2.2 Participation in Umbrella Organisations in the Field

The results from the affiliation questions on the questionnaire paint a picture of an actively interconnected field of nonprofits. Of the 55 organisations[10] in the population, 44 are members of one or more umbrella organisations. This section will break down that data.

[10] Forty-seven participant organisations provided affiliation data. Affiliation information for three item non-respondents and five survey non-respondents were imputed from public records belonging to the umbrella organisations. Where possible, that information was taken from archived web pages from around the time of the survey via the Internet

Table 13: Umbrella Organisation Descriptions

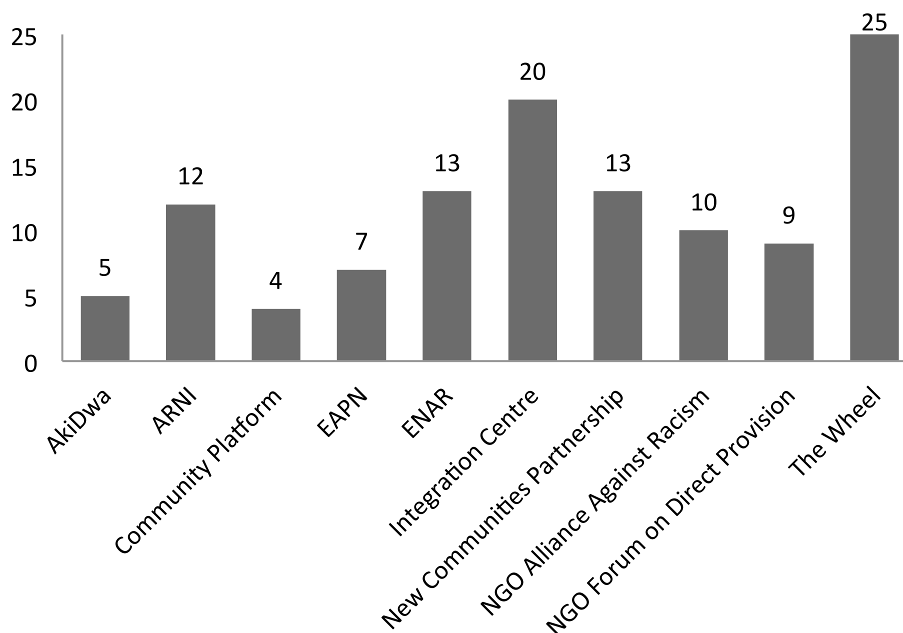
Umbrella Organisation Name	Description
AkiDwa	Organisation for migrant women in Ireland. Key activities include networking, policy work, and capacity building.
ARNI (Anti Racism Network Ireland)	Social movement organisation. Key campaign aims include supporting migrant rights and fighting racism.
Community Platform	Network of national community organisations. Key aims include assessing and influencing public policy, particularly through participation in (now suspended) Partnership negotiations.
EAPN (European Anti Poverty Network Ireland)	Irish arm of Europe-wide network. Key activities include campaign and policy work to combat poverty and social inequality.
ENAR (European Network Against Racism Ireland)	Irish arm of Brussels-based network of anti-racism organisations. Key activities include monitoring anti-racist initiatives and compiling racist incident reports.
Integration Centre	(Closed as of December 2014) National organisation for integration and inclusion of migrant communities. Key activities included reporting on integration, assessing local integration programmes, and influencing public policy.
New Communities Partnership	National network of migrant-led organisations. Key activities include networking, capacity building, and influencing policy.
NGO Alliance Against Racism	National network of community, human rights, and anti-racism organisations. Key activities were the production of reports to influence public policy.
NGO Forum on Direct Provision	National human rights forum that seeks to affect policy with regards to direct provision.
The Wheel	National body for nonprofit sector. Key activities include representation of sector to government, capacity building, and providing information on the sector organisations and individuals.

Archive's (2015) Way Back Machine. Information was not available for AkiDwa and ARNI. The resulting affiliation data is 96.1% complete.

The field participates in a wide range of umbrella organisations, including migrant support networks, anti-racism and human rights bodies, and general nonprofit fora.

Table 13 lists the umbrella organisations that were included in the survey. Figure 32 shows the number of members per umbrella organisation. Participants were also given the option to list other umbrella organisations to which they belong. Generally speaking, organisations named regional bodies, professional organisations, and international umbrella organisations. The results did not include any overlap between participant organisations, so they have not been added to the analysis.

Figure 32: Number of Members per Umbrella Organisation

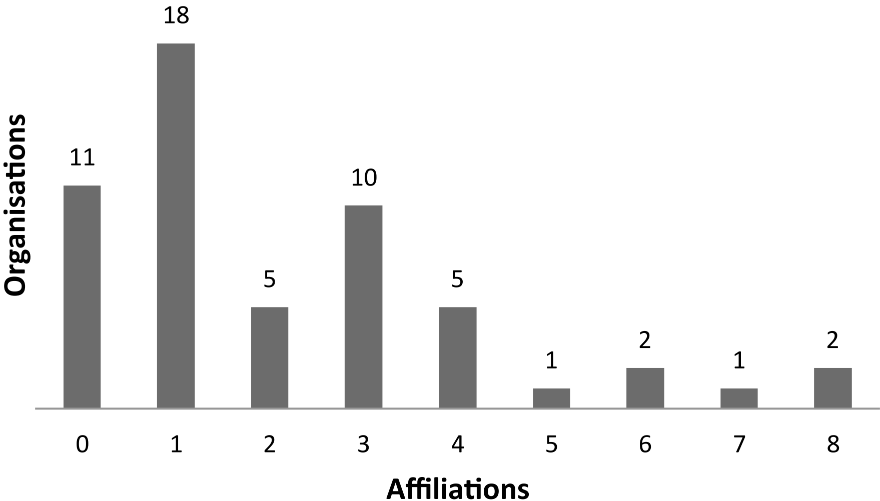


The four umbrella organisations with the most members in the field were: The Wheel, The Integration Centre, ENAR, and the New Communities Partnership. The Wheel is the largest organisation with 934 members in 2013 (The Wheel, 2013). The Wheel represents and supports organisations across the third sector. The other three are more closely related to the work of the field, but none of them are exclusive to it. The Wheel represents the interests of member organisations, while the other three are umbrella organisations that support member organisations in their work for beneficiaries. The only other umbrella organisation with as inclusive a mission as The Wheel is the Community Platform, which is the nationwide body representing the interests of the community, voluntary, and charity sector to government, previously in Partnership talks as a part of the Social and Voluntary Pillar. The Community Platform continues to advocate for the sector despite the break in Partnership talks. The NGO Forum on Direct Provision is the only

umbrella organisation in the field that focuses on concerns solely relevant to asylum seekers.

Figure 33 shows the number of affiliations per field member. Of the fifty-five organisations in the field, just over half belong to one or no umbrella organisations. Three quarters belong to three or fewer. The average number of umbrella organisations per participant is 2.15. Despite the low number of affiliations per organisation, the resulting network consists of one large component with only non-affiliated organisations excluded. This means that all nonprofits in the field that are affiliated with an umbrella organisation are indirectly connected to every other affiliated nonprofit.

Figure 33: Number of Affiliations per Participant Organisation



This section has shown that participation in umbrella organisations is widespread in this field, suggesting that it is an institutional template for advocacy relationships. The next sections will consider the network structures that result from these indirect relationships.

8.2.3 Centrality Distributions in Member and Umbrella Networks

Joining an umbrella organisation gives nonprofits access to other nonprofits that they might not have through direct relationships. This section will discuss how many such relationships participants gain through their memberships. It will be shown that the field as a whole gains dense interlinkages through affiliation memberships.

Figure 34 below shows organisations as they are connected by the umbrella organisations. In this figure, as well as in the analysis below, 2-mode data has been converted to 1-mode data. The organisations listed down the side of the figure are those

that claim not to belong to any of the umbrella organisations listed on the questionnaire. As a result, they are not connected to any other organisations via this affiliation network. This network clearly has a different shape from the service and advocacy networks in the previous chapters. It is denser, which is to be expected of a converted 2-mode network, and the centre of the network is far less clearly delineated.

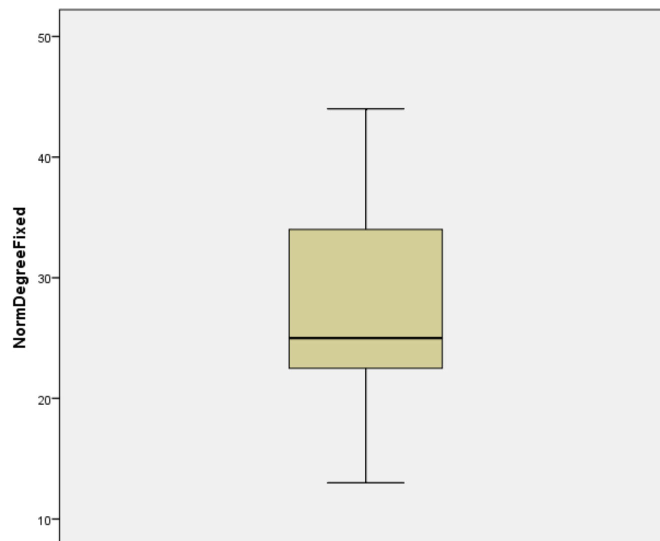
Figure 34: Organisation-by-Organisation Co-membership Network (non-normalised)

Circle = Member Organisation
Tie = Shared Affiliation

Some organisations tend to join a multiple umbrella organisations while others may be more selective. Those that join many umbrella organisations might seem to be close to each other in the 1-mode network, but that closeness indicates their tendency to join rather than necessarily indicating similarity between the member organisations. UCINET allows affiliation results to be normalised to accommodate these differences using Bonacich’s (1972) metric. Organisations without affiliations have been removed from the analysis of the normalised data, because they skew the data. If they were included, they would be given the same degree centrality measure as the most central organisations, because they achieve the maximum number of ties given the size of the umbrella organisations to which they belong (none).

On average, each nonprofit gains access to 27.18 other organisations through umbrella organisation membership. The box plot in Figure 35 displays the distribution of the number of relationships gained. The median number is twenty-five. One quarter of all participants gain access to over thirty-five organisations, with forty-four being the highest number of indirect alters. One quarter of the affiliated organisations gain access to twenty or fewer other organisations via their memberships.

Figure 35: Relationships Gained per Organisation in the Affiliation Network (Normalised)



The more level distribution of centrality in this network in combination with the high number of interconnections creates a network that looks more like the dense, institutionally unified network that has been argued to be beneficial to expressive aims (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Lin, 2001).

The choice by eleven organisations not to join any umbrella organisations in the field suggests that these nonprofits operate on the periphery, at least when it comes to advocacy work. In fact, it is helpful to consider them in relation to the advocacy network from the previous two chapters. Of the eleven organisations that did not join any umbrella organisations, six do not have any relationships at all in the advocacy network. The remaining five are in subgroups outside of the large subgroup that dominates the field. These positions in the advocacy collaboration field corroborate the peripheral nature of the nonprofits that were not members of umbrella organisations at the time of the survey.

Similarly to how the umbrella organisations potentially connect member organisations, shared member organisations can suggest an overlap of interests between the umbrella organisations. Table 14 gives the raw data for shared memberships among umbrella organisations. It shows that there is strong overlap of membership across all of

the umbrella organisations in the field. In fact, the only organisation that does not share members with all of the others is the Community Platform. Interestingly, this national platform does not share any members with the two Irish branches of EU umbrella organisations that participate in the similarly oriented Social Platform. This raises the question of whether there is a disconnect between national and European level advocacy for this particular field.

Table 14: Non-normalised Umbrella-by-Umbrella Connections

	Aki.	AR NI	CP	EA PN	EN AR	IC	NCP	NGO AAR	NGO FDP	TW	Shared Memberships
AkiDwa	**5**	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	4	**21**
ARNI	3	**12**	2	5	7	7	4	7	6	6	**47**
Community Platform	1	2	**4**	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	**8**
EAPN	2	5	0	**7**	5	5	2	6	5	5	**35**
ENAR	2	7	0	5	**13**	8	3	7	6	7	**45**
Integration Centre	3	7	2	5	8	**20**	9	5	4	9	**52**
NCP	1	4	2	2	3	9	**13**	2	2	3	**28**
NGO AAR	2	7	0	6	7	5	2	**10**	6	6	**41**
NGO FDP	3	6	0	5	6	4	2	6	**9**	7	**39**
The Wheel	4	6	1	5	7	9	3	6	7	**25**	**48**

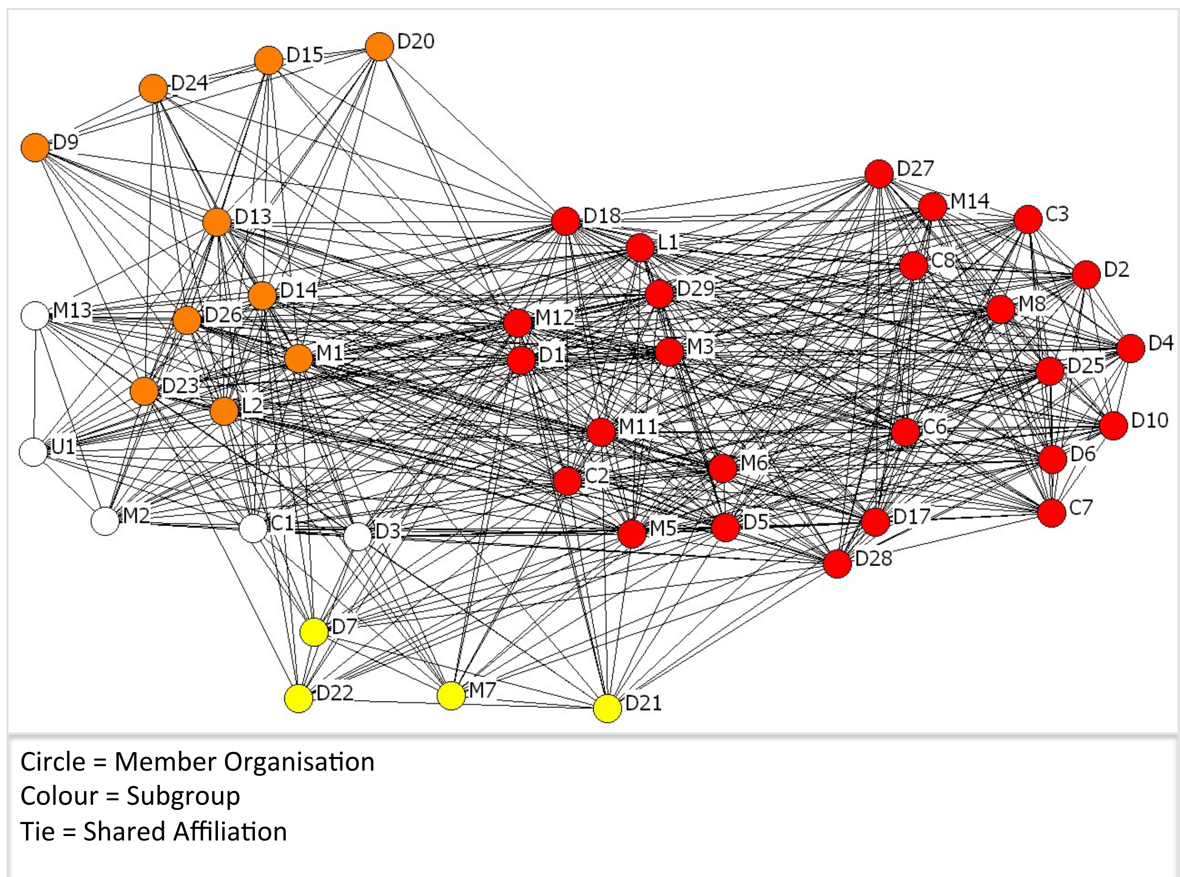
8.2.4 Finding Subgroups

This high number of inferred relationships per member organisation creates a network that is densely connected. In order to make sense of it, it is useful to look for cohesive subgroups. The Girvan-Newman method (2002) used in Chapter 6 is not an option for this network, because the ties are valued. For this network, UCINET's Optimisation procedure is an appropriate method to identify the densest possible combination of subgroups (Borgatti et al., 2013). In this method, the user suggests the number of partitions to introduce, and the programme finds the best fit for the suggested number. By trying a range of partitions, it is possible to identify the subgroup segmentation that contains the most internally dense subgroups.

For the member-by-member network, the best fit is a network with four subgroups (see Figure 36). In this map, the largest subgroup is red, and these organisations are all connected via the Wheel. The orange subgroup consists of organisations that are connected

via New Communities Partnership. The white subgroup is connected via the Integration Centre. Finally, the yellow subgroup is connected via a combination of the Anti Racism Network Ireland, The European Network Against Racism, the NGO Forum on Direct Provision, the NGO Alliance Against Racism, and AkiDwa. The strong membership overlap between these groups suggests that they represent separate but related issues in the field. It is important to remember that these nonprofits are more often than not connected by more than one umbrella organisation. This analysis simply identifies the umbrella organisations show the greatest pull for each subgroup.

Figure 36: Normalised Member-by-Member Map (Colour indicates cluster)

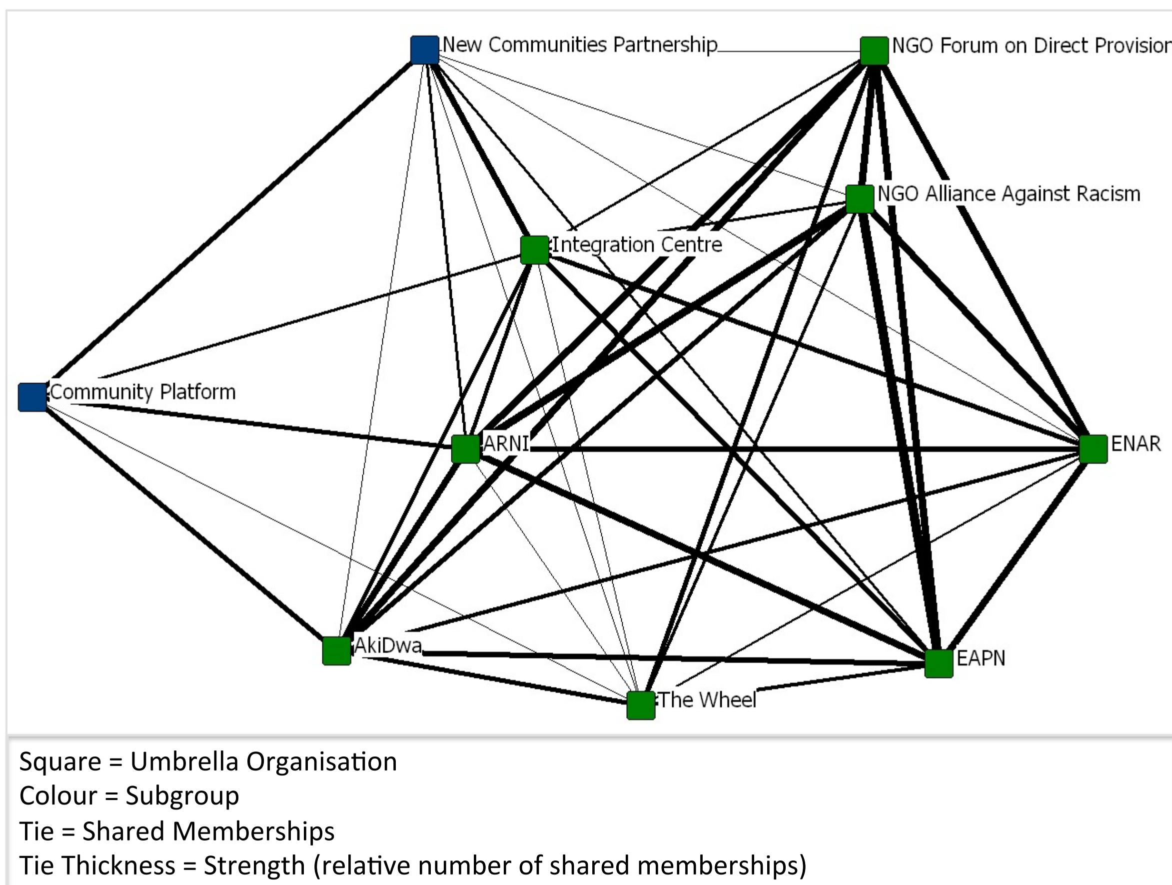


In order to understand these member organisations' subgroups, it is important to also take the subgroups that emerge in the umbrella-by-umbrella network into consideration (Everett & Borgatti, 2013). Just as the 1-mode data for co-membership is normalised to account for nonprofits that tend to join a lot of umbrella organisations, so too the 1-mode data for associations among umbrella organisations is normalised to account for umbrella size. Figure 37 shows the connections between umbrella organisations formed when nonprofits join multiple umbrella organisations. In this figure, the thickness of the tie

indicates the number of nonprofits that are members of both of each pair of umbrella organisations.

In this network, there are only two subgroups: a large one with eight of the organisations a small one with the Community Platform and the NCP. These two umbrella organisations are in a faction of their own, not necessarily because they are bound to one another by shared members, but because they are not as well connected to the other umbrella organisations in the field, which share large proportions of their members. The Community Platform did not feature in the analysis of the member-by-member map, because its members were taken into the orbit of other, larger organisations.

Figure 37: Normalised Associations Among Umbrella Organisations



Corroborating Feldman et al.'s (2005) finding that affiliations are particularly important for MLOs, the New Communities Partnership is the only link to the field for some of these organisations. It is tied for third most joined umbrella organisation with thirteen members in this field. It shares members with all of the other organisations, but despite its size it boasts the third *smallest* number of shared memberships with other organisations. In total, NCP brings together four organisations that would otherwise be left out of the affiliation network. As these are migrant-led organisations, their inclusion in the

voice of the field is particularly important for its legitimacy. It is also worth noting that two nonprofits that were unconnected in the service and advocacy networks are connected to the field via their affiliation to NCP.

In contrast, The Wheel shares a small number of member organisations relative to its size, but it is so large that many of its members are also members of the other umbrella organisations in the tangle of the larger subgroup. Eleven of The Wheel's twenty-five members are not connected to any other umbrella organisation in the field. Given that The Wheel advocates on behalf of nonprofits as such, rather than on behalf of their beneficiaries, these eleven members can be considered peripheral to the field in terms of advocacy.

The other organisations in this large subgroup share members densely amongst themselves – Anti Racism Network Ireland, The European Network Against Racism, the NGO Forum on Direct Provision, the NGO Alliance Against Racism, AkiDwa, the European Anti Poverty Network, and the Integration Centre. The first five were the unifying organisations in the dark grey subgroup in the member-by-member network. EAPN did not feature in that map, because like the Community Platform, its members were drawn into the orbit of other larger organisations. Meanwhile, the Integration Centre shared a relatively high number of its members with the Wheel and NCP. The dense overlap between all of these organisations suggests that they represent related but separate advocacy interests in the field, much like the tangle of co-membership in the dark grey subgroup in the member-by-member network. None of these organisations and none of their stated goals have emerged as a single, institutionalised principle to structure the field.

The fact that nonprofits in this field tend to join more than one umbrella organisation related to the field suggests two things. Firstly, it indicates that joining umbrella organisations is an accepted interorganisational institutional template for relating with other organisations in the field. Secondly, one can infer that a particular umbrella organisation that acts as the voice of the field has not been institutionalised. The two that distinguish themselves are The Wheel and New Communities Partnership, firstly by having a large number of members, and secondly by having a large number of unique members. As discussed above, they distinguish themselves by their missions. The Wheel represents nonprofits as such, while NCP represents migrant-led groups. They might be considered leaders within the field, but not of the field. Instead, umbrella organisations offer á-la-carte issue platforms that nonprofits can choose to partake in. The next section

will consider how umbrella organisations shape the field from the inside, focussing on forms of participation by the case study organisations.

8.3 – Central Organisations' Multi-level Umbrella Organisation Engagement

Just as referral relationships can build into high traffic exchange relationships, formal networks can conjure the norms, obligations, and trust that will allow participating organisations to engage in exchange relationships beyond the initial purpose of the contact. Two main reasons for participation in affiliation networks emerged in the interview data: advocacy work and information sharing. In many instances, referral relationships and feelings of solidarity emerged as by-products.

All of these reasons for joining constitute definitions the work of the field: what are the issues, what are workable solutions, and who are we as a field? Berger and Luckmann write that 'To understand the state of the socially constructed universe at any given time, or its change over time, one must understand the social organization that permits the definers to do their defining' (1966, p. 161). Formal affiliation networks allow these organisations to come together in direct contact with multiple partners to work through these definitions. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) identify agenda setting as a key element of social skill, allowing actors to create contexts that will benefit their interests. In this case, core organisations are able to place themselves at the centre of affiliation networks by coordinating the networks themselves and setting the terms for unified advocacy efforts. This section will argue that formal networks reinforce core organisations' places at the centre of the network, allowing them to invest in the on-going cultivation of trust and reciprocity while reinforcing their own place as the makers of meaning in the field. Furthermore, their central positions allow them to reach up to the next geographic level, giving them the opportunity to represent the field's interests from a larger platform while drawing down further social capital benefits, such as information, prestige, and solidarity.

8.3.1 Hubs as Organisers

Both MISO and NWI sit at the centre of their respective catchment areas, not only in terms of collaborative network ties, but also as coordinators of key umbrella organisations at their geographic level. This section will argue that umbrella organisation coordination is an institutional template that allow these organisations to consolidate social capital for the field and for themselves, particularly through skilful agenda setting. It will also highlight differences between two kinds of umbrella organisations: coalition and federation.

MISO's staff coordinate a range of national structures: the Migrant Support Platform (MSP)[11], a Service Delivery Seminar Series, and the Forced Migration Listerv, which is a mailing list where practitioners can request and publicise information on migration-related issues. This section will focus on MISO's work with the MSP, which is a coalition of migrant support organisations that campaign on issues related to forced migration.

MISO's founding and coordination of the MSP demonstrates the organisation's advantage in agenda setting, while also highlighting the issues of credit in collaborative work. The MSP aims to coordinate advocacy efforts at the national level. Here, the public relations officer, who does the work of drafting policy documents with the Platform, reveals that advantage while she explains the cost of coordinating the Platform:

> I have a big objection to it, because we're the only ones that do anything for it, and they're, I think, a huge drain on us. Even though there are advantages to working collectively, the others are also under-resourced themselves so that it creates a layer of consultation where nothing actually happens at the end of it, or where, you know, we would end up doing it ourselves. So, there are some advantages to keeping it collective. I don't like the fact that we get drained so much.
>
> *Communications Officer, MISO*

As Svendsen and Waldsrtøm (2013) argue, the returns of information on investment in relationships diminish for an already powerful actor in a field. Because MISO is the hub of the collaboration networks, it already has a wealth of information resources with which to construct these documents, and the public relations officer has the luxury of choosing whether to take the sole credit for her work or to allow the other organisations to participate. The information and referrals officer who coordinates the Platform articulated the advantages that the public relations officer referred to – being seen to be working on important issues and gaining legitimacy for policy stances through the agreement of other key organisations (Balassiano & Chandler, 2010). Perhaps most importantly, through the Platform, MISO is able to influence the agenda of the field's advocacy work to its own ends.

The layer of consultation that the public relations officer mentions is what she finds particularly difficult, and it is inherent to the coalition structure of the Platform. She gives

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[11] Names of umbrella organisations have been changed.

the example of negotiations surrounding revisions to its terms of reference and objectives, which were happening at the time of the interviews. This process is emblematic of a trend she sees in the group of offering opinions without giving final decisions or taking action. As noted above, a coalition structure lends an umbrella organisation the least amount of power in relation to its members and relies heavily on consensus, which can be difficult to gain (Young, 2001). Also, the lack of an independent management structure leaves the running of the organisation at the mercy of member organisations' available resources, which can slow the execution of plans once they are agreed upon.

While the affiliation network can be a resource drain, it is also fertile ground for developing referral and information relationships. For instance, the information and referrals officer who tends to do most of the coordination work for the Platform named several collaborative relationships that began within the Platform and developed into valuable referral and information exchange relationships, corroborating Coleman's (1990) claim that social capital is often developed as a by-product in other activities. In this case, coordinating a sometimes costly coalition reinforces MISO's place at the centre of the service network, even as it confirms the organisation's dominance in the advocacy information network. This finding echoes Snavely and Tracy's (2000) finding that rural service organisations in the US reaped referral benefits via formal networking groups.

NWI is a different kettle of fish, because it is itself a federated umbrella organisation. That is to say, it is its own independent organisation, with its own resources and management structure. While some staff members have more sway in planning than others, NWI can make decisions in its own right and run programmes without requiring contributions from all staff. Formal networks are often created within nonprofit fields with the explicit intent of developing social capital within the field. Even though the networks might be a 'drag' on the coordinating organisation in terms of information, there are benefits that come from being a part of a field with a good supply of social capital. It is easier to pursue organisational aims in a field where trust and norms of reciprocity are prevalent (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000).

NWI itself offers an explicit example of how an umbrella organisation can do this. In this case, NWI was started by an employee of DEVCO, the local partnership company, as a part of its social inclusion aims set out by the national government. The partnership still funds many of NWI's activities, and the long-serving chair is a DEVCO employee. However, DEVCO does not own or officially manage NWI. Instead, NWI receives support

from many sources and coordinates support for victims of forced migration in the area on its own. In turn, it also provided the initial coordination investments in two migrant-led organisations in the area – the Stradbally House resident's committee and the Local Intercultural Board discussed in the previous chapter – thereby creating a sort of snowball effect of social capital in the community. Because the scale of NWI's catchment area is local, it cannot coordinate another umbrella organisation in turn. Instead, it helps to organise individuals in the area into organisations it can work with.

These two formal networks had very different outcomes, demonstrating that the development of social capital requires an ability within organisations to make use of that capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The resident's committee has had an intermittent presence in Stradbally House. There was none at the time of the interviews. The committee received support from NWI in the form of advice on structure and operations, as well as administrative support from the chair of NWI. At times, the chair of the residents' committee was an active staff member of NWI, and at times the relationship remained less formal. NWI staff cited difficulties in catering to the wide range of nationalities in the centre and a lack of understanding of representative processes on the part of residents as the main reasons for the failure of the committee. In contrast, the Intercultural Board was started out of a funding application by a variety of local actors, including three staff members of NWI. One staff member attended the first few meetings in order to help the nascent organisation set up its leadership structure and organisational template. Two years on, the Board is still active and is a prime example of how an umbrella organisation can spread institutional templates such as meeting structure and organisational rules.

The failure of the residents' committee to survive demonstrates one of the sources of conflict highlighted above – too much overlap between umbrella and member organisational aims[12] (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2008). NWI was already representing residents' interests and addressing their needs, and it was doing so with far more experience and resources than were available to the residents' committee. Two former chairpersons of the residents' committee were interviewed, and both noted that residents of Globe House expected more change from the committee than it could achieve. Despite its reputational problems, NWI remained the organisation that asylum seekers turned to for assistance, because it was able to achieve results. In contrast, the Intercultural Board provides a

[12] A participant disagreed with this interpretation in the results presentation, reiterating the roles of diversity and lack of democratic experience among residents in the disintegration of the committee.

complement to the work of NWI, concentrating on issues in contrast to NWI's needs-based framework. The LIB provides a migrant-only forum for the discussion of issues, which allows members, including asylum seekers, to set their own agenda. Investing in their social capital allows NWI to shape the agenda of the local field of migrant support, by promoting the voices of migrants themselves. NWI's connection with LIB provides what the residents' association could not – a reliable source of legitimacy in terms of direct representation of beneficiaries' interests.

This section has shown how two hub organisations approach the field-wide institution of umbrella organisation participation. Both MISO and NWI place themselves at the centre of an umbrella organisation that spans their respective catchment area, thereby reinforcing their roles as hubs, particularly through the advantages gained in agenda setting. These cases have also highlighted important differences in their roles as organisers of social capital in the field. Firstly, the geographic span of the nonprofits' interest determines what they can organise in the field. As MISO is a national organisation, it can organise other organisations. As NWI is a local organisation, it can organise individuals into organisations that it affiliates itself with. Secondly, the natures of the umbrella organisations demonstrate different strengths and limitations. For MISO, the coalition structure of the Migrant Support Platform provides valuable possibilities for new information and referral relationships at the price of slow and costly policy negotiations. NWI's federated structure gives it more freedom to take action but limits its ability to coordinate members with overlapping aims.

8.3.2 Hubs as Members

In addition to coordinating formal networks, the case study organisations participate in advocacy networks that extend beyond their own geographic remit and allow them to bring their causes to wider arenas. MISO takes part in European networks, while members of NWI are members of regional and national networks.

These networks allow the organisations to turn asylum seekers' issues and problems into policy issues that extend to other parts of the population. For instance, in NWI, the representative from Northwest Community Support is also a member of a National Homelessness Network (NHN). When the local County Council stopped providing asylum seekers' first rent deposit after they attained refugee status, the problem was taken up by the NHN:

> So the thing with the asylum seekers is that their potential to become homeless is high. … Because they are in a no-man's-land. You know, have their papers and have this sort of unending stay in direct provision where they want to get out of as quickly as possible for all sorts of reasons. And so, at what's called the NHN meeting, they are discussing, or this has been brought up as an issue last meeting, and the next meeting now is on Wednesday. So the feedback from other parts of the country will be brought into that, and that hopefully then that that, that will force the agencies in question to look at policy in other areas where it's been worked and worked successfully.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

In this case, she is able to extend the frame of her beneficiaries' needs to that of a recognised national issue (Snow et al., 1986). In addition, engaging with homelessness agencies allows her to take advantage of the skills, audience, and advocacy repertoire already developed in a field much older than the asylum support field. Finally, turning the need into an issue of national significance opens the possibility to a lasting change in policy rather than the case-by-case, ad hoc solutions that she had been achieving locally.

At the same time as providing wider advocacy ability, memberships in larger networks allow staff to build relationships with other specialists in their subfield. In MISO, for example, the information and referrals officer who specialises in working with young people describes the expressive benefits she reaps from her participation in the committee of the Network for Young Asylum Seekers in Europe (NYASE):

> It's really great. The purpose of the committee is to have meetings every three to six months. Usually three months. About funding for NYASE, and we have four thematic groups within NYASE and just to work, planning, and things like that, which is great fun. Two hours on NYASE in the office somewhere, or on Skype in the office somewhere or travelling to Brussels or wherever it might be. Meeting, again, designing work programmes that, that are really where I want to be, you know, at the kind of EU harmonisation level. And working with experts…
>
> *Information and Referrals Officer, MISO*

The NYASE provides a platform for raising the issues of young asylum seekers across Europe, but it also offers members an opportunity to be a part of a wider community in a

way that enriches members' goals and raises the prominence of the organisation. In other words, in this case, the external, formal network allows the officer to exercise and reinforce the aims and expertise of her professional role by meeting other related specialists outside of MISO.

This section has considered how the costs and benefits formal networks reveal the role that hub organisations play in creating meaning in this field. It has been shown that hub organisations tend to organise those networks at the level of their own geographic scope and participate in networks at the next level up. Both forms of engagement underscore their dominant role in meaning construction and agenda setting. At their own level, when an organisation invests in a network, it stands to benefit from the trust and reciprocity engendered in a field whose agenda it has a hand in setting. Participating in networks with a wider geographic reach than their own organisation's allows staff and volunteers to amplify and reframe issues for greater policy impact and to connect with other members of their professional subfield, providing both information and legitimacy.

8.4 – De-institutionalising a Field: The case of the Irish recession

In the discussion above, it was noted that organisations federate in response to environmental pressures, such as a recession. On the other hand, participating in umbrella organisations can be costly, which suggests that they might be as likely to pull out of federated relationships when resources are low. One of the most obvious ways an organisation demonstrates its priorities, norms, and values is in its budget allocations. A recent exploration of the reactions of Irish nonprofits to the current economic crisis identified economising as one of four evident strategies to dealing with the new economic context.[13] The authors describe the strategy as 'reducing how much [the organisation] puts into an exchange, or by simplifying the range and complexity of the exchanges in which it is engaged' (Donnelly-Cox & Cannon, 2010, p. 338). The choices an organisation makes in terms of cuts – whether to staff numbers, programs, or travel – can cause different relationships and the institutions they support to deteriorate. In turn, these changes can potentially disrupt the organisation's role in the field. This section will consider the impact of the recession on formal relationships with umbrella organisations. It was shown above participation in umbrella organisations remains an institutionalised form of interaction among nonprofits in this field at the time of research. Nevertheless, qualitative data raise

[13] The other three are harmonising, diversification, and monopolisation.

questions about the quality of that participation. First, the wider context of the impact of the recession on the case study organisations will be laid out.

8.4.1 Reduced Resources and Interpersonal Relationships

Both case study organisations resorted to economising in response to cuts to resources. At MISO, time devoted to work was cut. Employees agreed to decrease their workweek in order to eek the most out of their existing pool of core funding, while their workload did not diminish. Many interview participants cited busy schedules as a reason that they find it hard to keep up with their contacts. In addition, when they found that colleagues and other contacts were not getting back to them, participants assumed delays were due to the other person's workload. While busy schedules are hardly a unique feature of a financial crisis, the pressure of decreased income and increased demand means it is exacerbated in times like these (Harvey, 2012; Macmillan, Taylor, Arvidson, Soteri-proctor, & Teasdale, 2013; The Wheel, 2012). Structural changes that cause actors to fail to keep up with contacts instigate the de-institutionalisation of taken-for-granted contacts and roles (Oliver, 1992). The failure to reply could diminish trust in a colleague's reliability. In time, an actor would seek out a different source of information or support, thereby de-institutionalising that colleague's specialist role. These dyadic changes can have field-wide implications, particularly when the more central organisations are involved.

Budget changes can impact on relationships with beneficiaries as well as with colleagues, threatening the balancing act nonprofits must perform between being in touch with beneficiaries and maintaining a professional image for colleagues and funders (Cullen 2009; Lentin 2012; Tomlinson 2005). While participation in NWI is entirely voluntary, the organisation still needs cash to run its programs. The organisation saw a 75% drop in funding in the five years coming up to the research, which meant that staff needed to run fewer programmes. In turn, NWI staff had fewer opportunities to build trust with residents of the local direct provision centre. Participants continually emphasised the amount of effort it took to get residents to participate in programmes and the importance of face-time in maintaining trust and interest. The loss of contact with beneficiaries is a threat to the legitimacy of NWI's role as a voice for asylum seekers at local, regional, and national levels. Clearly, the recession threatens the strength of institutions in the field via direct relationships with colleagues and beneficiaries. The next subsection will turn to its impact on affiliation relationships.

8.4.2 Reduced Resources and Affiliation Relationships

Recession-related resource cuts not only impact dyadic relationships, they also impair organisations' ability to make meaningful use of their affiliation relationships. As argued in Chapter 7, dense networks are important for advocacy work (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Lin, 2001). Real collaboration, as opposed to simple exchanges, takes a large commitment of time and human capacity (Yanacopulos, 2005). These can be impacted directly by cuts to resources and indirectly by changes to the environment in which a nonprofit works.

For instance, cuts to travel funds can make travelling to meetings prohibitive, resulting in negative effects on interorganisational relationships and institutional maintenance. The effects of decreasing face-to-face meetings are evident in the MSP. The lack of travel funding among participating organisations has led to a break in face-to-face meetings. The lack of resources to fully participate has led to the de-institutionalisation of meaningful collective action, as argued by the public relations officer in her quote above, where she refers to the MSP as 'a layer of consultation where nothing actually happens at the end of it'. She also noted that a few organisations have dropped out of altogether, because they could not afford to participate. Indeed, the information and referral officer who coordinates the coalition noted that even for her, everyday case work can get in the way of cultivating relationships within the MSP.

She also worries about the effects reduced participation will have on her relationships and her resulting ability to 'just pick up the phone' when she needs support in her duties. Without the opportunity to interact in person, organisation staff's ability to fortify the institutionalisation of trust and shared aims is severely curtailed, and the opportunity for dense ties and real action is curbed along with it. In the case of the MSP, the results are felt at the level of advocacy in the form of reduced or empty policy collaboration and at the level of service in the form of reduced approachability of colleagues in other organisations.

8.4.3 Changing Contexts and Affiliation Relationships

Sometimes, the effects of an economic downturn do not come directly through resource deficiencies within nonprofits. Instead, they can be seen as the knock-on effects of governmental streamlining. NWI's functionality as an umbrella organisation was impaired by two changes at state agencies. Firstly, the transfer of some responsibilities from the HSE to Tusla, the newly formed Child and Family Agency, in 2014 saw the

creation of a new, statutory-led network of related organisations in the region. This new network has overlapping membership with NWI, and the local Sexual Violence Support (SVS) organisation could not afford to send representatives to both organisations. SVS decided to reduce its membership with NWI, because the Child and Family Network was larger, and because NWI required extra inputs, such as fundraising support and volunteering for programmes. The representative no longer attends NWI meetings and does not participate in events, but she does receive minutes every month. As a result, seven of the eleven other staff members did not place her in their personal networks. This is despite the fact that SVS routinely works with asylum seekers, and the representative was acknowledged by the two most central staff members of NWI as having a wealth of expertise to offer.

This loss was exacerbated by a second government policy decision – the removal of the family welfare officer and the public health nurse from the premises of Stradbally House. These former NWI members were responsible for most of the referrals from within Stradbally House to SVS, particularly because of the close relationships they were able to foster with residents. In her interview, the SVS representative noted that her organisation saw a drop in asylum seeker beneficiaries from 22% to 1.4% of their beneficiary base. At the time of the interview, the public health nurse, who was the second to leave, had been gone for over two months. The SVS representative had recently contacted staff of NWI to notify them of the situation, and she said that referrals were beginning to pick up again. However, the response from NWI would have been quicker or the drop in referrals lower had she been attending meetings and giving live updates on the issue.

Face-to-face encounters are particularly important in a field such as this one, where diverse and geographically dispersed actors seek to change the status quo. According to social phenomenological theory, the face-to-face situation is the arena where actors are best able to cross-reference and develop shared meanings and institutions (Schütz, 1972). Interactions at a distance are more likely to be interpreted in an already institutionalised framework that is considered ‘objective’ and ‘taken-for-granted’. In this last case, for instance, NWI staff saw sexual violence referrals as someone else’s role, because that is how it had previously been. The emailing of minutes did not constitute an interaction personal enough to cause staff members to update their understanding of the institutional landscape to the changing context brought on by government cuts.

8.4.4 The Recession at the Field Level

The effects of the recession were also identified by participants in the field-wide questionnaire. One organisation articulated its challenges:

> …as an organisation working in a remote context of the rural county, the links with other organisations are vital in terms of both service provision and seeking policy change. The challenge in current days is that it is getting harder to maintain links due to economic hardship, namely lack of staff to maintain engagement and funds to cover travel expenses.
>
> *Questionnaire Respondent*

These issues map directly onto those identified as inhibiting meaningful participation in umbrella organisations in the case study organisations. Other participants in the questionnaire highlighted increased caseload, drops in grants and donations, and decreased volunteer participation, or alternatively, increased reliance on volunteers rather than paid staff, as direct effects of the current economic climate. All of these effects threaten to de-institutionalise relationships and roles in the field, whether in the direct collaborative networks or in the indirect affiliation network.

Since the time of the research, the Integration Centre, which was one of the largest umbrella organisations in the field, closed its doors. As noted above, the Integration Centre had a high level of membership overlap, particularly with The Wheel and NCP. Similarly, the NGO Alliance Against Racism has not been publicly active since 2012 and its coordinators did not reply to an email inquiring as to its on-going existence. While certainty is impossible without direct research, the most plausible explanation based on this data is that given the reduced resources available, the umbrella organisations in the field are subject to rationalising processes. Again, while affiliation per se persists as an interorganisational template, member organisations are being selective about where and how they are using their resources.

This section has argued that while membership in umbrella organisations as such remains an institution in the field of asylum seekers support, individual memberships are both decreasing and becoming less meaningful in the face of recessionary challenges. These changes to participation deplete the umbrella organisations' ability to effectively campaign and to contribute to the social capital that supports the service network in the field. Furthermore, the de-institutionalisation of face-to-face communication among

members threatens to reduce the field's ability to react to changes in the environment in a timely manner.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the structural and institutional implications of umbrella organisation participation. It has added to the body of literature on umbrella organisations by addressing the impact of not one, but all significant umbrella organisations on a field. It has been argued that for this field, participation in an umbrella organisation represents an interorganisational institutional template. However, the wide range of umbrella organisations available and the distribution of members across these organisations suggest that no single umbrella organisation is institutionalised in the role of the voice of the field, and no single issue has been institutionalised as the defining advocacy aim of the field.

The next contribution comes of comparing two central organisations, albeit at different geographic levels. The similar stances of these organisations towards participation in umbrella organisations suggest that a particular template exists for central organisations in which they are organisers at the level of their own catchment area and members at the next levels up. These particular roles reinforce central organisations' roles as leaders in the field. In addition, the case study organisations revealed how their participation had ripple effects on service relationships. The timing of the research also allowed a view into how the recession impacts the maintenance of institutions of interaction in the field, particularly through the example of umbrella organisation participation. While the quantitative data show that affiliation remains an important template for advocacy relationships, the qualitative data suggest that the substance of these affiliations is subject to change in challenging environmental conditions.

The results of this research on umbrella organisations open up new questions as well. For instance, to what extent do the umbrella organisations themselves interact with each other? And how do these organisations influence and organise relationships outside the field? The next chapter will turn to such outward facing relationships, albeit from the perspective of the participant organisations.

Chapter 9 Embedding Relationships Strategically

If there are any comments you would like to add about your work with other organisations, please feel free to do so here.

'On reflection, we have probably dealt with statutory bodies more than NGOs.'

'Scarcity of resources has unfortunately seen the cessation of certain services to immigrants which in turn may have a long term impact on the integration and settlement of immigrant communities. Great working relationships have elicited creative responses to address the reduction in resources.'

Questionnaire Respondents

The nonprofits that support asylum seekers are enmeshed in webs of relationships in their field, but also with other actors within and beyond the Irish refugee system. For instance, the government, state agencies, related nonprofits and funding bodies, asylum seekers themselves, the media, and various vendors all featured in the personal network maps of interview participants. These stakeholders all make claims on the field and on the organisations within it. Their interests enter into the push and pull of the definition of the field and the wider refugee system. How do actors in the field cope when stakeholders have more significantly more power to shape institutionalised practices? What strategy can members of the field employ to effect social change when they are the eternal underdog?

This chapter will consider two of the most important institutionalised constraints these organisations must face: the discretion available to government agents and the limitations of external funders, whether they are private or public. It will argue that when faced with such limiting exogenous institutions, actors within these organisations attempt to diminish the impact of institutionalisation by increasing the personalisation of relationships. Whether they rely on pre-existing relationships or actively try to build new ones, actors take advantage of the embeddedness, or multi-layered quality, of social ties. This layering of meaning onto relationships creates room for change by encouraging interlocutors to think and act beyond prescribed roles. Such embedded relationships have

advantages over strict, role-based exchanges, but they do raise questions about accountability and transparency in the work of the field.

The next section will introduce the concept of embeddedness and draw out its relationship with the concept of social skill. Next, the interdependencies between this field and the state and funders will be introduced. After that, the value and limits of embedding relationships will be considered with regard to relationships with statutory agents as well as in response to funding related constraints. Unlike the other data chapters, this one will not include any network measures. Instead, interview and descriptive survey data will be used to build a theory of embeddedness as a relationship strategy. These findings demonstrate the importance of taking a multiplex view of relationships to understand how actors accomplish social change within the confines of pre-existing social orders.

9.1 – Inter-sectoral Relationships and the Possibilities within Embedded Relationships

So far this thesis has been focussed primarily on single purpose relationships within the field. However, in reality, most relationships carry multiple meanings, often drawing on the various roles an individual actor plays. In reality, actors are always balancing a range of interests and roles at once, and those individuals and organisations that recognise and make use of that fact give themselves an advantage in the definition of the field. By embedding, or layering meanings onto, a relationship, an actor introduces new factors and interests into social exchanges. If social skill is a set of tactics that actors rely on to develop institutional advantage, then embedding is the strategy that lays the groundwork within relationships in order for those tactics to be effective.

9.1.1 Embeddedness and its Effect on Institutions

This chapter will draw on the argument of embeddedness as articulated by network theorist Mark Granovetter: '…that the behavior and institutions to be analyzed are so constrained by ongoing social relations that to construe them as independent is a grievous misunderstanding.' (Granovetter, 1985, p. 482). In other words, it is negligent to evaluate a social exchange solely in terms of the institutionalised understanding of the exchange or the people participating in it. For instance, in this case, whether an actor collaborates with a member of another nonprofit or contacts a state agent on behalf of an asylum seeker, the exchange that takes place is not a strict interchange by two institutionalised roles. Rather, it happens between two people by virtue of the roles they play in the context of multi-layered

social relationships. Past interactions between the actors and the relationships that surround the actors, whether related to the relevant roles or not, will bear down on the current one.

Granovetter argued that the theory of embeddedness offered a middle ground between what he saw as the over- and under-socialised views of economic action. In the over-socialised view, internalised norms and values dictate behaviour in actors who are sensitive to each other to such an extent that normative action is not perceived as a burden. In this case, action is determined by social position, for instance class or labour market sector. In the under-socialised view, there is no impact of social structure or social relations on production, distribution, or consumption. In this view, only economic rationality determines action.

Granovetter (1992) divides embeddedness into relational and structural aspects. The first refers to the fact that dyadic relations affect actors' economic action and outcomes. The latter refers to the effect of the overall structure of an actors' network on those actions and outcomes. Concrete personal relationships and social structures generate trust and discourage malfeasance. Continuing economic relations 'become overlaid with social content that carries strong expectations of trust and abstention from opportunism' (Granovetter, 1985, p. 490). Like Schütz (1972) and Berger and Luckmann (1966), Granovetter (Granovetter, 1992) draws attention to the role of time in social action, emphasising the 'baggage of previous interactions' that comes with each new one. He suggests that relational effects, particularly the expectations each party to a dyad has of the other, have direct effects on individual action. These actions, over time, may turn into institutions.

While this chapter is not concerned with economic action per se, the interactions between research participants and their alters in other fields do consist of strategic social action, taken between partners in a dyad who often have conflicting interests. As such, participants must balance the costs and benefits of exchange in a calculation that is rational. The concept of embeddedness is useful in these considerations, because it describes how actors can transcend or build on existing roles within relationships in order to achieve their aims.

9.1.2 Embeddedness and Social Change

Rather than profit, the outcome that these actors aim for is social change. The argument of this chapter is that by deepening a relationship, actors are able to introduce

new interests, roles, and institutions into the refugee system. But how exactly can that work? Previous chapters have looked at how actors in the field skilfully build and approach relationships by engaging with alters creatively and introducing new actors and interests to the refugee system. In this chapter, by embedding exchange relationships into deeper, multi-layered social ties, actors can raise the bandwidth of their connections, allowing the space for more than one set of roles to impact social action.

In related work on social action across network domains, Mische and White (1998) argue that multiplex relationships, that is, relationships based on multiple roles, are more likely to become sites of 'problematic, high stakes episodes that cast our prescripted roles and trajectories into question' (Mische & White, 1998, p. 697). In other words, embedded relationships are at a high risk of institutional, particularly role-related, change. Mische and White call these episodes 'situations', and they locate them in conversation, where undirected talk can take prescripted exchanges based on roles into new directions. These situations are like micro versions of the crises that Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue introduce change into a field. Conversations, like a crisis, can introduce new interests and ideas into an exchange. The co-existence of multiple sources of norms in a single exchange can induce reflexivity in an actor, which can erode the objective nature of previously institutionalised practices, values and norms (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009). Suddenly, the expectations that shape interactions shift, and the outcomes of a previously predictable exchange are up for grabs.

As two actors expand a relationship, they recognise and react to each other's multiple roles. A skilled actor can appeal to interests beyond those that fit the role that originally began the relationship. These processes have already been seen in this thesis, for instance in Chapter 7, when an information exchange became a referral relationship. As a relationship becomes more relationally embedded, or 'involved', to use the language of previous work on collaborative relationships, knowledge and new institutions can be developed (Hardy et al., 2003; Lawrence et al., 2002). As argued in Chapter 7, the benefits of strong, or embedded, ties also include trust, which begets fine-grained information exchange, and joint problem-solving relationships (Uzzi, 1997). These effects, in turn, can result in faster and more positive responses.

When nonprofits that support asylum seekers engage with statutory actors or seek funding, they are at a disadvantage in many respects. They lack the authority and the resource independence that the state and funders can take advantage of in shaping the

institutional landscape. Instead, they must rely on social skill to garner legitimacy for their claims and interests and to induce cooperation. Embedded relationships provide the necessary context for these skilled actions to be effective. If social skills such as bricolage and including outliers are tactics, then embedding relationships to allow for the generation of empathy is the strategy that allows them to succeed.

This chapter will investigate how actors in this field overlay social content on their relationships with members of other, important fields in order to disrupt the constraints of existing roles and institutions. It will consider the specific ways that actors in the field induce alters, whether they are statutory agents or fellow field members, to think outside prescribed roles to achieve better outcomes for their beneficiaries. Before that, the next sub-section will address some important criticisms and limitations to the concept of embeddedness.

9.1.3 Criticisms & Limitation

After Granovetter's initial paper, the concept of embeddedness went largely unchallenged as a central concept in economic sociology for over a decade (Krippner, 2001). However, critics eventually emerged, arguing that the concept threw the baby out with the bath water when it came to the role of the market in exchanges (Krippner, 2001; Lie, 1997) and that the concept is overly vague and untestable (Uzzi, 1996). While criticisms focussed mainly on structural embeddedness, relational embeddedness was not immune.

The main concern is that the concept focuses on relationships, or the social, at the expense of other important factors in an exchange. The most pressing criticism is that the concept takes the market, the very site of economic action, for granted (Krippner, 2001). Critics call for the incorporation of historical and cultural variations of markets into theorising the sociology of economic exchange (Lie, 1997). Additionally, the categories of individual actors, such as gender and class, have a role to play (Krippner, 2001). In this study, the equivalent would be to ignore the institutions that govern exchanges between nonprofits in the field with the state and funders.

While Granovetter did not explicitly theorise the role of concrete, empirical market places, he did not deny the value of economic rationality. What he argued was that while behaviour is rational, its aims are not always economic. They can also be any of what he calls the central human motives: sociability, approval, status, and power. All social action

consists of a trade-off between these goals (Granovetter, 1985, 1992). In building his arguments, Granovetter starts from the perspective of the social construction of institutions, which also works from the assumption that social action is institutionalised, because actors buy into the normative assessments attached to those actions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Nevertheless, the call for the incorporation of relevant contextual factors is important to bear in mind in the application of the concept of embeddedness. Of particular salience for this study is Lie's (1997) observation that the role of power, particularly the state's power, is absent from Granovetter's initial formulation. As seen in Chapter 2, institutions are not only developed and enforced through interpersonal interaction. Actors with a resource advantage, such as the state or professional organisations, are able to guide isomorphic forces in a field. This chapter is focussed squarely on exchanges that happen in response to institutions originating in more powerful fields, namely the state and funding bodies. In this case, the concept of embeddedness is used to help unpack how actors in the field use multi-layered relationships to engage with and sometimes override such institutional constraints.

Finally, a limitation to the data in this chapter must be addressed. The findings in this chapter point to the ability of members of MISO and NWI to take advantage of personal relationships to the benefit of their beneficiaries. However, what remains unclear is the extent to which these de- and re-institutionalisations reverberate across the fields. As Granovetter himself argues, '…the embeddedness of economic action may be structured in such a way as to blunt and contain individual actions, so they never do accumulate into larger outcomes…' (Granovetter, 1992). That is to say, individuals may manage to make profitable use of embedded relationships, but the transferability of those benefits depends on the structure of the fields in question.

Previous chapters have shown that relationships among organisations in the field under study are layered and multiplex over the range of social roles played by the organisations. Studies on institutional development in aid organisations in Palestine suggest that such high levels of involvement, or relational embeddedness, between organisations combined with structural embeddedness allow for the creation and transfer of knowledge and proto-institutions in a field (Hardy et al., 2003; Lawrence et al., 2002). Thus, it is likely that the approaches these case study organisations take to externally imposed institutions have transferred to other organisations. To know for certain would require research including the accounts of collaboration partners. In addition, the scope of

this research did not cover the networks among government actors or private funders to the field. As a result, it is impossible to say whether the changes seen with individual actors grow into changes in entire departments or national policies. The next section will turn to these other fields and their interdependencies with the field under study.

9.2 – Interdependent Relationships with Funders and the State

Members of this field have access to repeated, real-time interactions with stakeholders including government decision-makers, other professionals in the field, and funders. These relationships form the basis of the organisations' utility to asylum seekers and other constituents. Asylum seekers, much like the beneficiaries of any nonprofit organisation, rely on these organisations to mediate their relationships with stakeholders and decision-makers precisely because of the interdependent relationships these organisations are able to build over time.[14] Members of these organisations are able to accrue tacit knowledge of procedures and processes through their on-going exchanges with stakeholders. These real-time interactions are the sites where participants are able to effect change in asylum seekers' conditions, on individual and aggregate bases.

The range of parties these organisations must interact with extends across a range of sectors and social boundaries. While it is the crux of their success in supporting asylum seekers, this multi-faceted position raises the question of what kind of accountabilities these organisations face (Knutsen & Brower, 2010). This section will consider the interdependence between this field and two of the most significant players in the refugee system at the time of research: the state and private philanthropic organisations. Financial dependencies and functional interdependences between the field and these two outside players will be outlined. Both the state and private funders have significant leverage over the field. However, nonprofits do have some room to manoeuvre in terms of the maintenance and creation of institutional norms and practices.

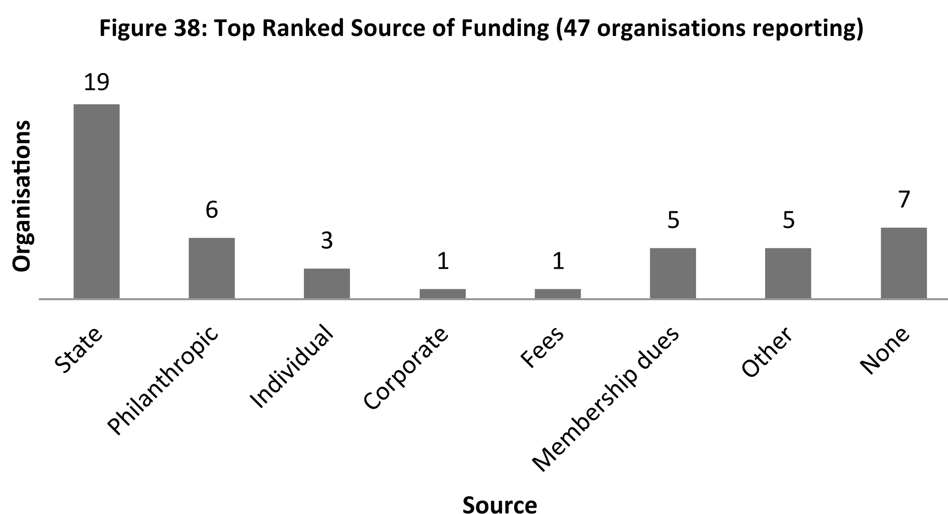
9.2.1 Financial Dependencies

One of the defining features of a nonprofit is its separation from the marketplace, and this non-commercial nature leaves the organisations at the mercy of the good will of

[14] When it comes to government agencies, asylum seekers' most common form of communication is written correspondence. As for funders, with the exception of those asylum seekers that participate in nonprofit organisations, asylum seekers have no direct contact with those organisations that provide the resources for the supports and activities available to them. In contrast, research participants consistently made reference to phone calls and meetings with these extra-field contacts.

outside funders. While neo-institutionalism emphasises the role of social acceptability, as opposed to access to resources, in organisational survival (Oliver, 1991), the reality is that normative influence cannot be cleanly extricated from questions of access to power and resources in a field. As defined by DiMaggio and Powell in their seminal article on homogenisation processes, coercive isomorphism 'results from both formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations by other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150). This coercion can take the form of force, persuasion, or invitations to collusion. It can be as obvious as government regulation and as subtle as the granting or limiting of access to funds or to policy discussions. This section will outline the relative influence of different financial sources on the field and unpack its relevance for the formation and maintenance of norms and practices.

Figure 38: Top Ranked Source of Funding (47 organisations reporting)



In order to measure the relative influence of different funders on the field, questionnaire participants were asked to rank sources of funding out of seven choices:

- State (including State or health board grants, national lottery, EU funding, etc.)
- Foundation / Philanthropic / other NGO support
- Individual support (e.g. individual donations, public fundraising campaigns)
- Corporate donations
- Fees, charges, sales, etc.
- Membership dues
- Other

Survey data revealed that the largest sources of funding in this field are also the most important players in influencing institutionalised practices and patterns as found in the literature – the state, philanthropic funders, and members (see e.g. Cullen, 2009; Feldman, Ndakengerwa, Nolan, & Frese, 2005; Feldman, 2007; Harvey, 2013). Figure 38 shows that the state is by far the most relied upon funder in the field, followed at a distance by philanthropic funders.

The state and philanthropic funders have a strong and interrelated influence on the resources of the field, as evidenced by comparing participants' first and second largest sources of funding (Table 15). The most frequently cited second source of funding for those organisations that ranked the state first was philanthropic bodies, and vice versa for those organisations that ranked philanthropic bodies as their largest source of funding. In contrast, those organisations that cite membership dues as their largest source of funding only cite one other source at all: 'Other'. This suggests that these organisations foster independence from the institutional orbits of the state and philanthropic bodies.

Table 15: Second Largest Sources of Funding

		Top Ranked Source of Funding		
		State (19 reporting)	**Philanthropic (6 reporting)**	**Members (5 reporting)**
Second Largest Source of Funding	**State**	N/A	3	0
	Philanthropic	7	N/A	0
	Individual	6	2	0
	Corporate	0	0	0
	Fees	3	0	0
	Members	1	0	N/A
	Other	0	1	1

Those organisations that benefit financially from the combined state and philanthropic bodies operate close the centre of institutional formation. They are on the receiving end of constraints and limitations that come with funding grants, but they are also in dialogue with the funders as a result. The next two sub-sections will consider interdependencies that arise with the state and private funders.

9.2.2 Operational Interdependence with the State

While this field's financial leverage is fairly non-existent, the legitimacy and expertise its members maintain keep their interests at play in the refugee system. The inter-relationships of the nonprofit and public sectors has been well-documented in international (see e.g. Grønbjerg, 1998; Rathgeb Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006) as well as Irish literature

(see e.g. Donnelly-Cox & Jaffro, 1999; Donoghue, 2010; Somers & Bradford, 2006). Both the state and private funders are able to exert pressure on the nonprofit sector, but their coercive power is not total. Nonprofits can also exert reverse influence through their relationships with these powerful forces (Bromley & Meyer, 2014). Relationships between nonprofits, state, and market are dynamic as each sector jockeys for its own interests (Grønbjerg, 1998). In fact, the line between public and private is often blurred (Rathgeb Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006).

The nonprofit sector is hitched to the state in its service role through government contracts and grants, in its advocacy role through its efforts to influence policy, and through the laws and regulations by which the state governs the sector (Daly, 2007; Rathgeb Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006). In all three of these arenas, the state is the more powerful actor through its legal authority (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) and it is able to directly influence service and advocacy programming in the field (Harvey, 2013). The state plays another important role for this field in particular through the ability of its various agencies to make important decisions regarding the status, care, and accommodation of asylum seekers.

The state nevertheless relies on the nonprofit sector in turn, whether for the successful implementation of governmental obligations through the delivery of services or for the legitimacy it gains in having been seen to consult with the experts from the nonprofit field in policy formation. As argued by Fligstein and McAdam, '…the stability of even the most powerful state depends at least in part on the support it derives from incumbents that control certain key nonstate fields' (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 67). The nonprofit sector is one of those fields, as evidenced by their involvement in the now-defunct partnership talks and their very visible role in delivering public services from education to community development.

Recent changes tied to the recession have up-ended nonprofits' traditional relationship to the state, including the collapse of the National Partnership talks, the disruption to politics as usual, and the control of the economy by the EU, European Central Bank, and the IMF (Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013). From personnel changes in frontline service provision to high-level policy talks, the institutionalised roles and expectations for cross-sectoral relationships are unsettled. As will be argued below, actors in the field build up existing relationships in order to take advantage of ambiguities as they arise.

9.2.3 Operational Interdependence with Philanthropic Bodies

The private sector also plays an important part in shaping the nonprofit sector (Grønbjerg, 1998). Particularly relevant for this chapter is the influence played by corporations and corporate elites through the establishment of large, grant-making foundations. While the growth of private philanthropy did not match the pace of economic growth in the country and is now shrinking (Daly, 2007; Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013), it has had a major role in the field of migrant support organisations (Cullen, 2009; McCrea, 2014; Prospectus, 2008). It has been found that even a small amount of funding can have large effects on the success of advocacy initiatives (Jenkins, 1998), and private funders such as the One Foundation and Atlantic Philanthropies have infused millions into the field since the turn of the millennium. As will be shown in the later in this chapter, private funders often make structural and programming demands on grantees that can have significant effects on the work that they do.

Private philanthropy has been criticised for its shaping influence on nonprofit organisations and social movements in Ireland and elsewhere. It has been argued that foundations de-radicalise movements, dis-incentivise grassroots participation, and segregate nonprofit members from their constituents' interests through their emphasis on the professionalisation (Jenkins, 1998; McCrea, 2014). On the other hand, private funders allow the advancement of interests that may not be otherwise heard by the state and the public, and they present opportunities for social innovation that would otherwise be out of nonprofit organisations' reach (Frumkin, 2006). In addition, private grants can afford nonprofits a degree of independence from the government in their activities, depending on the stance the funder takes toward the state (Frumkin, 2006).

Nonprofits are not exclusively at the beck and call of private funders. Elite funders rely on their grantees in order to lend legitimacy to their powerful role in society, and nonprofits can give elite donors an opportunity to network and exercise leadership (Grønbjerg, 1998). In addition, grantees provide an avenue for expression by donor organisations through which they can articulate their views on what constitutes a good society (Frumkin, 2006). Finally, donating to nonprofits presents an opportunity for philanthropists to learn from their grantees and their national context (Frumkin, 2006). For instance, a recent study in the Irish migrant support field on the relationship between the One Foundation and the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland found that while the funder encouraged many changes within the organisation, the organisation also changed the

funder's view on what constitutes an expert, allowing more room for beneficiary voices (McCrea, 2014).

This chapter will look particularly at the constraints that arise by virtue of grant-related restrictions and demands. It will be shown that actors in the field respond to these constraints creatively in ways that re-shape the roles within their organisations and relationships in the field at large. The withdrawal of private funds from the field in conjunction with the recession have raised challenges for these nonprofits, which actors have met with increased development of key relationships.

For both the state and the private sector, the nonprofit sector is an arena for creating and advocating for new practices and services (Donnelly-Cox & Healy, 2013; Grønbjerg, 1998). Additionally, public sector responsibilities in nascent fields, such as this one, are open for debate, and they are not fully institutionalised (Grønbjerg, 1998). Despite institutionalised constraints placed on the organisations in this field through its unequal relationship with the state and private funders, actors within the field use personal relationships to wield what leverage they have. They embed existing relationships in order to direct these institutional processes in directions that favour their own aims and interests.

The blurred lines that arise from these interdependencies also raise serious questions about transparency in democratic processes and accountability in this field. Both the decisions of government agents and the institutions imposed by funders reside outside of democratic processes. Reliance by the state on nonprofits to provide services or to represent beneficiaries in claims and applications results in an added layer of remove in decision making from the voting public. Meanwhile, the insinuation into programme development by the state and private funders raises serious concerns about the ability of nonprofits to appropriately represent and support beneficiaries.

9.3 – Negotiating Institutionalised Discretion

As discussed in previous chapters, both MISO and NWI take on service and advocacy work, and the state, or branches thereof, is the principle interlocutor in both social roles. Particularly with reference to advocacy work, members of both organisations discussed the state or its agencies as actors in themselves. When representing beneficiaries' personal interests in the role of service provider, or when discussing funding applications, participants tended to name individuals with whom they had built relationships. These personal relationships are the bedrock of role re-institutionalising. The next section will

discuss personal relationships from each case study organisation with individual civil servants. It will be shown that those personal relationships disrupt business as usual in relation to statutory agencies, particularly when it comes to roles.

9.3.1 Effecting Change through Personal Relationships

At times in their advocacy role and often in their service provision role, participants built personal relationships with individuals within various government agencies. The discretion embodied in members of statutory agencies is the key to the personalised approach these organisations take to their relationships with the state. Members of both MISO and NWI seek to build relationships with members of government bodies in order to secure results for the asylum seekers that come to them for assistance. Using empathy, patience, and a willingness to occasionally gloss over small problems in aid of larger aims, they disaggregate 'the system' for themselves, encouraging civil servants to think beyond their role and crack open the prescribed expectations that guide their interactions. The multi-layered relationships they build provide opportunities to make advantageous use of socially skilled tactics.

In one example, a member of MISO describes how she works to make positive connections in RIA, an agency notorious among participants for its intransigence. By learning RIA employees' names and identifying those who are helpful, she has started to build relationships with individuals within the agency who would also like to see changes in the system. She is then able to provide them with small-scale opportunities to make that happen. With some members, the relationship was just waiting to be built. With others, she must work harder to break through habits of obstruction. In this instance, she is building a relationship with an individual who normally does not use his discretion in favour of requests and eventually makes headway toward changing his anticipated responses:

> Now he's still, Fiachra[15] is very much a no man. But he's starting... Certainly it's easier with him while, I'll be able to kind of. I'll be able to ask for something which is really difficult. So, on one hand, I would send, like, a letter requesting something. And he won't always give you exactly what you want, but he will give you close to it. So, somebody asked nine times to be accommodated. And he said that, he's basically saying that nononononono. And then, he's saying that you can only go to Foynes, which is really

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[15] Names of government agencies are unchanged, but individuals have been given pseudonyms.

> unsuitable for this person. And then, eventually, I just kind of went, Fiachra, you know, blahblahblahblah, you know. This, could you please, like, not. Could you please give them alternative accommodation? Otherwise this is going... you know, this person is going to be stuck in this situation and I wanted him to engage meaningfully with the authorities, blahblahblah. And he went, 'Okay, I'm sending him to (incomprehensible).' And he won't put it in writing, because he doesn't really want you to, you know, he doesn't want to acknowledge that he's doing it, but he will call and say 'Okay, I'm doing this', you know?
>
> *Information and Referrals Officer, MISO*

The information and referrals officer relies on persistence and politeness to learn how Fiachra works and appeal to his personal interests. By taking the time to deepen her personal relationship with him, she creates opportunities to exercise social skill. For instance, she is able to frame her request as a bid to ease the asylum seeker's interaction with 'the authorities' in order to appeal to Fiachra's interests as one such authority. In doing so, she also skilfully casts herself as a neutral broker. Ultimately, she accepts an unofficial response rather than pushing for a letter. In addition to providing certainty to asylum seekers, documentation proving positive outcomes is valuable to MISO, because it can count them up to show stakeholders that the organisation is effective. However, this participant prioritises a positive relationship and the positive outcomes it brings over the value of an official response. As a result, she too suspends some of the demands of her own role to make the exchange work, exercising the social skill of appearing devoid of personal interests.

It is, perhaps, more expected that members of NWI would develop personal relationships with state agents. They have a localised remit, and many of the statutory agents they deal with live and work in the community. In fact, six members of NWI are also employed by or have retired from statutory agencies. In one telling remark, while deciding whether to put a member of the HSE onto her personal network map, one participant said:

> I'll put him in, because we talk about Stephen as if it's Stephen's personal pocket. As though it's his money. We all do that. But he's the HSE.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

The familiar way she discusses Stephen suggests a relationship that is, if not informal, at the very least relatively personal. While the money may belong to the HSE, Stephen is the one who decides to whom and how it is disbursed. Another member discusses a long-simmering disagreement over integration with Liam, Stephen's predecessor as local project manager in the HSE:

> And [Liam] would have advocated as well, you know, if you provide services within [Stradbally House], you're kind of institutionalising people and making it difficult for them to integrate. Whereas if you didn't have the service and they had to come out into the community, they would integrate better. That would have been his argument over the years. And so actually the last meeting we were at, we said actually we've noticed that, say, at the Sexual Violence Support, the numbers of referrals has dropped dramatically because there is no one there to hold people's hands, (incomprehensible) to take them to these services. So I think it kind of reversed his idea that maybe sometimes you do need, in those circumstances, particularly.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

As project manager, Liam had pulled a family welfare officer out of Stradbally House, as well as eliminating other targeted services for asylum seekers in order to increase their chances of local integration. This member of NWI also met with Liam at meetings of the Northwest Child and Family Network, which happened on a near-monthly basis. Over this time, she was able to come to understand his perspective on integration and consequently present evidence framed specifically for his interpretation of his own role in order to precipitate a change in perspective.

Again, as a result of time spent with the project manager, in this case across the roles she plays in NWI and her base organisation, this representative member is able to expand her relationship with him. Face-to-face interactions allowed her to embed their relationship and challenge his taken-for-granted assumptions regarding integration and service access among asylum seekers.

By repeatedly interacting with stakeholders and layering new meanings onto role-based relationships, research participants are able to increase their chances of securing positive outcomes for asylum seekers, whether those outcomes are positive decisions, policy shifts, or added supports and services. The more frequent the interaction, the more

likely it is to be layered with extra purposes and interests. This multiplexity can lead to trust developing between parties to an exchange, and this trust in turn can lead to more beneficial and efficient exchanges for both actors (Lee et al., 2012). The examples cited above both show how participants turned a strict role-based relationship into a personal one to the potential benefit of beneficiaries. In both cases, participants got to know their interlocutor over time and used that knowledge to present arguments that would appeal to the person in the role. By understanding the interests of their interlocutor, they are able to turn an existing petition-based relationship into an exchange of information, until the decision-maker trusts the knowledge and reasoning the participant presents.

9.3.2 The Limits of Embedding: Intransigent roles

Like institutionalisation, de- or re-institutionalisation of roles, patterns of action, and understandings is an interpersonal process. Both parties must be willing to engage in the process, but that is not always the case. Just because a participant has a personal relationship with a member of a state agency does not necessarily mean that the relationship is positive or that the participant is able to change obstructive patterns of response. In these instances, the civil servant is perceived as being overly bureaucratic and refusing to use their discretion. In other words, they do not transcend or change the role they had when the relationship began.

In one high level example, the CEO describes the difficult relationship she maintains with one of the key decision makers at RIA:

> I've put it on the whole as negative, rather than neutral, because we want to do something and he wants to stop us doing. Or he wants to carry on doing something, and we want to stop him doing it. …We want the direct provision system to end, and an alternative reception system to be in place. We want asylum seekers to have the right to work. And he doesn't want any of that. He wants to maintain direct provision as it is, and he doesn't want to give them the right to work. So, we're at kind of loggerheads. We will sit, we meet, we will talk, we'll communicate. It's irregular. Sometimes it can be very fractious.
>
> *CEO, MISO*

In this relationship, neither party is willing to relinquish the interests and aims of their respective role. As a result, even repeated, face-to-face meetings fail to generate common ground on which an extra-role relationship can be built. Rather than alleviating the

pressure of their roles, each meeting only serves to entrench the expectations by the CEO that her interlocutor will disappoint her.

This narrative does, however, indicate another benefit of personal relationships with state agents when they are considered at the level of the organisation. The embedding of personal relationships introduces flexibility not only between the two parties, but it also introduces flexibility within the case study organisations. Individual actors can have very different relationships with members of the same agency, as seen in the examples from RIA above, where management had more role-bound relationship than case workers. This flexibility is invaluable when organisations pursue conflicting goals in their alternating social roles as public advocates and service providers. In fact, multiple personal relationships allow the organisation as an actor to perform the social skill of pursuing multiple aims at once.

Relational intransigence does not only occur at the level of policy making, but also in the course of day-to-day casework. For example, a member of the Department of Social Protection, who had previously been a member of NWI, was removed from the organisation and from his office in Stradbally House due to a series of disagreements. Four members mentioned him by name in their interview, and their descriptions of him ranged from 'not bad' to 'my bête noir'. One volunteer member, who used to work with him, gave a particularly rich account of how she approaches him when she disagrees with his decisions. She would say:

> 'Lookit, you don't have to be so bureaucratic about it.' I mean, he was a colleague. He was a work colleague when I worked as a social worker, you know. And I've kind of, I, he would be very, very different. He would be maintaining the law very closely, and he would be, you know, a letter of the law man. And I would say, 'Lookit, you have discretion, you can use it.'
>
> *Volunteer Member, NWI*

Again, this civil servant is unwilling to move beyond the strict interpretation of his role, despite direct entreaties from the volunteer member. Repeated interactions across the group only entrench expectations that his responses will be contrary to the aims and interests of NWI.

These examples show that while members of the two case study organisations may see themselves as taking on the government or its agencies, they nevertheless rely on

individuals within those agencies in order to effect change. Their efforts are more successful when relationships become personalised beyond prescripted roles, and they are ineffectual when the civil servants refuse to step beyond their post. After all, an actor can empathise with another person, but never with a role. So long as the alter resists adding new layers of meaning to a relationship, it is nearly impossible to reap the benefits of even the most skilful social action.

9.3.3 Questions of Transparency: Statutory discretion

The personalised approach to dealing with members of statutory bodies and the support of funders underscore a key element to the welfare state, which was mentioned by the former social worker at NWI – discretion. Discretion is a seemingly inevitable element to a neo-liberal state, which seeks to decentralise its governance. Decisions about benefit payments and living situations of asylum seekers are left to actors in government agencies, while decisions about which service-providing organisations will dominate a field are left to private donors. Philosophically speaking, allowing individuals to choose how to apply the law runs the risk of 'relinquishing democratic control over these final steps' (Molander, Grimen, & Eriksen, 2012). The same has been argued for the decision as to which interest groups receive extra resources and support (Frumkin, 2006; Jenkins, 1998).

The reliance of these organisations on interpersonal relationships also creates risks for the nonprofits themselves. In working closely with the government, the organisations face the risks of becoming bureaucratised and de-radicalised. In addition, being seen as being 'in the government's pocket' can threaten an organisation's ability to relate to and access beneficiaries. Both participating organisations faced criticisms in this regard. MISO found that such criticism from another organisation alienated many potential beneficiaries. NWI had to overcome an image, circulating among local asylum seekers, of taking the government's money in the name of asylum seekers and keeping it for itself.

On the other hand, dependence on embedded relationships is a relatively appealing alternative to a one-size-fits-all bureaucracy, particularly in relation to populations with needs as extensive and complex as those of asylum seekers. Furthermore, it is likely that the personalised relationships that participants rely on create more room for them to influence the outcomes for asylum seekers, bringing their on-the-ground expertise to bear in applications to government agencies (Burbridge, 2005) and decisions around the granting and use of funding. Despite all of the risks and concerns, the possibility of a centralised, strict, rule-based approach to tending to the many needs of asylum seekers in

direct provision remains both an unwelcome and impracticable alternative. In this instance, participants' interpersonal relationships serve as important reserves for knowledge about relevant laws and policies as well as about the asylum seeker applicants themselves.

What the extensive influence of discretion and personal relationships in these nonprofits' work does suggest is the great extent to which the caprice of Irish government and its agents permeates the lives of asylum seekers. Despite living within the physical boundaries of the state, asylum seekers remain outside the borders of its rights and privileges (Anderson, 2013; A. Lentin, 2004). As a result, they seem to also live outside the separation of private and public that citizens of a modern state expect to enjoy (Hall, 1984). The amount of work and strategising done by the members of these two case study organisations in their relationships highlights the amount of inefficiency and unpredictability created by the restrictive and opaquely governed reception conditions for asylum seekers in Ireland. The next section will consider the influence of outside funders on the field.

9.4 – Negotiating the Institutions of Funders

Nonprofits that receive funding from other organisations or from government agencies must contend with the conditions and structures these funders impose. Institutionalised expectations and practices such as professionalisation, project-based funds, and collaboration- or merger-based funds are known entities in the nonprofit sector. Despite their very different size and structure, MISO and NWI must both contend with these institutions. The institutional constraints placed on nonprofits by private funders raise serious questions about who is really calling the shots in nonprofit programming. Of all the different stakeholders, funders have the most obvious leverage when it comes to directing the work of an organisation. This section will explore the ways that actors in the case study organisations creatively approach these externally imposed structures in order to shape their own roles. The retreat of financial resources in the field, through the recession and the winding down of the major philanthropic players, provides an opportunity to observe the ways that embedded relationships help actors weather the storm as well as the limits to the effectiveness of this relationship strategy.

9.4.1 Creating Roles via Funder-imposed Structures

Whatever the source of financial resources, there are typically some kind of strings attached. Typically, the size of the fund determines the scale of the funder's insinuation within the recipient organisation. Large core funding grants come with expectations of

organisational formality and professionalisation; smaller project grants will limit their specification to the individual project description and its outcomes. While these expectations do place limits on programming, they also create opportunities for actors in the organisations to re-think and re-shape their own institutionalised roles.

Like other major players in the field, MISO receives the bulk of its funding from private philanthropies. It had previously been supported by the Irish government, but that source of funding dried up during the recession. Some of its projects have been funded by inter-governmental bodies, including the EU. All of the organisations' funds are contract-based, with durations lasting from single events up to three years. Large grants cover core funding as well as specific projects. This relatively reliable income allows the organisation to maintain an office and retain a small number of administrative support staff in addition to its core service and advocacy related employees.

One condition imposed by a major funder was that MISO draw up a three-year business plan to match the duration of the fund. This condition is common among venture philanthropists, who want to support outcomes without getting caught up in the small scale decisions of the grantee (McCrea, 2014). The business plan included organisational objectives and strategies, operational overviews for different areas of work, and plans for organisational development. The first business plan was developed just as the organisation was coming out of a funding crisis, and it gave members the opportunity to clarify aims and roles. One member of the information and advocacy team describes how she was able to take advantage of that time of organisational change:

> …I was able to develop my own idea of what the work that I, my own business plan essentially. I fed into the business plan and then I interpreted it in a way that would suit my interests and also in my mind what the clients would like to get out of the service as well.
>
> *Information and Referral Officer, MISO*

Members are able to refer to the business plan when someone's role comes under question, and they also use the plan to hold each other to account. Drafting the business plans involves all-staff meetings. These discussions potentially provide opportunities for members to revisit and reaffirm or change their role within the organisation as well as the role of the organisation itself. While the business plan was an externally imposed

institution, it creates an opportunity for members to formally engage with roles and institutionalised aims of the organisation.

In contrast to MISO, NWI is a voluntary member organisation. It relies heavily on members' base organisations for the donation of the time and expertise of representative members, as well as on the facilities provided by Stradbally House. These and other in-kind donations allow NWI to meet, plan, network, and run programmes without having to incorporate as a company limited by guarantee. As a result, NWI is not accountable to a board of directors or to company management, which allows a large amount of flexibility in its activities. However, this organisational structure, in which NWI is not registered as a charity, precludes applications for large donations.

NWI receives small project grants from a range of organisations, including American and Irish philanthropic organisations, the National Lottery, the HSE, and EU and national funds as disbursed by the local DEVCO Partnership organisation. These small funding packages often come with specifications as to how they can be put to use, including target beneficiary populations and expected outcomes. While Chapter 7 demonstrated that the members of NWI are able to make creative use of incoming moneys, one representative member nevertheless describes the organisation as 'funding-led'. Other members explain that NWI has a constant pool of ideas, for which they are constantly on the lookout for funding. Many of these ideas come from consultations with the residents of Stradbally house. Nevertheless, the chairwoman is clear on the impact funders' specifications have on programming:

> …they tell you that there's funding available only for this and not the other, so you have to kind of, apply for what it is that they want to support at a particular time.
>
> *Chairwoman, NWI*

As a result, funders are able to constrain the activities of NWI, but not the roles of individual members. Instead, members create these roles through the niches they carve out based on their skills, resources, and the projects they take on.

In both cases, the structure of activities in the organisation are determined by the funds that the nonprofit accesses. However, staff members actively make use of the externally institutionalised structures, whether business plan or project specification, in order to create their roles within the organisation. The following sub-sections will consider

the effects and limits of relationships in managing funding constraints in light of the funding crisis at the time of research.

9.4.2 Embedding Relationships in Response to Funding Constraints

Organisations in this field have keenly felt effects of the economic downturn. Of the forty organisations that responded to a request for comments on the recession twenty-six, or about two-thirds, reported a decrease in funding, and twenty reported an increase in demand. Additionally, the withdrawal of major sources of private funding has left the field in a state of financial crisis, with organisations competing for an ever-smaller pot of money. Financial challenges have made resource access into an activity in its own right, providing a new layer of meaning to existing relationships within and among organisations.

Both case study organisations reported devoting a significant amount of time and effort into acquiring resources. In both organisations, fundraising became a role in its own right, appended onto staff members' existing roles, regardless of whether they were administrative or not. Members of both organisations also reported the emergence of subgroups that developed by virtue of these efforts at strategic planning. In MISO, a recently developed planning committee consisted of the CEO, the financial officer, and the head of the legal department. These three reported close and positive working relationships with one another. Here is the financial officer describing the extra layer that the planning committee adds to his relationship with the head of the legal department:

> It's at two levels. Okay. Because we are members of the management team, there's the collegiality thing. It runs, the triangle runs amongst the three of us. If you really think it's a significant thing for the organisation, maybe let me run it by the legal officer, if the CEO is not there. Or the three of us may quickly caucus over it and the decision is taken. So there is that beat. Then, but then there is also her role as the head legal officer. Where I think the relationship is very much like, before she commissions payments or, or get the expenditure, 'Are we still okay in terms of budgets? Are we still okay?' So it is of that, any financially related issues, she would always run by me. And if I think there is something that's to do with our own financial performance, or queries related to spending in their department, I would also run them. So it's very much at that level of relationship, yeah.
>
> *Financial Officer, MISO*

This description shows how the need to access funds encouraged these staff members to re-imagine their relationships, and therefore also their roles relative to one another. A strictly accounting-based relationship between the head legal officer and the financial officer accrued new meaning and became 'collegial'. What had been query-based exchanges expanded to consultation and deliberation with increased face-to-face and informal meetings. In this way, the organisation members were able to take higher-level decisions and exchange fine-grained information more quickly.

NWI operates with a similarly small group of decision makers. Either the chairwoman or the secretary generally made funding applications on behalf of NWI. Other representative members also take part in the discussions as they see opportunities or as their base organisations offer donations. Conversations happen over the phone or as working lunches between small numbers of members. The treasurer describes the process:

> …I would work a lot with the Chairwoman [in my role as treasurer] now. We would, we would consider anything of a major nature at the monthly meeting, but there are a lot of things that come up during the month. And you have to sort of make a decision on them, so it would usually be in conjunction with the Chairwoman. And maybe the social worker, but, em, or the Secretary. Yeah. They'd be the main ones there, if it was necessary. … We could discuss it outside the meeting alright. Like with schoolbooks this year, that came up rather quickly and I had to get the money before the school started.
>
> *Treasurer, NWI*

As for MISO, real-time contact between a few members encourages responsiveness to a fast-moving funding environment and allows them to develop the direction of the organisation.

For MISO, funding applications also presented opportunities to consolidate already established relationships with sympathetic peer organisations. For example, the migrant support organisations funded by their main philanthropic funder were told to organise themselves into a smaller number of nonprofits, via mergers or otherwise, in order to cope with the anticipated reduction of funding in the field. The CEO of MISO engaged in frequent meetings and conversations with the leader a fellow fundee in order to negotiate the possibility of much closer collaboration. In this case, even after outlining all of the different ways that working with shared funders brought the two CEOs together, she

described the relationship as positive for the simple reason that, 'We like each other.' In another example, an organisation outside of that philanthropic funding process included MISO in a funding application for three consecutive years despite receiving consistent rejections. The other organisation supported the work that MISO was doing, and demonstrated that to funders and to MISO through these applications. Members of MISO use the unreliable funding environment itself as a reason for collaboration and discussion with other organisations they already trust. In each of these situations, members use the need for funding as an opportunity to add a new layer to already positive relationships.

Unlike MISO, NWI has already gone through severe reductions, having seen its income stream drop over the course of the recession by over 75%. The treasurer reports that the drop in funds is mostly from philanthropic organisations. As a result, many of the current projects, events, and programmes are run with support that comes from much closer to home. For instance, a volunteer member who is also a nun receives a bursary from her order, which she applies towards summer programme attendance for the child residents of Stradbally House and towards various celebrations. In addition, other local organisations pitch in, offering course places or programme space when their aims overlap with those of NWI or in instances where members of NWI 'pulled in favours' in the words of one volunteer member. In all of these cases, access to resources depends on informal social structures and personal affinities between members of the nonprofit sector in the area. As one representative member described her relationship with another, '…I would probably do the most work with her, because we're friends. And because we oblige one another a lot, in all our work areas.' In these cases, respondents respond to funding constraints by doubling down on existing relationships.

In both MISO and NWI, the pressure to find funding causes some roles and relationships to expand and take on new meanings. Through deeper and personal relationships, participants are able to make decisions and take action in the interests of the organisation. Rather than simply streamlining and professionalising the organisations, funding applications serve to deepen and affirm interpersonal relationships. As shown earlier, such strong ties can result in more effective and efficient problem-solving (Uzzi, 1997). These real-time exchanges also provide added opportunities to revisit and revise institutionalised understandings and practices at the heart of the organisations' work. Deepening relationships within and between organisations provide an important counter-narrative to concerns that the influence of private funders only serves to professionalise

and increase competition in the field. The next section will consider the limits to the positive influence of embedding relationships in response to funding constraints.

9.4.3 Funding Crisis: The limits of embeddedness

Corroborating previous studies on migrant support fields (see e.g. Mussano, 2003; Wren, 2007) participants also found that embedding within the field could be blocked or undone by competition for resources. Respondents reported that relationships within and between organisations that lacked a shared interest in funding applications suffered in response to scarcity.

Fundraising concerns set staff members of MISO apart from one another precisely as it brought some of them in extra contact with one another. The designating of a separate management committee is one example. The other distinctions arose in situations where projects or employees' salaries were not covered by the large tranches of funding and relied on project funding instead. One of the information and referral advocates found that the extra work involved in planning, funding, researching, and publicising her own projects created unwanted feelings of isolation within the organisation. Similarly, a member of the separately funded European database project illustrated what she called the 'awkward balance' of her team's membership of the organisation with a story about one of the strategic planning meetings:

> …recently, we had a meeting and, it was a kind of a whole staff meeting on the future of the MISO. And, myself and the admin assistant were only needed for the first half, and then we were told we could go for the second half, because they were discussing the future of the MISO…
>
> *EFMD Officer, MISO*

These examples show that the embedding of relationships only happens to relationships where both parties stand to benefit from a grant. Separate funding streams can reduce the likelihood of a new, resource-related role being added into relationships.

Likewise, some staff members of NWI feel sidelined by the informal conversations around funding and find that they did not always understand what is being discussed at the meetings. Without core funding to enable more complete participation in the organisation, members were largely limited to participating in those projects that they could resource for themselves, whether through their base organisation or their personal connections. One representative member expressed her displeasure at the informal divisions:

> You always feel somebody else is doing it. You're not really involved. You know. It's not the, because it's not a company limited by guarantee, there's a few leaders in the group and everybody else is kind of in the back seat. Which is fine. I don't mind it a lot of the time. Which means that we're not really involved. But, we are involved. But we're not really involved. D'you know, if we never volunteered to do anything, we'd never get a job.
>
> *Representative Member, NWI*

In both organisations, access to funding-related decisions creates an unequal distribution of deeper relationships and access to decision-making and institution building.

Scarce funding sources also force entire organisations to draw their lines in the sand. For instance, one member of MISO's board stepped down, because she was already on the board for another NGO engaged in the same funding negotiations. Additionally, the staff member who coordinates the Migrant Support Platform found that some organisations were taking credit for outputs they had not necessarily 'put the work into', forcing her to be more guarded about acknowledging contributions and entering collaborations. The coordinator also notes that direct relationships are affected by the dropping funds, particularly when alters in established relationships are made redundant or their organisation and position are severely reduced. Just as scarce funds can strengthen relationships within and between organisations, they can also isolate organisations through competition and strains to capacity.

Because NWI is the only asylum support organisation in its catchment area, it does not face the same direct competition as MISO does with peer organisations. However, its efficacy is reliant upon positive personal relationships among its members and with members of other local organisations. As a result, NWI is at the mercy of the political microclimate of the local nonprofit community and the overlap of interests between itself and organisations from other fields.

This section has given an overview of the ways that funding-related institutions impact personal relationships in the case study organisations and how members operationalise personal relationships in response to these de-personalised strictures. The structures and pursuit of funding add an extra layer to actors' roles and relationships. When they can work together, it creates another dimension, further embedding ties. These findings corroborate previous work on service delivery networks, which found that

competition enables coordination in a field when trust is present, but blocks coordination in the absence of trust (Bunger, 2012). In this study, trust seems to exist within the organisations when there is a shared investment in funding applications, and between organisations when there is a personal affinity between actors.

These findings demonstrate that the influence of external and private funders is not absolute in the field, despite their strong resource advantage. Instead, actors within the field are able to make creative use of the constraints. They embed relationships in order to increase coordination and strengthen the organisations' positions. While these findings are relatively positive regarding the question of the amount of influence funders have on the organisations, they do point to a reliance on personal affinities and shared financial interests, which moves the centre of social action away from beneficiaries' direct interests and into more ad hoc arrangements.

Conclusion

As previously argued, the field of nonprofit support of asylum seekers in Ireland operated in a context of national crisis at the time of this study. While this period of governmental transition threatens the stability of the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), it also provides an opportunity for member organisations to redraw relationships with the state, constituents, and the public.

This chapter has taken advantage of qualitative personal network interview data in order to situate the field in the context of two of the most important fields for its work – the state and philanthropic organisations. Specifically, it looked at how members of case study organisations navigate externally imposed institutions in order to gain positive outcomes on behalf of their beneficiaries. Participants seek to manipulate these institutions to their advantage by embedding personal relationships, thereby de-institutionalising roles and introducing flexibility in the place of institutional structure.

Furthermore, by looking at relationships outside of the field, this chapter brings the findings of previous chapters, which focussed strictly on the field under study, back to the foundation of the aims and projects of organisations in this field – namely to change the status quo for asylum seekers in Ireland. While heavy reliance on embedded interpersonal relationships has dubious implications for the democratic nature of the governance of asylum seekers' lives, the positive outcomes it can lead to outweigh such concerns in the given circumstances. The following, concluding chapter will draw the connections

between these projects, the relationships within and beyond the field, and the institutions that shape them.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

This thesis began with the complexity facing the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland. I underlined the importance of coordination among those organisations and the challenges to their work for social change. In particular, I identified two barriers to coordination: the contradictions of simultaneously performing service and advocacy work and the need to balance diversity and unity in the field. I argued that the social order of this field, including its capacity for change, is conditioned by the dual-faceted nature of collaborative relationships, which comprise mutually constituting social network structures and institutionalised meanings. The question I set out to answer was: How do collaborative relationships, particularly the social network structures and institutional frameworks that constitute them, enable and constrain social change a field of nonprofits? Specifically, how does this take place in the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland? The youth and complexity of this field makes it an opportune site for observing the interplay between structure and meaning in social change, because the grounds and contents of relationships within it remain subject to negotiation and are therefore evident to its members.

What I found was a field that is crosscut by different networks for different social roles and a range of institutionalised understandings that bring those networks together. The resulting social order is not clean cut. No single frame characterises the work of the field, and collaboration between organisations depends on a cocktail of shared resources, information, and aims that can vary from one relationship to the next. Very real constraints from within and without bear down on the field's capacity for coordination and change. Organisational frames limit the scope of actors' relationships, as do the source and amount of an organisations' funding. Successful service collaborations in the form of referral relationships rely on an already extant and often hard won understanding of other organisations' roles, while a lack of agreement on advocacy aims checks the field's capacity for broad-based public action. Exogenous constraints such as intransigent statutory actors and funding strictures also curb coordination and change.

Nonprofits in this field nevertheless manage to coordinate support and to position themselves to effect social change when the opportunities arise. They do so by making creative use of the social structures and meanings that surround them. They take advantage of their various social roles by treating them as opportunities to reach out to diverse alters across networks, and they build on existing ties to expand each relationship's utility across roles. Inclusive intra- and interorganisational frames provide toeholds for new relationships. Beneficiary-centred work, the primacy of referrals, and an understanding that advocacy is valuable without specifying its contents all set an accessible bar for initiating relationships and create space for diversity in the field. Due to the time and negotiation they demand, collaborative relationships provide sites for innovation to the work at hand and to collaboration itself. MISO and NWI in particular demonstrated a willingness to embrace the ambiguities of an underorganised refugee system. These organisations took advantage of their institutionalised roles as stewards of knowledge and their relatively central network positions to access resources and create new ways of working to their own benefit and to the benefit of the wider field.

In what follows, I will outline the contributions this thesis makes, empirically, theoretically, methodologically, and practically. First, I will address the sub-questions that shaped this study, fleshing out interplay between structure, meaning, and social change in more detail. Specifically, I will consider the network structures and institutional frameworks that structure the relationships of the field; how these social infrastructures allow actors to manage the conflicting demands of their work; and how organisations take advantage of their relationships in order to create opportunities for social change. Then, I will consider the study's contribution to a network-institutional theory of organisations, highlighting the conceptual linkages between network structure and roles, frames, and social skill. Finally, I will outline this study's contribution to the craft of mixed methods social network research, as well as opportunities for future research and policy implications.

10.1 – Empirical Contributions

The first chapters of this thesis introduced three challenges to the work of supporting asylum seekers in Ireland and asked how network structures and institutional frameworks enable the field to manage those challenges. The balance of service and advocacy work; the need for a diverse range of skillsets and a unified sense of purpose; and the paradoxical goal of changing society using the tools of society itself are all

addressed in this field using a combination of relationship structure and institutional framework. Each of these answers fleshes out the creative pragmatism with which the case study organisations and the wider field approach the social order in which they work.

10.1.1 The Service/Advocacy Divide

This thesis has sought to understand one of the most prominent challenges identified in previous literature on the field of asylum seeker support: balancing the imperatives of the social roles of service and advocacy. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 showed how the actors in the field manoeuvre between networks using expansive intra- and interorganisational frames to accommodate both social roles and to build one off of the other. Chapter 2 showed that this challenge is not peculiar to this field. Ever since the so-called rediscovery of poverty in the 1960s, nonprofits in Ireland have found themselves accepting funds from the state in order to provide services precisely as they lobbied the state to change policies that create the structural causes of poverty. This challenge is heightened for the field under question, because asylum seekers themselves are particularly circumscribed by state policy. In addition, their social exclusion is so complete as to render them extraordinarily reliant on nonprofit support. As previous literature has comprehensively covered the contradictions of these two social roles, this study has sought to understand how the field manages those contradictions using institutional frameworks and network structures. While it is impossible to consider the work of the field without the influence of the state, it is possible to analyse the field with the state appearing as an exogenous influence. This allows the relationships and institutions within the field to rise to the fore.

The field's social structural coping mechanisms become apparent when collaborative relationships are divided between the service and advocacy roles, which results in two separate networks within the same field. Chapter 6 began to draw out how this works. Organisations in the field tend to cluster more locally for service-related collaborations, while advocacy collaborations result in the emergence of prominent leaders that draw more of the field into a unified subgroup. However, these results were not entirely clear-cut. The distribution of ties in the service network was not entirely flat, and the advocacy network did display some small, locally tied subgroups. Chapter 7 helped to draw out the nuances of the two networks. In this instance, the results of the core-periphery analysis were not an analyst's dream of a definitive answer. Instead, there was a relatively weak core in both networks that was notably less weak in the advocacy network. However,

this ambiguity reflects and perhaps helps to manage the competing demands of the field. Furthermore, attention to the specificities of those core organisations revealed that their funding is largely independent of the state, which removes one of the major sticking points of combining service and advocacy.

The content of relationships adds nuance and depth to the mechanisms revealed by the structure. Chapter 6 probed the institutionalised frames that the case study organisations use to direct and account for the work that they do. MISO relies on an issue-based frame with a focus on human rights, while NWI maintains a needs-based frame that keeps beneficiaries at its heart. While these frames privilege advocacy and service respectively, they are inclusive enough to accommodate activities from both roles. These frames inspire and shape social action within the organisations. They demand particular kinds of knowledge (frontline expertise vs. hands-on experience), which in turn drive relationships within and beyond the field. The issue-based frame places MISO at the centre of the national field, giving it the role of representative of asylum seekers to interlocutors such as the state and public. Meanwhile, the needs-based frame limits NWI's prominence to a local area, where it maintains a more consultative relationship with asylum seekers and advocates for them to local and regional civil servants. In this way, the frames that accommodate multiple social roles influence the structure of the field, which has been also been shown to manage service and advocacy.

This back and forth between the structure and content of relationships is also evident when interorganisational institutional frameworks are taken into account. Referrals and affiliations to umbrella organisations are the respective institutionalised forms of service and advocacy relationships in the field. However, it has been shown how impossible it is to disentangle these relationships. While any collaboration may start with one or the other, successful relationships tend to layer on meaning, with organisation staff calling on referral partners for advocacy projects and umbrella organisations providing sites to meet new referral partners. Shared casework, the filtering of valuable information, and efforts to change policy reverberate off of each other through interorganisational relationships. This reverberation was underscored in the structures of the collaborative and affiliation networks in the field. Peripheral organisations and subgroups segregated themselves repeatedly in the different networks.

The findings from this study suggest that the at times uncomfortable combination of social roles is not only built into the nature of nonprofits per se, but it is deeply

intertwined in the way these organisations relate to each other and organise their understandings of themselves and the field around them. Independent funding is clearly one way to rise up out of the paradoxical quagmire. However, most organisations in Ireland do not have that luxury, and no organisation in this field can unhitch itself from the state, as it is the single largest institutional presence in asylum seekers' lives. Chapter 9 demonstrated that in those instances where organisations find themselves faced with powerful constraints such as these, they fall back on the personal and de-institutionalise roles and understandings to the best of their ability.

10.1.2 Diversity and Unity

Next, this thesis has sought to understand how this field manages the challenge of balancing the unity necessary to operate with the diversity necessary to comprehensively support asylum seekers. A variety of actors make claims on this field – asylum seekers, the state, funders, organisational staff, volunteers, and the public. Additionally, actors within the field hail from a necessarily wide range of professions with a wide range of work areas of interest. As a result, a number of other fields make demands on this one and influence its work and relationships. Again the coping mechanisms for the field and organisations within it are found in the interplay between the structure and meaning of relationships. On its surface, the field's response seems chaotic, but it works well. Central organisations and basic interorganisational templates provide just enough unity to keep the field together without threatening the diversity that its aims require.

Beginning with structure, three formations protect the diversity in the field: cohesive subgroups, the semi-cephalous centralisation structure, and the disparate umbrella affiliations. Firstly, the cohesive subgroups in the service collaboration network allow organisations to come together with local partners. This insures plenty of face-to-face interaction, which allows the development of ways of working appropriate for each geographic area, including the various stakeholders at play on a local level. Keeping relationships geographically close means that actors can also de-institutionalise when necessary, relying on personal and other embedded ties to solve problem. The exception of the cluster of SMOs provides a space within the network for a stance toward the state that is more critical than in the rest of the field. Additionally, the relatively loose peripheries in both the service and advocacy networks allow organisations to work independently of one another to a certain extent. Finally, the variety of umbrella organisations active in the field

provides a vibrant selection of advocacy venues for interests ranging from issues specific to asylum seekers as beneficiaries to the operational concerns of nonprofits as such.

Meanwhile, the structure also protects the unity of the field. Between the three networks measured here, only four organisations are unconnected from the rest of the field (C4, C5, D19, and D12. See Figure 3 and Figure 34). Furthermore, the role of central organisations as leaders in the field is evident from both the degree distribution and the centralisation measures for the service and advocacy networks. Literature on organisational networks has already highlighted the importance of central actors in making problem-solving and social action efficient and effective (Diani, 2003b; Ernstson et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2003). A look at the content of the relationships under study reveals how this operates.

Central organisations in this field act as stewards of knowledge and representatives. Part of their role is to know the roles of other organisations, so that asylum seekers and colleagues alike can approach them to troubleshoot problems and plans. Additionally, they are able to take advantage of the relationships they maintain, drawing on a history of reciprocation and shared interests in order to access resources, be they material or social. These hubs reinforce their central role by coordinating umbrella organisations and other bodies within the field, while representing the field at international levels.

Asylum seekers are the most obvious but also the least straightforward stakeholders in the field. Their exclusion from the labour market and initial, at least, inexperience with Irish society and bureaucracy leaves them dependent on nonprofits for dealing with many of their most basic needs. However, the aims of integration and empowerment as well as the ability to advocate for their rights and needs to the state and the public demand that they participate meaningfully in the work of the field. Both MISO and NWI fell victim to false rumours among asylum seekers. Both organisations responded by drawing themselves closer to their beneficiaries, formally sponsoring the organisation of and consultation with asylum seekers. These actions resulted in changes to the structure and action of the nonprofits, creating intercultural capital that could reverberate through the field due to their central positions. Involving asylum seekers in a meaningful way ensures that the field maintains a unity of purpose centred on the beneficiary group without oversimplifying the issues at hand and risking the diversity necessary to address their complex situation. Again, umbrella organisations serve an important role of drawing disparate organisations in the field based shared interests that can at times be limited. In

this instance, the New Communities Partnership draws together migrant-led organisations at risk of exclusion from the field. This is seen on the network maps, with four organisations that are unconnected on the collaboration maps drawn into the field via the NCP in the affiliation network.

The state and funders are also major stakeholders in the field, and the structure of the field reflects their influence. For instance, local partnership structures encourage the local subgroups seen in the service network, while national Partnership Structures left a legacy of a more centralised advocacy network. That centralised structure was bolstered by the influx of philanthropic funds focussed on a handful of key organisations. Both stakeholders encouraged collaborative working in the form of funding requirements. While differing relationships with the state and its agencies and disparate access to funding creates tensions in the field, these factors also allow creative responses to develop as seen in MISO's deepening relationships with funding partners and NWI's development of resources for asylum seekers.

At their heart, the questions of diversity and unity as well as of balancing stakeholders are questions about context. Chapter 3 argued that adjoining fields are an important source of change in a field, and this research bears that out. The next section will look more closely at how actors in the field harness these constraints and opportunities to further their aims.

10.1.3 Making Space for Social Change

If the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers is the eternal underdog in the wider refugee system, then what hope does it have of effecting social change in favour of its beneficiaries? After all, it lacks the authority of the state, and, given the drop in financial resources due the recession and the withdrawal of major funding bodies, it also lacks material leverage. The interviews with MISO and NWI revealed many of the ways these two nonprofits make creative use of their relationships in order to shift the material and social balance in favour of their aims. This research contributes to Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) concept of social skill by drawing out the mechanisms by which it operates in this field. Fligstein and McAdam posit empathy as the root of social skill, and it was certainly crucial in this field. However, creativity with regard to both structure and meaning stood out as the defining feature of these organisations' skilled engagement with relationships.

The first social skill identified in the thesis was that of framing stories that appeal to others' identity, belief, and interests and set actions against opponents. Chapter 6 demonstrated how MISO and NWI drew on pre-existing frames to describe and shape their work – the issue-based human rights frame and the needs-based frame. By applying these institutionalised classifications of nonprofit work to their own activities, MISO and NWI create interlocutors and relationships pre-oriented toward their aims. For instance, asylum seekers become rights holders and community members, respectively. The organisations also pitch themselves as types of knowledge holders that imply useful relationships with the state. MISO is a frontline expert, and its position is to advise on policy and represent asylum seekers' interests. NWI's hands-on experience allows it to act as an informant, consulting with asylum seekers and working with state agents to better asylum seekers' situation.

The organisations' use of bricolage, or the ability to see opportunities and take advantage of them, is the perhaps most obvious example of their creativity in relationships. Chapter 7 highlighted a few key instances where actors were able to use their pre-existing relationships to shift material and social circumstances in favour of their own aims. They took advantage of ties built up through previous work, whether service, advocacy, or otherwise, to create a nationwide social movement in MISO's case and a library for asylum seekers in NWI's. Faced with the limitations of authority and funding, these organisations take an experimental approach to social action, drawing on a variety of sources and pushing the boundaries of pre-existing institutions.

MISO and NWI also took a creative approach directly to the networks in the field, expanding them by including outliers and structuring the field through the coordination of umbrella organisations. These skilled actions allowed them to increase the social capital of the field by developing denser relationships across the field. They also kept themselves at the centre of their respective geographic areas, which helped them maintain their role as agenda setters in both service and advocacy discussions.

Finally, the staff of MISO and NWI pitched themselves as neutral brokers to their interlocutors in the refugee system. They brokered the relationship between asylum seekers and civil servants by establishing themselves as trustworthy sources of information and referrals, rather than simply as adversarial advocates. They also brokered the relationship between a state actor and their role, sometimes by trying to make a civil servants' job easier and sometimes by trying to subtly reframe that role. Little by little, over time and

through successful interactions, the staff of MISO and NWI built complex and beneficial relationships with many individuals across the Irish refugee system. They were able to use these deepening relationships to begin to re-institutionalise practices and roles within the system.

Unfortunately, cross-sectional nature of this study mean that changes over time across the system were difficult to link to the actions observed in this research. Additionally, outside factors complicate analysis. These include a change of Justice Department personnel and the beginning of Europe's refugee crisis, which brought the situation of asylum seekers in Ireland more squarely into the public consciousness. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that there was a drastic change in the government's official stance toward asylum seekers and direct provision since the beginning of this study. When I began fieldwork in 2011, any shift in Ireland's reception of asylum seekers seemed out of the question. For instance, in May of 2012, then Minister for Justice Alan Shatter argued in the Dáil that, 'I am satisfied that the system of direct provision and dispersal, which was established in 1999, is in compliance with human rights obligations placed on the state by domestic and international law. I do not believe an audit as suggested in the question is warranted' (Shatter, 2012). By 2015, the government-convened Working Group on the Protection Process had delivered its final report with 173 suggested changes in order to address the rights and needs of asylum seekers in Ireland. In the intervening years, nonprofit organisations persistently challenged the status quo through public and private social actions, and some of these organisations were included in the Working Group.

While this thesis is not in a position to posit the specific actions that led to the sea change in state perspective, it is nevertheless clear that the creative and multifaceted approach nonprofits bring to the relationships necessary to support asylum seekers was an important part of the transition. Organisations in this study displayed a willingness to reach out to one another and to statutory agencies. They took ownership of pre-existing institutions and destabilised others that stood in their way. They embedded their relationships where possible so that ties were not just conduits for single resources but launch pads for new institutions. These actors' use of social skill may or may not have been the primary cause of the change, but it certainly enabled them to take part when the occasion arose. The case study organisations in particular displayed a keen consciousness of the structure, constraints, and opportunities of the relationships around them, and an eagerness to draw them into their arsenal for social action.

This section treated the creative use of skilled action in the field, which positioned case study organisations to take part in social change at the micro, meso, and potentially macros levels. The next section will draw out the implications of these findings for the development of a network-institutional theory of organisations.

10.2 – Theoretical Contributions

This thesis has argued that the field of nonprofits that support asylum seekers in Ireland is an excellent site for observing how organisations seek to effect social change via relationships. Firstly, it is located in a refugee system that is in a state of underorganisation (Hardy, 1994), which means that rules and understandings of practice are up for grabs and their contours are laid bare by contention. Next, the extreme vulnerability of asylum seekers and the outsize presence of the state in their lives mean that these nonprofits have a particularly intense relationship with the state in which the normal tensions between providing services and trying to shape policy are heightened. How then, can these findings be translated to other fields? This thesis contributes to the growing body of network-institutional theory of organisations by presenting a framework for a meso-level study rooted in micro-interactions. It has enhanced our understanding of the back and forth between network and institutions, giving purchase on questions about how roles, institutional frameworks, and social skill shape and are shaped by network structure. Finally, it demonstrates the importance of social network structure in the exercise of social skill.

10.2.1 The Roles of Central Organisations

One of the key concepts that draws together structure and meaning in this field is the role that an organisation plays. Roles provide patterns of action, describe network position, and they are a key descriptor of how nonprofits fit into society. As such, the different uses of the concept of role and the impact of roles on collaborative relationships are both difficult and important to tease out. Because the case studies in this thesis are central organisations, whether nationally or locally, the findings from this study shed light on what centrality means from structural and institutional perspectives. Central organisations' roles are conditioned by the organisations' surrounding network, but they also affect the network structure of the field in turn.

Centrality itself takes on a different meaning for MISO and NWI. For MISO, centrality refers to its structural position on a national level in both the service and advocacy networks. In each of these networks, MISO managed many more relationships

than the three it was invited to name in the survey. In addition to maintaining high degree centrality, it also sits in the core of the field, taking part in a dense structure of relationships with other central organisations, again in both the service and advocacy networks. These structural elements mean that MISO is exposed to and collaborates with a broad spectrum of organisations from across the Republic. The issue-based human rights frame that MISO uses to define and drive its work enables this nationwide reach. Whether through referrals or advocacy projects, many nonprofits across the country cross paths with MISO.

For NWI, centrality takes place on a local level, predominantly with regards to service work. As an umbrella organisation, NWI has formal ties to a range of organisations in its area, and it enables informal and advocacy-related ties between them. While another organisation had a higher degree centrality measure for advocacy collaborations, its representative identified NWI as the organisational hub for nonprofit support and the site where she engages with her collaboration partners in terms of both service and advocacy. NWI's needs-based framework limits its reach to local nonprofits, and its staff members tap into the national field individually and largely on behalf of their base organisations, rather than for NWI.

Previous studies found that central actors tend to know more about a network than peripheral ones (Marsden, 2005). This study corroborates that evidence and traces its roots in the processes of institutionalisation. Both MISO and NWI act as stewards of knowledge for the field. Both organisations have been in the field for a relatively long time, and that surely plays a role in their stock of knowledge. Interview data demonstrate that this knowledge is not just a bank of information. Rather it represents a particular role in the field, which was demonstrated through the sending of meta-referrals from other nonprofits. The staffs of MISO and NWI receive those beneficiaries and problems that their collaborators do not know how to refer. It is taken for granted in the field that these central organisations know the roles and resources of the field. This particular role is a self-reinforcing one. As shown in Chapter 7, referral relationships are a baseline for deepening relationships that ultimately fulfil more than one purpose. Even though the network data might not have been as clear cut as theory would suggest, the importance of this role and its interplay with network structure was clear once interview data was taken into account.

MISO and NWI also showed that central organisations do not just sit idly at the centre of their catchment areas. Rather, they shape the world around them. They do this by

seeking out and sharing information about the services other nonprofits provide. They also create formal structures in the field, coordinating other nonprofits as and through umbrella organisations. In creating network structures, MISO and NWI keep themselves in a privileged position where they can maintain their knowledge base and influence the discussions of the field. However, they also create social capital for the field itself, increasing its capacity through denser or more efficient connections.

For very different reasons, both of these organisations exhibit a degree of independence from the state in order to execute their work. MISO, like most of the other core organisations, named philanthropic bodies as its largest source of funding. While this surely brings its own set of imperatives, it does allow MISO to sidestep some of the tensions of the service and advocacy roles to the extent that it escapes the potential threat of the state's withdrawal of funding. Though NWI did name the state as its largest funder, the diversity of its resource inputs and the small scale of its projects mean it can work under the radar to an extent, taking an opportunist approach to funding that would elude an organisation with a larger income. Independence from the state was also seen to be important to asylum seekers as beneficiaries. This autonomy also allowed these organisations to reinforce their central positions by participating in both service and advocacy work. NWI's reduced prominence in advocacy reflects its closer relationship to and dependence on the discretion of state actors.

This study has shown how the institutionalised role of the central organisation is mediated through relationships, and likewise, how the structure of the field depends on the central organisations' management of relationships. The next section will take a closer look at the relationship between institutional frameworks and structure.

10.2.2 Intra- and Interorganisational Frames and Network Structure

In addition to emphasising roles, or who does what, neo-institutionalism also underscores the importance of taken for granted understandings of how things are done. These rules of the road work in a symbiotic fashion with network structure, creating and limiting structural possibilities while also being created and limited by structure. Based on previous readings and preliminary ethnographic work, collaboration was the form of relationship that drove this study from the beginning. However, the exact nature of the collaboration as institutionalised in the field was only evident once data collection was completed. The unspoken rules of engagement that were revealed in the personal network interviews shed light on the network structures that were evident from the quantitative data.

Institutional frameworks were found to be active at two levels: intra- and interorganisationally. Organisational frames created the conditions for case study organisations' network location, while interorganisational collaborative frames set the stage for relationships to spread and deepen across the field.

Within the organisations, the framing of organisational activities has been shown to influence an organisations' position in the field's networks. Within the field, the issue- and needs-based frames were shown to create opportunities for and constrain relationships to such an extent that they influenced the case studies' organisations network positions. For MISO, the human rights focus of its issue-based frame created an imperative for the staff of the organisation to reach out to asylum seekers and nonprofits across Ireland. Its success in framing itself as the representative of asylum seekers as rights bearers encouraged other organisations to collaborate with MISO on both service and advocacy work. While the framework alone is not sufficient to determine network position, it is clear that such a universal approach to the support of asylum seekers is necessary to achieve this relatively high level of degree centrality with relationships to geographically distant co-collaborators. Meanwhile, NWI's needs-based frame constrains its catchment area and its interorganisational relationships to its immediate vicinity. NWI's emphasis on particular beneficiaries precludes the necessity for distant nonprofits to reach out to its staff. Additionally, the particularisation of needs, as opposed to the general support of rights, places an emphasis on service. This simultaneously keeps NWI out of most national advocacy campaigns and trains its focus on local actors when it comes to relationships with the state.

Interorganisational frameworks condition the nature of collaboration and influence the structure of the fields' networks as a whole. The primacy of referrals as an institutionalised form of collaboration creates a situation where nonprofits in the field reach out to local partners. The nature of referrals as relationships that require a high degree of understanding between organisations means that over time they result in multi-layered relationships with a variety of meanings for the actors that participate in them. This layering of relationships can include advocacy collaborations, which goes some way to explaining why the advocacy network, though more centralised than the service network, remains an imperfectly centralised network. The tendency towards but lack of complete centralisation of the advocacy network also reflects the lack of agreement on major issues as demonstrated by the affiliation map as well as the patchwork combination of aims displayed by individual organisations. This contention is also evident in the relative

segregation of SMOs in the collaboration network maps. The next section will move beyond the adoption of frames to the skilful use of social action in order to understand how organisations in the field create social change.

10.2.3 Social Skill

This study provided a valuable opportunity to observe the enactment of social skill within a field in flux. Additionally, the incorporation of social network analysis and extensive personal network interviews allowed the analysis of both the structure and wider context of relationships within the field. This study confirmed Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) valuation of social skill as a mechanism for changing the dynamics of a field. It also built on that theory, illuminating the explicit use of network structure by skilled actors as well as their wider strategy of developing and embedding relationships. The social skills that particularly engage with network structures in this study were: bricolage, including outliers, leading from behind, agenda setting, and framing stories. This thesis has shown that the actors in this field use these skills to build on existing ties and to create new ones in the field.

Interview participants further embedded existing relationships by adding extra meaning to those ties through bricolage and the re-framing of roles and ways of working together. These new meanings allowed the actors to develop more social and material capital out of existing ties. When actors engaged in bricolage, or taking advantage of latent possibilities, they did so over existing network ties. When they reached out to co-collaborators for social or material resources, they layered new meanings onto those relationships, thereby laying down new ties in other networks within the same field.

Additionally, inter-field relationships present constraints on organisations in this field that encourage them to fall back, not on institutionalised forms of relating, but on the personalisation and embedding of relationships. While formalised mechanisms have their place in the field, when push comes to shove, nonprofits in this field rely on and try to create dialogues with a low level of institutionalisation within already institutionalised relationships. Different projects provide actors with multiple opportunities for interaction that can deepen relationships and destabilise unfavourable roles and frameworks, even while reinforcing those that work in the actors' favour.

Interview participants also described ways they actually laid down network ties around themselves. When actors included outliers or set others up to lead, particularly

asylum seekers, they encouraged the development of the networks in the field. In doing so, they created new ties for themselves, but they also encouraged connections among their co-collaborators. This gave them access to the social capital in new arenas without having to necessarily invest in relationships with all of the new network connections themselves.

Central organisations are already in a position to set agendas and lead discussions in the field by virtue of their direct contact with a relatively large number of members in the field. The central organisations in this study took their structural advantage one step further by coordinating formal umbrella organisations and beneficiary groups. These extra assemblages provided additional inputs into the case study organisations, which allowed them to reaffirm their legitimacy as representatives of the field. Meanwhile, they also gave these organisations a venue to shape the aims and projects of the field. Again, this coordination of field members provided social capital to the organisations themselves and to the wider field without necessarily requiring the investment in a series of individual collaboration efforts.

In each of these instances of skilled social action, actors in the field consciously manipulate the network structures of the field around them. While they may not be able to actually ‘see’ the network maps, their knowledge of the structures, roles, and resources in the field results in observable structural features once the networks of the field are plotted.

10.3 – Moving Forward: Methods, open questions, and policy

In addition to contributing to an empirical understanding of this field and a theoretical understanding of network-institutional organisational structures, this study also adds to the discussions of mixed methods network studies and opens up questions for future research. Additionally, it raises possible options for programming and policy in Ireland’s refugee system.

10.3.1 Methodological Contributions

This study has built on the developing craft of mixed methods social network research. Its foundation in social phenomenology has given it unique insight into the place of meaning in social networks, highlighting the ways meaning shapes and is shaped by relationships in the constitution of social action. Its emphasis on meaning as motive and context shed light on social action as the establishment, interpretation, and development of meaning within intersubjective relationships. This study also refines our understanding of the value of embedding case studies, accessing participants, and using assisted

participatory mapping in a whole network study. It offers a model of how to gain a complex, multi-level view of an organisational field that cross-references multiple networks with prevailing institutional frameworks.

As argued above, combining multiple networks from the same field with qualitative accounts of relationships has helped uncover the mechanisms through which the field and organisations within it manage the at times conflicting projects of the service and advocacy roles of nonprofits. Viewing the case study organisation's relationship structures with reference to the meaning of their work, as issue- and needs-based, also helped to understand the organisations' network locations. Interorganisational frameworks animated the analysis of network structure and the connections between the service and advocacy networks. The inextricable nature of motive and context in the meaning of social action displayed by this field suggest the benefit of Shütz's brand of social phenomenology for network studies.

Additionally, this multi-level approach allowed multiple perspectives on the field and on the case study organisations to come to light. This is valuable, because many of the institutions of a field are agreed upon intersubjectively, and the understandings of the import and value of those institutions are myriad. For instance, while interview data confirmed previous findings that so-called mainstream organisations and SMOs work in opposition to each other (Landy, 2015), network maps showed that there are overlapping relationships between the subgroup of SMOs and the rest of the field.

This project has gone some way to address the gap around a theory of action as identified by Fuhse and Mützel (Fuhse & Mützel, 2011). Combining thematic analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) of qualitative data with network maps allowed the analysis of social skill in the field as a theory of action. In turn, this case study 'shed empirical light' (Yin, 2014) about the theory of social skill, making the structural elements that it takes for granted explicit. Focussing on the challenges of the field allowed a view of how actors negotiate paradoxical roles via institutions and social structure.

This study also demonstrated that embedding case studies consisting of in-depth and comprehensive personal network interviews within a field-wide network study allows the analysis of the effects of inter-field relationships. In particular for this study, relationships with statutory actors and the influences of outside funders were brought to light, revealing instances where actors within the field actively de-institutionalise roles and patterns of action.

Whole network and whole field studies such as this one are inherently challenging, because it can be difficult, firstly, to locate the network members and, secondly, to convince them to participate. This study adds to the growing body of discussion on how best to overcome these problems, as led by Doreian and Woodard (1992) and Murty (1998). The high level of participation in this study demonstrated the value of collecting data in one wave in a combination list / snowball approach to finding the population. However, the incidences of non-eligible co-collaborators that were named showed the importance of letting participants name all collaborative partners rather than constraining alters to a set number.

This study also reveals the value and limitations of assisted participatory mapping in an organisational study. Participants largely, though not always, found the process to be enjoyable and beneficial. The structure of the interviews encouraged comprehensive and detailed accounts of relationships in the field. However, limits to participants' time and the sheer size of many of their professional personal networks meant that alter-alter ties had to be foregone. This study adds to the body of evidence that the process of mapping itself is important in a mixed methods study (Emmel, 2008; Hollstein, 2011), even when those maps are not quantitatively analysed.

While the execution of data collection and analysis in the study was labour-intensive and time consuming, the value of a mixed methods social network approach to understanding relationships in a field is clear. It delivers a nuanced, holistic picture of relationships in a field that can accommodate a theory of action that is contextualised, but not frozen, by social network structure and institutionalised meanings.

10.3.2 Open Questions

Like any study, this one had its limitations, which means that even as it addresses some questions, it raises others. This thesis focussed mainly on the antecedents to relationship working, paying particular attention to the mechanisms that interweave the emergent effects of network and institutional structures. The information on outcomes is inherently limited by the questions that drove the study, but an analysis of outcomes would be valuable for the members of the field and the further development of the body of network-institutional theory. Likewise, the focus on accounts and structures within the field provide a complex and detailed understanding of intra-field processes, but the wider effects on adjacent fields, particularly the state, remain to be explored. In order to expand

our understanding of the processes of social change, a study on the perspectives and social structures of statutory actors would be beneficial.

The focus on service and advocacy roles was drawn from the literature and marked out rich tensions to investigate, but the organisations in this field also act as innovators, the developers of leaders, and builders of communities (Salamon et al., 2000). Each of these roles will naturally be built on its own institutions and network structures, and each is worthy of attention. Similarly, collaborative relationships were chosen because of their primary place in the coordination of support and the drive for social change, but other types of relationships also shape the field. Contestation and contention both offer interesting bases for examining negative ties and their impact on social change (Hardy & Phillips, 1998).

Finally, the nature of this field as one that is in flux raises immediate and obvious questions about how it is transforming. The drastic funding changes and on-going developments in the aftermath of the 2015 Working Group on Protection are surely having a major impact on both the network structure and institutional frameworks of the field. A longitudinal study would be able to capture some of those dynamics, or, at the very least, it would be well worthwhile to revisit the field in another cross-sectional study.

10.3.3 Futures for the Field

My ethnographic pre-study began in October 2011 with an interview, not by me but of me, for the receptionist position that would allow me to take on the role of participant observer. The woman who interviewed me asked me about the aims of my research, and she told me she hoped to see the results some day. She said that relationships are valuable to the field, but that they can be difficult. Those same sentiments were repeated by many of my participants over the subsequent two years. While this is a study focussed more on antecedents and explanations than on outcomes, I would nonetheless like to highlight those findings that lend themselves toward programming and policy suggestions.

The most obvious, and perhaps the most difficult, finding is tied to the tensions inherent in the social roles of service and advocacy. Nonprofits that support asylum seekers thrive when their funding sources and structures grant them a margin of independence from the state. This is evidenced by the finding in Chapter 7 that all five organisations that appear in both field cores listed philanthropic bodies as their main source of funding. The paradoxical situation in which most organisations are funded by

and advocate for change from the state is complicated again by the extreme degree to which government policy and statutory actors impinge on asylum seekers' day-to-day lives and refugee status decisions. For the nonprofits, this call for resource independence is a difficult goal. Philanthropic sources are, after all, thin on the ground in Ireland. The withdrawal of the One Foundation and Atlantic Philanthropies means that nonprofits must search further afield for large tranches of funding. NWI's piecemeal structure, which relies as much on volunteered time and non-monetary resources, presents another option for smaller organisations to maintain independence. From a policy perspective, it would be beneficial for state funding agencies to stop discouraging advocacy and activism. Nonprofits are experts on the needs and rights of their beneficiaries. In the absence of Social Partnership discussions, civil society as a whole would benefit from a new, formal avenue for members of this field and others to mediate between the state and its most vulnerable residents.

Another important practical application is tied to the tension between diversity and unity in the field. One way that organisations can bring new institutions into the field while preserving its unifying cause of supporting asylum seekers is to increase meaningful engagement with asylum seekers and former asylum seekers. This research adds to the body of literature that calls for increased participation by beneficiary populations (Cullen, 2009; Feldman, 2007), whether as individuals or through migrant-led organisations. Both case study organisations experienced epiphany moments that resulted in substantive changes to their work through close interactions with beneficiaries. Additionally, the relative peripheral nature of migrant-led organisations, as evidenced by the affiliation network, suggests that the field would do well to draw these organisations toward its centre. Just as nonprofits must maintain their independence from the state, it makes sense for migrant-led organisations to maintain their independence from their mainstream peers; the successful operation of the field as a whole relies on the exercise of a variety of roles. However, meaningful and deepened collaboration would allow the transfer and development of institutions bearing the mark of the population at the heart of the field. For its part, the state would be better positioned to work with these organisations on integration and other issues if a place were made specifically for them in formal talks with relevant statutory bodies.

Finally, this study has underlined the value of alternating tides of institutionalisation and de-institutionalisation in working for social change. There are many benefits to professionalisation and the institutionalised ways of working that entails,

including increased access to funding and ease of communication with statutory actors. However, Chapter 9 showed that the pressures experienced by this field, particularly in light of the recent recession, point to the value of informal and personal relationships. These ties have multiple meanings and can carry complex information and values. The institutionalisation of roles can make collaboration more efficient and transparent. However, when the chips are down, actors turn not to roles, but to people. This back and forth of the sedimentation and erosion of institutions is what keeps social change possible. For the organisations in this field, this means making time and space for social engagements, both intra- and interorganisationally. This may be a challenge for resource-strapped nonprofits, but the potential benefits of unstructured dialogue in terms of exchange and innovation outweigh the costs. Statutory funding for and participation in field conferences and events stand to benefit not only intra-field collaboration, but also the on-going projects of the wider refugee system.

While cleavages and disagreements certainly exist in this field, most everyone I met in my research was committed to interorganisational cooperation and coordination in the endeavour for social change for asylum seekers. Of all the resources the field could have, such commitment is possibly the most valuable and the hardest to manufacture. It is not a given though. Its endurance depends on the will and the resources being allocated to make collaboration possible. There, in the unscripted spaces where people meet to thrash out working relationships, is where change begins.

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Appendix I: Questionnaire Text

Welcome to the Irish Asylum Support Survey and Database Project.

The survey should take about 20 minutes to complete. The more answers you provide, the better the database and the more accurate the study results will be. If you would prefer not to answer a question, you can always click the “skip” button and move on to the next one.

The first section will include questions about information for the database. The second section will include questions that will help develop a map of the field of organisations that support Ireland’s asylum seekers.

Thank you for taking the time to take part in this survey!

All information will be collected and stored according to the Data Protection Act 2003.

Any questions can be directed to ksheeha@tcd.ie

No.	Question			
1	**Would you like to participate in this study?**			
	Yes			
	No			
	Please note that even if your organisation chooses not to complete this questionnaire, other organisations might name yours as a contact. You can indicate that you would prefer for your organisation to be left out of the data analysis altogether by choosing "No" above.			
2	**Name of organisation:**			
	Alternative name or abbreviation (if applicable):			
	Previous name of organisation (if applicable):			
	Address Line 1:			
	Address Line 2:			
	City / Town:			
	Postal Code:			
	County:			
	Telephone:			
	Fax:			
	Email:			
	Web address:			
	Year established:			
3	**Please indicate which of the following applies to your organisation. (Please choose one):**			
	Stand-alone organisation			
	Branch of an organisation			
	Head office of an organisation			
	Umbrella organisation			
	Other: Please State:			

4	**Please indicate whether you are answering the questions for (Please choose one):**			
	Your organisation only			
	All branches of your organisation			
5	**Please indicate the geographical remit of your organisation (Please choose all that apply):**			
	Local			
	Regional			
	National			
	European			
	International			
6	**Please outline the main activities of your organisation as you would like them to appear in the directory:**			
7	**Please indicate whether each of the following describes the work of your organisation.**			
	Advocacy	Yes	No	
	Arts	Yes	No	
	Asylum application assistance	Yes	No	
	Campaign work	Yes	No	
	Cultural events	Yes	No	
	Domestic violence support	Yes	No	
	Family tracing assistance	Yes	No	
	Information services	Yes	No	
	Integration	Yes	No	
	Language lessons	Yes	No	
	Legal services	Yes	No	
	Mental health services	Yes	No	
	Policy work	Yes	No	
	Recreation	Yes	No	
	Religious services	Yes	No	
	Research	Yes	No	
	Sport	Yes	No	
	Support group	Yes	No	
	Training	Yes	No	
	Voluntary return assistance	Yes	No	
	Welfare assistance	Yes	No	
	Other: Please specify:			
8	**Does your organisation offer services that specifically target any of the following groups:**			
	Children and young people	Yes	No	
	Separated children	Yes	No	
	Aged-out minors	Yes	No	
	Elderly	Yes	No	
	Women	Yes	No	
	Men	Yes	No	
	Lone Parents	Yes	No	
	People with Disabilities	Yes	No	
	LGBT	Yes	No	
	Other: Please Specify:			
9	**Does your organisation specifically offer support to asylum seekers of a particular faith?**			
	Yes			
	No			
10	**Which faith does your organisation offer services for?**			
11	**Does your organisation specifically offer support to asylum seekers from a particular country or continent?**			
	Yes			
	No			

12	**Which country or continent of origin does your organisation target services for?**			
13	**Is your organisation non-governmental?**			
	Yes			
	No			
14	**Is your organisation non-profit?**			
	Yes			
	No			
15	**Would you say that asylum seekers are among the main beneficiaries of your organisation?**			
	Yes			
	No			
16	**How important are your relationships with the following in generating finance for your organisation?**			
		Not at all important	Somewhat important	Very important
	Other Community / Voluntary Groups			
	Community / Wider Society			
	Beneficiaries			
	State / Public Sector			
	Politicians / TDs			
	Business Community			
	Religious Institutions			
	Other (Please State)			
17	**How important are your relationships with the following in generating human resources, such as staff, volunteers, and board members for your organisation?**			
		Not at all important	Somewhat important	Very important
	Other Community / Voluntary Groups			
	Community / Wider Society			
	Beneficiaries			
	State / Public Sector			
	Politicians / TDs			
	Business Community			
	Religious Institutions			
	Other (Please State)			
18	**How important are your relationships with the following in providing services?**			
		Not at all important	Somewhat important	Very important
	Other Community / Voluntary Groups			
	Community / Wider Society			
	Beneficiaries			
	State / Public Sector			
	Politicians / TDs			
	Business Community			
	Religious Institutions			
	Other (Please State)			
19	**How important are your relationships with the following in developing public policy?**			
		Not at all important	Somewhat important	Very important
	Other Community / Voluntary Groups			
	Community / Wider Society			

	Beneficiaries			
	State / Public Sector			
	Politicians / TDs			
	Business Community			
	Religious Institutions			
	Other (Please State)			
20	**What are the three nonprofit organisations your organisation most often turns to for advice?**			
		Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
	What county is this organisation in?			
	To the best of your knowledge, does this organisation employ asylum seekers or former asylum seekers as staff?			
	To the best of your knowledge, which of the following best describes the work of this organisation?	Providing services or information	Providing services or information	Providing services or information
		Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy
		Peer support	Peer support	Peer support
		Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):
21	**Which three nonprofit organisations turn to your organisation most often for advice?**			
		Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
	Tick here if you have already provided information about this organisation			
	What county is this organisation in?			
	To the best of your knowledge, does this organisation employ asylum seekers or former asylum seekers as staff?			
	To the best of your knowledge, which of the following best describes the work of this organisation?	Providing services or information	Providing services or information	Providing services or information
		Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy
		Peer support	Peer support	Peer support
		Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):
22	**To which three nonprofit organisations do you most often refer clients?**			
		Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
	Tick here if you have already provided information about this organisation			
	What county is this organisation in?			
	To the best of your knowledge, does this organisation employ asylum seekers or former asylum seekers as staff?			
	To the best of your knowledge, which of the following best describes the work of this organisation?	Providing services or information	Providing services or information	Providing services or information

		Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy
		Peer support	Peer support	Peer support
		Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):
23	**Which three nonprofit organisations most often refer clients to you?**			
		Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
	Tick here if you have already provided information about this organisation			
	What county is this organisation in?			
	To the best of your knowledge, does this organisation employ asylum seekers as staff?			
	To the best of your knowledge, which of the following best describes the work of this organisation?	Providing services or information	Providing services or information	Providing services or information
		Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy
		Peer support	Peer support	Peer support
		Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):
24	**Which nonprofit organisations do you most often work with on client matters?**			
		Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
	Tick here if you have already provided information about this organisation			
	What county is this organisation in?			
	To the best of your knowledge, does this organisation employ asylum seekers as staff?			
	To the best of your knowledge, which of the following best describes the work of this organisation?	Providing services or information	Providing services or information	Providing services or information
		Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy
		Peer support	Peer support	Peer support
		Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):
25	**Which three nonprofit organisations do you most often socialise with?**			
		Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
	Tick here if you have already provided information about this organisation			
	To the best of your knowledge, does this organisation employ asylum seekers as staff?			
	To the best of your knowledge, which of the following best describes the work of this organisation?	Providing services or information	Providing services or information	Providing services or information
		Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy	Seeking to change policy

		Peer support	Peer support	Peer support
		Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):	Other (Please specify):
26	**How well do these statements describe the work that your organisation does? Please put a score from 0 (Does not describe our work at all) to 10 (Does describe our work perfectly) next to each statement.**			
	Seeking or providing legal support:			
	Seeking to change policy or deciding upon policy that affects asylum seekers:			
	Visiting asylum seekers in direct provision centres or in the local community:			
	Providing services or information for asylum seekers (e.g. food or medical care):			
	Using the arts or media as a means to raise the profile of asylum seekers:			
	Providing opportunities for asylum seekers to express themselves:			
	Campaigning:			
	Protesting:			
	Representing the residents of a direct provision centre:			
	Other (Please specify):			
27	**Please indicate the following (please estimate if necessary):**			
	Number of full-time employees:			
	Number of part-time employees:			
	Number of FAS / Job Bridge / Other scheme employees:			
	Number of board / leadership committee members:			
	How many people on your staff are asylum seekers or former asylum seekers (please estimate if necessary):			
28	**How many volunteers does your organisation have (please estimate if necessary):**			
29	**How many of your volunteers are interns?**			
30	**How many of your volunteers are asylum seekers or former asylum seekers (please estimate if necessary):**			
31	**Please indicate the number of members in your organisation (please estimate if necessary):**			
	Number of voluntary organisations:			
	Number of public sector organisations:			
	Number of for-profit organisations:			
	Number of individuals:			
32	**Please indicate the estimated number of asylum seekers who were direct beneficiaries of your organisation over the last year.**			

33	**Which umbrella organisations does your organisation belong to? Please choose all that apply:**			
	AkiDwa			
	Community Platform			
	European Anti-Poverty Network			
	European Network Against Racism			
	Integration Centre			
	New Communities Partnership			
	NGO Forum on Direct Provision			
	The Wheel			
	Other: Please specify:			
34	**Please number the three most important income sources for your organisation for the previous fiscal year, with 1 being the most important:**			
	State (which includes State grants, health board grants, national lottery, EU funding, etc.)			
	Foundation support (philanthropic support)			
	Individual support (e.g. individual donations, public fundraising campaigns)			
	Corporate donations			
	Fees, Charges, Sales, etc.			
	Membership dues			
	Other (please specify)			
35	**We respect your wish not to participate in the study. Please provide your contact information so that we can be sure to remove your organisation from the project.**			
	Organisation name:			
	Contact name:			
	Contact email:			
36	**If you don't mind, it'd be really helpful if you indicated why you decided not to participate:**			
	My organisation doesn't work with asylum seekers			
	I no longer work with this organisation			
	I think you've got the wrong email address			
	I have privacy concerns regarding this project			
	I don't have the time			
	If you didn't mean to opt out, please click "Back" and change your response.			
37	**Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study!** **Please provide your contact information in case we need to follow up on any of your answers.**			
	Name:			
	Email:			
	Don't forget to tell other groups about the project. And follow @IASDB on Twitter and join the Facebook group.			

Appendix II: Interview Schedule

Tell me about your work here.

- How long have you been at the organisation? What's it like here?
- What are you working on these days?

I'd like you to think about the people you communicate with in the course of your work (supporting asylum seekers). Place them on this "map" based on their importance to your work.

- You can include people from your organisation or outside of it as well as organisations where you don't have an on-going relationship with any individual.
- Four concentric circles: very important, important, somewhat important, not important.
- Three types of ties (relationships), positive, neutral, negative
- Place people who would work together close to each other
- Talk me through what you're thinking while you map
    - E.g. type of relationship, purpose of relationship, mode and frequency of contact

Probes: e.g. Is there anyone else… you go to for help, you work with on a project, you go to for advice/information, who makes your job difficult? Anyone in your personal life that's important for your work?

What do you do to cultivate/maintain relationships?

Show map: Is organisation location surprising? Any comments on how the wider network works?